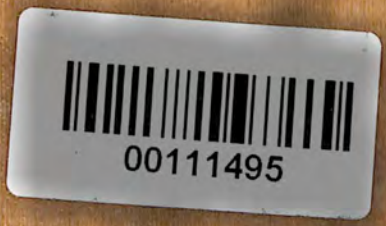
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THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM LAUD, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

111495

VOL. VI.—PART I.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.—LETTERS.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
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PREFACE.

THE contents of the two parts of this Volume which now appear are of a miscellaneous character. They are classed, however, under three general heads, on each of which a few words must here be said.

I. The Miscellaneous Papers, which are placed first, consist almost entirely of documents which have been already published. One of them, the Speech at the censure of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, was first printed in 1637, by Laud's own authority; and was subsequently included in the volume of his Remains, published in 1700. The first of the papers against Lord Say and Sele was printed from Laud's MSS., by Henry Wharton, at the end of the History of his Troubles and Trial; and the second of them by Wharton's father, in the volume of the Remains mentioned just above. Of the remaining papers several were printed in Prynne's "Hidden Works of Darkness," and "Canterbury's Doom," in Rushworth's Collections, and the State Trials.

The unpublished part of this portion of the volume consists only of the Paper on Sutton's Hospital, and of the Speech against Prynne and Sparkes.

II. The series of Letters in the first two parts of the sixth volume consists: (i.) Of all the Letters of Archbishop Laud which had already been published, but which hitherto were dispersed in various different works. The English Letters comprise those printed by Prynne, in his "Hidden Works," and "Canterbury's Doom;" in the "Cabala;" by Rushworth, in his "Collections;" by Parr, in his "Life of Usher;" in Wilkins' "Concilia;" by Knowler, in the Strafforde Letters and Dispatches; and in the Rawdon Papers, edited by Barwick. The Latin Letters are taken (with but two exceptions) from the correspondence of G. J. Vossius, printed at London, 1690, and in the "Præstantium ac eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ." These Letters, together with all those hitherto unpublished, (except two which were obtained after the volume had been so far printed,) are now brought together in chronological order.

(ii.) The Letters, which now appear for the first time, include all that could be found in the British Museum, the Lambeth MSS., and the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and a few others which the Editor has succeeded in obtaining from private sources.[a]

This portion of the series, including the Letters from Bishops Bedell and Williams, amount in number to fifty-eight. The correspondence with Bishop Williams is noted as of special interest.

The source, whether printed or MS., from which each Letter is taken, is noticed at its commencement.

[a] Among others who have kindly allowed unpublished letters in their possession to be transcribed, the Editor wishes especially to mention Edwin H. Lawrence, Esq., the present possessor of the Letter numbered cxcviii. in this Collection.

The number of Letters which have been found, printed and unprinted, have already swelled the volume so much as to require its division into two parts. It was hoped that the whole of Archbishop Laud's Letters would have been included in them. But, when they were almost ready for publication, researches which have been recently made at the State Paper Office brought to light a large amount of additional matter, hitherto unpublished, such as will necessitate the publication of a third part, which will be sent out with the least possible delay.

A "Calendar," or Chronological Arrangement of all the Letters, will be appended at the end of the volume, which will in some measure compensate for the inconvenience which results from their appearing in two distinct series.

III. Notes on the Controversies of Cardinal Bellarmine. The source from whence these are derived, and the assistance which has been furnished to the Editor, both in their transcription and in carrying them through the press, are fully stated in the notice which is prefixed to them. It is sufficient here to say that they are obtained from the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and have had the advantage of passing under the eye of Dr. Todd.

JAMES BLISS.

Ogbourne St. Andrew,
March 13, 1857.

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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

WHETHER SUTTON'S HOSPITAL MAY BE DISSOLVED, AND THE LANDS, OR THE USE OF THEM, CONVERTED TOWARDS THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ARMY OF 10,000 OR 12,000 MEN, TO BE ALWAYS ON FOOT AND IN PAY, TO SEND INTO IRELAND, OR UPON ANY OTHER NECESSARY SERVICE[a].

[Lamb. MSS. Numb. 943, fol. 119[b].]

1. It may be lawful for a State, in point of necessity, for public defence, to dissolve a society, alms-house, &c., this or any other, one or more, and convert the means to public service (excepting that which is consecrated to the immediate service of God).

Because all such foundations are but for the maintenance of some few members of the commonwealth. And therefore, in the very law of nature, their ordinances must be submitted to the preservation of the whole, in and by which they stand, and in whose ruin (should it so happen) they must also be raked up.

And the will of the Founder dead must be interpreted by the regular and ordinary will of the same Founder living.

[a] [Sutton's Hospital is better known under its more usual title of 'The Charter House.' See an account of this Foundation and the life of the Founder, in Dr. Bearcroft's 'Historical Account.']

[b] [There are two copies of this paper in Lamb. MSS. The transcript is made from the second and fairest of the two copies, excepting one passage mentioned in the notes.

In the margin of the first copy is the following note by Laud:—'Sathurdaye, 25 of Septemb. 1624. I delivered in this answear Wensdaye, Octob. 13, 1624;' to which is added, in Henry Wharton's hand, 'See the Diary on those dayes.']

Which must be that his means, gotten in the commonwealth, and given for the benefit of it, should not be so tied to maintain any few members of the State, as that therewhile it should suffer the whole State to perish or be hazarded.

2. I do not think this lawful (for aught I can yet see), but only in case of necessity. Neither is it honourable for a State to dissolve works of charity upon any other pretence.

3. If the case of necessity cease, I shall ever doubt, whether the State be not bound to restore the Society to the use appointed by the Founder, and the means to maintain it in that use, if the means be not wholly spent and wasted upon that necessary service, whatever that be.

Obj. Yea, but this Hospital is abused.

Ans. But the argument from the abuse of it, therefore to convert it to other use than the Founder appointed by will, is no good argument in either reason or conscience. Unless, perhaps, where it can and doth appear, that there neither is, nor can be, other means to cure that abuse; and that the abuse be such as is not sufferable in a Christian State, which I presume is not here.

Obj. Yea, but the Founder himself appointed this Hospital to maintain old and decayed soldiers; therefore, to convert it to maintain soldiers in present pay, and for necessary use of the State, is as little alteration of his will as may be.

Ans. 1. But this foundation consists of a school, and other maintenance of youth, as well as of decayed soldiers.

2. Besides, the case of conscience proposed is not how near this project comes to the will of the Founder, but whether there be such a necessity now upon this State, that such a foundation should be dissolved? Without which necessity I yet see not how the act can be lawful or expedient.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE PARTICULAR, WHICH I HUMBLY SUBMIT TO BETTER JUDGMENT.

1. Will it not be an ill example to other times that may mean worse to such foundations than I hope the present doth?

2. It is the greatest work that hath been done since the Reformation of religion. Will not, therefore, the dissolving

of it be a great scandal to this State and Church, and give the Roman party just occasion to triumph?

3. Will it not be a great disheartening to all charitable men, to see such works dissolved in the very age that brought them forth?

4. Since the House stuck hard at the consent of passing York House[c], which was a case of far less moment, and by way of valuable exchange, which is lawful where dissolution is not, is it not probable they will deny this? And if it be proposed, and either House cast it out, will not dishonour follow the attempt? And will not they which oppose it get the reputation?

5. Then, will it be thought fit for the State to keep and maintain at all times such an army on foot?

(1.) If it be thought fit, since the revenue of this Hospital falls so much short of maintaining the aforesaid army of 10,000 or 12,000 men, that it will scarce keep 1,000 a year, were it not better to supply all by other good means, than to dispute honour, and for that which can afford scarce one-tenth part to the work?

(2.) If it be not thought fit to continue this army still, will not then, upon the ceasing of it, the former doubt arise, of restoration of the land and hospital to its former use?

6. Can it be fit to have such an army on foot at all times? May it not be thought the commander of them, if he get the love of the soldiers, will command the State too? The Romans had neither their old emperors secure, nor the elections of new free, while their armies were on foot at or near home.

7. Will it not be thought a waste of such expense as will be necessary indeed if a war follow these troubles?

8. Is it not impossible for this State to maintain such an army in pay, and that only out of expectation or fear of danger; the yearly charge whereof will hardly be defrayed for 120,000*l.*?

9. Is it fit at this time to set up such an army[d]; (since you cannot forget the Spanish villany intended against you;) or but to propose it? May not the King reflect, and think it is

[c] [See Works, vol. iii. p. 152.]

[d] [The remainder of this paper is copied from the first of the two Lamb. MSS.]

for other ends than are pretended? And God forbid such a jealousy should possess him!

10. If it be thought fit at this time to have so many men in readiness, and to continue them so for a time, is it not better to take this course: that so many soldiers in divers parts should be trained, and be with their arms at an hour's warning in readiness, for any service at home or abroad? Especially since in this way there is no more charge than the maintenance of captains to train them, a little powder while they are trained, (both which lie upon the county, and not upon the King,) and the loss of their day's work so oft as they train, which may with no great burden be supplied, if it be thought needful. Whereas, the other course, to keep them in continual pay, is too great a charge for any prince, and will but maintain them in idleness and riot.

GUIL. MENEVEN.

THE MEMORABLES

OF

OUR LATE DEAR AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

KING JAMES,

OF FAMOUS MEMORY.

[Prynne's Breviate, p. 5.]

1. He was a king almost from his birth.

2. His great clemency, that he should reign so long and so moderately, that knew nothing else but to reign.

3. The difficult times in Scotland during his minority, as much perplexed with Church as State factions.

4. His admirable patience in those younger times, and his wisdom to go by those many and great difficulties, till God opened him the ways to his just inheritance of this crown.

5. His peaceable entry into this kingdom, contrary to the fears at home and the hopes abroad, and withal God's great blessing both on him and us.

6. His ability, as strong in grace as nature, to forgive some occurrences.

7. The continuance of full twenty-two years' reign all in peace, without war from foreign enemy or rebellion at home.

8. The infinite advantage which people of all sorts might have brought to themselves, and the enriching of the State, if they would have used such a government with answerable care, and not made the worst use of peace.

9. God's great mercy over him in many deliverances from private conspirators, and above the rest, that which would have blown up his posterity and the State by gunpowder,

10. That in all this time of the reign of England he took away the life of no one nobleman, but restored many.

11. That the sweetness of his nature was scarce to be paralleled by any other.

12. It is little less than a miracle, that so much sweetness should be found in so great a heart, as, besides other things, sickness and death itself showed to be in him.

13. Clemency, mercy, justice, and holding the State in peace, have ever been accounted the great virtues of kings, and they were all eminent in him.

14. He was not only a preserver of peace at home, but the great peacemaker abroad; to settle Christendom against the common enemy, the Turk, which might have been a glorious work, if others had been as true to him as he was to the common good.

15. He was in private to his servants the best master that ever was, and the most free.

16. He was the justest man that could sit between parties, and as patient to hear.

17. He was bountiful to the highest pitch of a king.

18. He was the greatest patron to the Church which hath been in many ages.

19. The most learned prince that this kingdom hath ever known for matters of religion.

20. His integrity and soundness of religion, to write and speak, believe and do, live and die, one and the same, and all orthodox.

21. His tender love to the King his son, our most gracious Sovereign that now is, and his constant reverence in performance of all duties to his father, the greatest blessing and greatest example of this and many ages.

22. The education of his Majesty whom we now enjoy (and I hope and pray we may long and in happiness enjoy), to be an able king, as Christendom hath any, the very first day of his reign; the benefit whereof is ours, and the honour his.

23. His sickness at the beginning more grievous than it seemed; a sharp melancholy humour set on fire, though ushered in by an ordinary tertian ague.

24. He was from the beginning of his sickness scarce out

of an opinion that he should die; and therefore did not suffer the great affairs of Christendom to move him more than was fit, for he thought of his end.

25. His devout receiving of the Blessed Sacrament.

26. His regal censure of the moderate reformation of the Church of England, and particularly for the care of retaining of Absolution, the comfort of distressed souls[a].

27. His continual calling for prayers, with an assured confidence in Christ.

28. His death as full of patience as could be found in so strong a death.

29. His rest, no question, is in Abraham's bosom, and his crown changed into a crown of glory.

[a] [See Works, vol. iii. p. 158, note ‡.]

ANSWER

TO THE

REMONSTRANCE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 93, 94[a].]

ALTHOUGH we are not bound to give an account of our actions to any but to God only: yet out of the honour and integrity of our grace, the love and care of our people, the great and hearty desire we have to take off all fears and jealousies from our loyal and loving subjects, we have thought fit to declare these reasons following, why we have called in this Remonstrance, which yet we presume and constantly believe was framed and delivered up unto us with good intentions, though by a misguided zeal.

For first, that Remonstrance begins at religion, and fears innovation of it by Popery. But we would have our subjects of all sorts to call to mind what difficulties and dangers we endured, not many years since, for religion's sake; that we are the same still, and our holy religion is as precious to us as it is or can be to any of them, and we will no more admit innovation therein, than they that think they have done well in fearing it so much.

'Tis true that all effects expected have not followed upon the petition delivered at Oxford; but we are in least fault, for that supply being not afforded us, disenabled us to execute all that was desired, and caused the stay of those legal proceedings which have helped to swell up this Remonstrance:

[a] [This paper was found in the Archbishop's study, written with his own hand. It is written, as is obvious, in the name of K. Charles. But, as the Archbishop acknowledged on his Trial that he was the author, (Works, vol. iv. p. 360,) it is here reprinted. The Remonstrance to which it is a reply may be found in Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 90 seq., and Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. pp. 619 seq.]

yet let all the counties of England be examined, and London and the suburbs with them, neither is there such a noted increase of Papists, nor such cause of fear as is made, nor hath any amounted to such an odious tolerating as is charged upon it, nor near any such.

For that Commission so much complained of, both the matter and intent of it are utterly mistaken; for it doth not dispense with any penalty, or any course to be taken with any Papists for the exercise of their religion; no, nor with the pecuniary mulct, for not-conformity to ours. It was advised for the increase of our profit, and the returning of that into our purse, which abuse, or connivance of inferior ministers might, perhaps, divert another way; if that, or any other, shall be abused in the execution, we will be ready to punish upon any just complaint.

The next fear is the daily growth and spreading of the Arminian faction, called a cunning way to bring in Popery; but we hold this charge as great a wrong to ourself and our government as the former; for our people must not be taught by a Parliament Remonstrance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of truth, or so careless of the possession of it, that any opinion, or faction, or whatsoever it be called, should thrust itself so far, and so fast into our kingdoms, without our knowledge of it. This is a mere dream of them that wake, and would make our loyal and loving people think we sleep the while.

In this charge there is a great wrong done to two eminent prelates that attend our person[b]; for they are accused without producing any the least show or shadow of proof against them; and should they, or any other, attempt any innovation of religion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly take other order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance.

To help on this, our people are made believe there is a restraint of books orthodoxal; but we are sure, since the last Parliament began, some, whom the Remonstrance calls orthodox, have assumed to themselves an unsufferable liberty in printing. Our Proclamation commanded a restraint on *both sides*, till the passions of men might subside and calm. And

[b] [Neile and Laud.]

had this been obeyed, as it ought, we had not now been tossed in this tempest; and for any distressing or discountenancing of good preachers, we know there is none, if they be (as they are called) good; but our good people shall never want that spiritual comfort which is due unto them. And for the preferments which we bestow, we have ever made it our great care to give them as rewards of desert and pains: but as the preferments are ours, so will we be judge of the desert ourself, and not be taught by a Remonstrance.

For Ireland, we think, in case of religion, it is not worse than Queen Elizabeth left it: and for other affairs, it is as good as we found it, nay, perhaps better: and we take it for a great disparagement of our government, that it should be voiced, that new monasteries, nunneries, and other superstitious houses, are erected and replenished in Dublin and other great towns of that our kingdom; for we assure ourself, our Deputy and Council there will not suffer God and our government so to be dishonoured, but we should have had some account of it from them; and we may not endure to have our good people thus misled with shows.

There is likewise somewhat considerable in the time when these practices to undermine true religion in our kingdom are set on foot. The Remonstrance tells us it is now, when religion is opposed by open force in all other parts: but we must tell our people, there are no undermining practices at home against it, if they practise not against it that seem most to labour for it. For while religion seems to be contended for in such a factious way (which cannot be God's way), the heat of that doth often melt away that which it labours earnestly (but perhaps not wisely) to preserve. And, for God's judgments, which we and our people have felt, and have cause to fear, we shall prevent them best by a true and religious remonstrance of the amendment of our lives, etc.

AN ANSWER

TO THE

ORDER MADE BY THE LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT,

THE 28TH OF JANUARY, $162\frac{3}{4}$[a].

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 163, 164.]

1. THE public Acts of the Church in matters of doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining; the Acts of the High-Commission are not in this sense public Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of few or more bishops *extra concilium,* unless they be by lawful authority called to that work, and their decision approved by the Church.

2. The current exposition of writers is a strong probable argument *de sensu Canonis Ecclesiæ, vel Articuli,* yet but probable. The current exposition of the Fathers themselves hath sometimes missed *sensum Ecclesiæ.*

3. Will ye reject all sense of Jesuit or Arminian? May not some be true? May not some be agreeable to our writers, and yet in a way stronger than ours to confirm the Article?

4. Is there by this Act any interpretation made or declared of the Articles, or not? If none, to what end the Act? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it.

[a] [The order made by the House of Commons is as follows: "We, the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth; which, by the public Acts of the Church of England, and the general and current exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us; and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others, wherein they do differ from us."]

5. 'Tis manifest there is a sense declared by the House of Commons; the Act says it: We avow the Article, and in that sense; and all other that agree not with us in the aforesaid sense we reject. These and these go about misinterpretations of a sense: *ergo*, there is a declaration of sense. Yea, but it is not a new sense, declared by them, but they avow the old sense declared by the Church, 'the public authentic Acts of the Church.' Yea, but if there be no such public authentic Acts of the Church, then here 's a sense of their own declared under pretence of it.

6. It seems against the King's Declaration. (1.) That says, we shall take the general meaning of the Articles. This Act restrains them to consent of writers. (2.) That says, the Article shall not be drawn aside any way; but that we shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense. This Act ties to consent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the literal sense; for here 's no exception; so we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary.

7. All consent, in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an Article or Canon, is to itself, as it is laid down in the body of it; and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense *secundum analogiam fidei;* and that he hold it peaceably, without distracting the Church; and this till the Church, which made the Article, determine a sense. And the wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or the most, to require consent to Articles in general, as much as may be, because that is the way of unity; and the Church in high points requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent. As *de transubstantiatione.*

SPEECH IN THE STAR-CHAMBER,

AT THE

CENSURE OF HENRY SHERFIELD, ESQ.

RECORDER OF SALISBURY,

FOR BREAKING A PAINTED GLASS WINDOW IN THE CHURCH OF ST. EDMUND IN THE SAID CITY,

FEB. 8TH, 1632.

[Hargrave's State Trials, vol. i. coll. 412—414.]

IF there be *defensio facti* or *confessio facti*, or else two witnesses, I think any one of these three will be a sufficient proof to convict a man of an offence; and I have observed there are all these together in this cause against Mr. Sherfield. He confesseth that he broke the windows, and setteth forth his justification in his Answer to Mr. Attorney's information; and this was done by him with his pike-staff, as is testified by two witnesses, such as they were; yet they were eye-witnesses, which is the strongest testimony. I am persuaded, as I am a private man, that at least he heard of the Bishop's inhibition; I do not say but *ignorantia facti* may excuse a man in such a case, at least *a tanto*, though not *a toto* perchance; but *ignorantia juris* never doth excuse[a]; yet, because it is not directly proved that he had notice of the Act of Inhibition made by my Lord Bishop, I shall forbear to give my sentence touching this particular, the rather because he hath cleared himself of it by his oath; and yet I have met with as strange an equivocation in some of late as almost hath been heard of, I have not read the like; but seeing there is not plain proof, I must not judge him other than an honest man.

[a] [Digest. lib. xxii. tit. vi. 'De juris et facti ignorantia.']

Mr. Herbert[b] hath defended this as well as ever any did a cause to my knowledge. As for Vestries, which were made and suffered first by negligence doubtless, yet being of continuance, we cannot so easily restrain the power which they use. I have had experience of what I speak therein; in a parish church within my diocese, St. Lawrence by name, there is a Vestry. It fell out once that they could not agree upon some election. I interposed as Ordinary; I had no sooner done this but I was inhibited by the Archbishop of Canterbury; afterward, by his Grace's means, it was referred to me to end, which I endeavoured; but then a prohibition at the common law was sent me: so that it is not an easy matter to restrain a custom.

But it is not in the power of a Vestry to remove or displace anything in the church that is doubtful; and though they made an order in this case, for the taking down of the window[c], yet it was Mr. Sherfield's fault to go disorderly to work; his violent and riotous breaking into the church, and upon a consecrated thing, is criminal in him.

Whereas divers things touching his conformity have been proved, I am confident upon good information that had the cause been followed as well as defended (but it was ill followed by them that prosecuted, and unworthy their places), many more things might have been proved against him; and that it would have appeared, he had done more harm underhand in his place, than good otherwise. But for his trouble of conscience, which should impel to this action, it troubled not much, for he kept it in, and nourished it, till it grew, as you see, to a great head, so that at last it hath brought him hither, even to the sentence of this court.

My conscience being laid at stake, I am not of opinion that images and pictures were not in the Church till the time of Gregory the Great; nor am I of opinion that the first trouble about them was at the second Council of Nice. St. Gregory,

[b] [Afterwards Sir Edward Herbert.]

[c] [The order of the Vestry passed Jan. 162⅘, was as follows: "It is ordered that Mr. Recorder may, if it please him, take down the window wherein God is painted in many places as if He were there creating the world, so as he do instead thereof new make the same window with white glass; for that the said window is somewhat decayed and broken, and is very darksome, whereby such as sit near the same cannot see to read in their books."—Vestry-book of S. Edmund's, quoted in Hatcher's History of Salisbury, p. 371.]

who was 600 years after Christ, in his 9th Book and 9th Epistle written to [Serenus], saith of images, *Vetustas admisit*[d]. But, 200 years before this, we find that Gregory, surnamed the Divine, otherwise called Gregory Nazianzen, when the Emperor laid siege to the city of which he was bishop, in his oration to the said Emperor, to move him to pity, saith that the citizens, above all their losses, spoiling of the city walls, ruining of their houses and temples, took to heart the pulling down of their statues. *Et hoc acerbum*, saith he[e]. Nay, we find them in the Church 200 years after Christ; they were upon the chalice, and that is ever upon the altar.

In Tertullian's time, (who was one of the ancientest Fathers,) there was painted upon the chalice the picture of the shepherd bringing home the lost sheep upon his shoulders[f]; and this was objected against Tertullian himself, who in his latter time fell into the opinion and error of the Montanists, who are against second marriage and repentance after baptism, affirming that no repentance is left to him that sinneth after baptism; against which error the Church used this symbol of the shepherd bringing home the lost sheep.

Again, in the time of that ancient Father, Irenæus, who is held to be the scholar of St. John, they had the picture of Jesus Christ; and they had it from the Gnostics, who had adorations with it and sacrifices; and therefore the holy Father condemned that picture, because (saith he) the Gnostics did that to this picture which the heathen did to their idol gods[g]. But it hath been a distasteful thing to

[d] ["Frangi vero non debuit quod non ad adorandum in Ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes nescientium fuit collocatum. Et quia in locis venerabilibus sanctorum depingi historias non sine ratione vetustas admisit, etc."—S. Greg. Mag. lib. xi. Ind. iv. Ep. xiii. Op., tom. ii. col. 1100.]

[e] [He refers to the following passage in the letter of S. Greg. Naz. to the Prefect Olympius:—Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ ἀνδριάντες κατενεχθήσονται, τοῦτο δεινὸν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλως δεινόν· μηδὲ περὶ τούτων νομίσῃς ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, οἷς περὶ τὰ κρείττονα ἡ σπουδή.—S. Greg. Naz. Epist. xlix. Op., tom. i. p. 810. C. D. This passage refers, however, to statues on the buildings of the city, and not to images in churches. (See (Tertullian, Oxf. Translation, vol. i. p. 112, note [b].]

[f] ["A parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ovis perdita a Domino requisita, et humeris ejus revecta. Procedant ipsæ picturæ calicum vestrorum."—Tert. de Pudicit. cap. vii. Op., p. 379. "Si forte patrocinabitur pastor, quem in calice depingis." — Ibid. cap. x. p. 392.]

[g] ["Et imagines quasdam depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum."—S. Iren. contr. omn. Hæret. lib. i. cap. xxv. § 6. Op., p. 105.]

remove pictures and images. We read that the Bishop of Cyrene broke the pictures in the churches, which his people took so ill, that they rose against him, and were hardly appeased.

And of late times we have had experience of like mischiefs in France and the Low Countries about this matter. And we know what rebellions were raised in the beginning of the Reformation, in this kingdom and in Germany: when Carlostadius and his company went about to pull down and deface the images in the churches, what a stir was there! If Luther himself had not come back, and appeased the multitude by his timely advice, that the work of reformation was to be left to the supreme magistrates, (which was well done of him, and a thing wherein he showed his wisdom,) much more mischief would have ensued[h]. I do not say these things to any such purposes as that images should have any part of divine adoration.

When these were brought into the churches, as one side fell to worshipping them, so the other side fell to breaking and defacing them, which bred many broils; and amongst the rest one very sharp contention, by reason of the prevailing of worshippers of images, was stirred in the time of Constantine the Great[i]; for I read the Empress gave her voice against her son Constantine to put him off from the empire; because of his defacing of the images which they had in their churches. But for that gross Council of Nice, (pardon me this gross term, but they deserve it in my opinion,) they decree the same honour was to be done to the image as to the life, whether it were the picture of man, or of God, or of Christ. And then another decree in that Council was, that a man must rather endure penury than do violence to a picture; and their absurd distinction of *latria* and *doulia*, &c.[k] Yet this I say, there is a great deal of difference between an image and an idol; but then, if men give worship to them as to the other, it is unlawful.

[h] [See Cochlæus, in Vita Lutheri, an. 1522.]

[i] [There seems to be some inaccuracy in this statement.]

[k] [Ὁρίζομεν ... παραπλησίως τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταύρου ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰς σέπτας καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνας ... καὶ ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει ... ἡ γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει.—Conc. Nic. ii. Act. vii.—Conc. tom. vii. col. 555. C—E.]

As for the Injunctions in the Queen's time, this was done by public authority[1], and done in every place by the proper judge. And touching the matter in question, I do not think it lawful to make the picture of God the Father; but 'tis lawful to make the picture of Christ, and Christ is called the express image of His Father. I don't mean to say that the picture of Christ as God the Son may be made; for the Deity cannot be portrayed or pictured, though the humanity may. I do not think but the representation of God the Father (as in the prophet Daniel he is called the 'Ancient of Days') hath been allowed, though erroneously, to be made like an ancient old man: and this the Lutheran party hold too; but whether it be idolatrous or superstitious, or no, this I hold not to be the question. And I shall crave liberty not to declare my opinion at this time, whether it ought to be removed. But the defendant, Mr. Sherfield, did this in contempt, at least in neglect of the Church's authority, and the authority of the King's Majesty; for the Church derive their authority from the King, as well as the civility. I shall therefore sentence him for breaking this window, whether it were fit or no to be in the church. If it had been white glass, it would have been the same thing to me; it was a violent and raging act, and it is now a business of great weight and ill consequence, and therefore fit for the timely censure of this court. And I say further, if it had been the idol of Jupiter, and they had professed divine worship to it, it had not have been lawful for Mr. Sherfield or any private man to deface it; and this I shall prove and maintain by Scripture.

The idol of Jupiter was but as the golden calf which Aaron made, before which the people of Israel committed idolatry; yet we see judgment was executed by the supreme magistrate, by command from God, and the tribe of Levi was commanded to kill the idolaters.

Then, again, there was a brazen serpent appointed to be set up by the Lord Himself; and afterwards it became an idol, and the people committed idolatry with it; yet none of all Israel presumed to break it down, but Hezekiah the king did it. Also the calves of Jeroboam, set up at Dan and Bethel, were plain idols; yet they continued a long time, and were

[1] [Injunc. xxiii.—Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 185.]

not pulled down, till Josiah the king did it, and this he doth by his supreme power; and the king did this by the priests of the first and second order. Both these appear in their stories in the Fourth Book of Kings, the 18th and 23d chapters.

As for the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make any graven image,' or picture, 'to thyself.' No, take heed, worship it not, howsoever it be: if thou dost make an image, yet thou shalt not worship it. But there is no command or example for breaking of images (when they are made) without public authority. You shall see this plainly in that altar set up by the Reubenites and Gadites at Jordan: this was conceived by some of the people to be an idolatrous thing, at least an intention in them to set up another manner of worship, and Jerusalem was the place of worship only. There was an embassage sent unto them, and Phineas and other princes were employed on it. They did not presently fall upon them, and break down the altar, though they had special and strict command to overthrow and break down all idolatrous and heathen altars, groves, places of idolatry, and images; but this they were not to do presently,—they were to tarry till the land was theirs, in their own power, as you may see in the 7th and 12th chapters of Deut. But you will say, these were for the Jews, but not for us in the times of the Gospel. In St. Augustin's time, the people committed idolatry with their images, and many there were that would have pulled down the images (the causes of this idolatry). St. Augustin adviseth—No, first preach them out of men's hearts; and he called upon the ministers so to do; but you shall not pull them down (saith he) till the supreme power doth it, or power were given them [m]. Thus, if it were Jupiter's picture, Mr. Sherfield or any others are not to pull it down till power be given them. And Gerardus the Lutheran is of the same opinion.

The Homily against Idolatry (so much magnified[n]) plainly shows it to belong to the supreme magistrate, and has reference to such pictures as are upon walls; but stories upon

[m] [See S. Aug. Serm. lxii. (al. de Verb. Dom. vi.) § 17. Op., tom. v. col. 520. D. The passage is quoted in History of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxxiv. Works, vol. iv. p. 238.]

[n] [Urged by Sherfield in his defence.]

glass windows were not here meant. And as for my Lord Bishop of Salisbury his book of worthy Lectures[o] at Cambridge, upon the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Collossians, upon these words, 'Walk wisely towards them that are without,' what saith he? Why, the very same that St. Austin did before, that a private man hath neither *vocationem* nor *potestatem* to do it; thus, if he had read a little further[p], he should have found direction to have walked wisely. And, indeed, those that are out of the Church must be dealt wisely withal. When you see these things, you cannot, as the Israelites did not, deface them, for they belong only to the supreme power. And you shall see St. Paul's practice, in the 17th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; he saw they had set up an altar to the unknown God, yet he went not to pull it down, but to teach them that God which they knew not, even as St. Austin afterwards advised.

So I come to this, which is the work of the day: this is a violent, riotous, and profane entering into the church by him, to break this window down with his pike-staff: and as the matter standeth proved to me, it seemeth there are these circumstances of aggravation of his fault:—

1. The first circumstance of aggravation is, that when he went about the taking down of this window, he went not unto the Bishop, but chose another way.

2. He was twenty years offended at it; and in all this time, we think, some good spirit might have suggested unto him better advice, if he would have followed it.

3. By his office and authority, his fault is the greater and more scandalous.

4. By his age, being grown grey, he should have learned wisdom.

5. That when he went to do this, he went in private, which some have said to be well done; but I am not of that opinion. True, if it had been a work of necessity in him to take it down, he might have done it; but then he must follow his order, and he should then have taken a glazier with him to have taken it down, and not break it down with his staff.

[o] [Davenant on the Colossians, cap. iv. 5. p. 490. Cant. 1627.]

[p] [Sherfield in his defence referred to a certain book of the now Bishop of Sarum (Dr. John Davenant), written on one of S. Paul's Epistles.]

6. His offence is the greater by his office of justice of peace; certainly herein he was not *conservator pacis*, for besides the force and violence, there might have been much discord and bloodshed about it, as was well observed by Mr. Attorney.

7. By the doing of this act contrary to his conformity, there have been the like insolences done in the same church, for which I think there is a cause against some of them depending in the High-Commission Court. There was a tomb of a dead bishop there: his bones taken up, his skull made a mazer in an apothecary's shop (as I am informed), his dust thrown about, and all to bury a tanner's wife[q].

8. In regard of his tenderness of conscience, which he alleged for himself; my reason is, for that, if he were of tender conscience indeed; yet in this thing I shall sentence him, for not going to the Bishop to reveal it to him; if it were but a show of tenderness, then surely there was the more wilfulness in his offence, and this can be no excuse.

9. His fault is aggravated from his profession. It is an honourable profession; and as it is a great offence in a divine to infringe the law of the kingdom wherein he is born and bred up, so it is also a great offence if those of the profession of the law vilify the poor laws of the Church. Thus much let me say to Mr. Sherfield, and such of his profession as slight the ecclesiastical laws and persons, that there was a time when Churchmen were as great in this kingdom as you are now; and let me be bold to prophesy, there will be a time when you will be as low as the Church is now, if you go on thus to contemn the Church.

To proceed, he went into the church. It pleased God to give him a fall upon the place, and if it had not been God's mercy, he had broken his back upon the edge of the pew. Yet all this while these things have not wrought him to any confession that he hath done amiss; nay, he saith he was persecuted for God's cause (as I am informed), but I think he persecuted the poor sexton of the church; they put him in prison, and there kept him, and would have kept him, if my Lord Bishop had not sent bail; and if it had not been for the Bishop, they would have turned him out of his place.

[q] ["This assertion appears to have been made on erroneous information." —Hatcher's History of Salisbury, p. 373.]

And then, just upon the fact committed, cometh a new Lecturer to town, and he pitcheth upon the text, Psalm cxix. ver. 121: 'I have executed judgment and justice; leave me not to mine oppressors.'

I have been the willinger to render this account at this time, because some are ready to slander us as maintainers of Popish superstition, and I know not what.

As for my sentence, I agree with my Lord Cottington[r].

[r] [The recorded sentence of the court was, that Sherfield should be committed to the Fleet, fined 500*l*., and ordered to repair to the Lord Bishop of his Diocese, and there make an acknowledgment of his offence and contempt, before such persons as the Bishop would call unto him.]

CONCERNING

THE DUTCH AND FRENCH CHURCHES

IN ENGLAND.

[Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 398—402.]

WHEREAS I was commanded by your Lordships, upon Friday, March 22, 1632, first, to represent to his gracious Majesty the great and honourable care you had to preserve the unity and government of the Church of England, as it stands now established by law, which care was very great and pious; and according to my duty, in the name of the Church, I humbly thank your Lordships for it; and have, in pursuance of your commands, faithfully acquainted his Majesty with as many particulars as I could carry away safe in my memory.

Secondly, I was commanded by your Lordships to take into further consideration such heads as might best conduce to the rectifying of such his Majesty's subjects as reside at Hamborough, or elsewhere beyond the seas, but especially in the Low Countries, either in merchandise, or in use and exercise of arms under the colonels there: as also what might be thought fit to be done concerning the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand, and are used at this present within this realm; but at such time as your Lordships in your wisdom shall best approve.

Concerning the first of these, viz. the English living in Foreign Parts, I humbly recommend to your Lordships' wisdom, as followeth:—

1. Whether it be not fit (I had almost said necessary) that the several colonels in the Low Countries should entertain no

minister as preacher to their regiments, but such as shall conform in all things to the Church of England established, and be commended unto them from your Lordships by advice of the Lords Archbishops of Canterbury or York for the time being.

2. That the company of merchants residing there, or in other foreign parts, shall admit no minister as preacher to them, but such as are so qualified and so commended as aforesaid.

3. That if any minister, having by feigned carriage gotten to be so recommended, either to any of the several colonels, or to the deputy-governor and body of the merchants there, shall after be found unconformable, and will not mend upon warning given him by the colonel or deputy-governor of the merchants, [he] shall, within three months after such warning given and refused, be dismissed from his service, that a more orderly and peaceable man may be sent unto them.

4. That every minister or preacher, with any regiment of soldiers that are his Majesty's born subjects, or with the company of merchants there or elsewhere, shall read Divine service, christen children, administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, marry, instruct the younger or more ignorant sort in the Catechism, visit the sick, bury the dead, and do all other duties according as they are prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer maintained in the Church of England, and not otherwise. And that he which will not conform himself so to do, shall not continue preacher, either to any regiment of English, or Scottish, or to the merchants.

5. That if any minister or preacher, being the King's subject, shall with any bitter words or writings, in print or otherwise, defame the government of the Church of England established, his Majesty's ambassador or agent in those parts for the time being is to be informed of it; and upon notice given from him to the State, he or they so offending shall be commanded over by Privy Seal, or otherwise, to answer their offence or offences here.

6. That no colonel of any several regiment, or deputy-governor of the merchants, shall give way that their minister or preacher shall bring any other minister to preach for him in time of his sickness, absence, or other necessary employ-

ment, but such as for whose conformity to the Church and Government here he will be answerable.

7. That if any minister being a subject of the King, in the Low Countries, or any other place beyond the seas, shall in any other auditory, as well as before the regiments or the merchants, preach or publish, or in any other way by public speech, writing, or printing, divulge anything derogatory to the doctrine or discipline established in the Church of England, or otherwise prejudicial to the temporal state and government, his Majesty's agent there shall use the best means he can to discover him or them so offending, and having found them, shall presently certify the State here, that so they may be recalled by Privy Seal to answer it. And if they then refuse to come, that the law in that case pass upon them.

8. That no man shall be chosen or sent over by the merchants here, either to Delf, or any other place of their residence beyond the seas, (whensoever such place or places shall become void,) but such a man as is conformable to the Church of England both in doctrine and discipline, and such as will be careful to see that they which are under his government shall observe all such Church duties as are expressed and required in any the former Articles. And that some of the chief merchant-adventurers here be sent for to the Board, and be made acquainted with this Article. And further, that at every time and times that they send a new deputy-governor to any place of their residence, they present the said deputy to the Lords, and give them assurance of his fitness and sufficiency for that charge; at which time the said deputy may have such directions given him by their Lordships as the present times and occasions require. And that there be like care taken for other good officers there, as for the deputy-governor himself.

9. That whensoever the merchant-adventurers shall become suitors to his Majesty to renew or confirm their patent, (as in most Kings' times it is usual so to do,) that then there be a clause inserted into their patent, to bind them to the observance of all or so much of these Instructions as shall be thought fit by his Majesty and the Lords.

10. That the present agent, as also all others that shall

succeed in that employment, have these Instructions given them in charge; and that once a-year they be required to give the Board an account what the proceed of the business is. That so his Majesty's subjects, as well abroad as at home, may be kept in orderly obedience, to the honour of his Majesty's government, and the better uniting of the hearts of his people to God, his Majesty, and one to another, in which will consist the strength as well as the honour of the kingdom.

11. I conceive it no way fit, that the ministers which are his Majesty's subjects in Holland, should have any classical meetings allowed them (as it seems they pretend some grant since the year 1622), especially that they be not suffered to assume power of ordination; for then it will be a perpetual seminary to breed and transplant men ill affected to the Government into this kingdom.

It is to be observed that the French and High German congregations in the Low Countries do all observe the Liturgy of their own mother Churches; only the English observe neither their own, nor any other uniformity.

Concerning the second; that is, the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand in many parts of this Kingdom, I as humbly represent, first the danger, then the probable remedy.

For the dangers I humbly submit, but conceive as followeth:—

1. It was honour and piety in this State, when at the first way was given for those Churches, both in London and some other parts of this kingdom; because at that time there was persecution upon them in their own countries, and the peace with which God then blessed this kingdom was their safety.

2. I conceive it was never the meaning and purpose of this State, then or at any other time, that they living and continuing here, marrying, and having wives and children, and many of them plentiful fortunes, and lands; and their children and children's children being now natives, and his Majesty's born subjects, should live like an absolute divided body from the Church of England established, which must needs work upon their affections, and alienate them from the State, or at least

make them ready for any innovation that may sort better with their humour.

3. It is likewise considerable what an entire and divided body they keep themselves. For few, or none of them, marry with any of us, but only one with another. Upon which it must needs follow, that as they increase and multiply, they which are now a Church within a Church, will in time grow to be a kind of another commonwealth within this, and so ready for that which I hold not fit to express any further.

4. It is likewise of great consequence, that these men living with their entire families, divided from the present government of Church and Commonwealth, are many, and have got their residence and settlement in all or most of the haven towns, especially such as lie fittest for France and the Low Countries. And were occasion offered, God knows what advantage they may take to themselves, or make for others.

5. Their example is of ill consequence (in Church affairs especially) to the subjects of England. For many are confirmed in their stubborn ways of disobedience to the Church-government, seeing them so freely suffered in this great and populous city.

6. Last of all, I think it very just not to suffer French or Dutch Churches, differing from us in discipline, to be otherwise or longer tolerated in any part of this realm, than the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England shall, among the subjects of this crown, be tolerated in those several parts beyond the seas, whither they have cause to resort and abide.

For the remedies likewise I humbly submit, but conceive they may be these:—

1. I think it fit their number in all places of this kingdom be made known as fully as may be; that your Lordships may the better judge both of them, and the way to reduce them into one body with this kingdom, in which they are born subjects.

2. I conceive the best way to know their number is by a command from the State itself, and to have it avowedly taken

in all places where they reside; with a certificate, either presently, or when your Lordships shall think fit, which are the men of credit and wealth among them. And this may be done really for their good, and so sweetened, as that they may apprehend it for a benefit, as indeed it is.

3. It is fit, if they will continue as a divided body from both State and Church, that they be used as strangers, and not as natives. That is, that they may pay all double duties, as strangers use to do, and have no more immunities than strangers have, till they will live and converse as other subjects do. And this matter of loss or gain is as likely to work upon them, especially the merchants and richer men, as any other thing, and perhaps more.

4. When it shall be thought fit actually to reduce them to live as other subjects do, both in relation to Church and State, the way I conceive may be, to have them fairly warned in an ecclesiastical way, for every man with his household (if he be not a new comer, but a born subject) to repair to his parish church here, to conform himself to prayers, sacraments, &c. And if any receive not according to canon and law, then to excommunicate him and them. And by that time the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* hath been served upon some few, it may be the rest will yield themselves.

5. If this do not prevail, then I conceive, under favour, it will be hard to remedy, unless the State will publicly declare, That if they will be as natives, and take the benefit of subjects, they must conform themselves to the laws of the kingdom, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. Which declaration, when it shall once be made public, I think they will be well advised before they will resist or refuse it.

INJUNCTIONS TO THE DUTCH AND WALLOON CHURCHES,

A.D. 1634, 1635.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 402.]

1. THAT all the natives of the Dutch and Walloon congregations in his Grace's diocese, are to repair to their several parish churches, of those several parishes where they inhabit, to hear Divine service and sermons, and perform all duties and payments required in that behalf.

2. That the ministers, and all others of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, which are not natives and born subjects to the King's Majesty, or any other strangers that shall come over to them, while they remain strangers, may have and use their own discipline, as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit, that the English Liturgy should be translated into French and Dutch, for the better settling of their children to the English government.

NOTES OF SPEECH

AT THE

CENSURE OF SIR JAMES BAGG AND OTHERS,

Nov. 10, 1635[a].

[Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 310—313.]

My Lords,

THIS is a cause of great danger, I shall be as short as I can; before I speak of the defendant, I shall speak of the great minister of state. If the court think fit to leave it to my Lord of Portland[b] to vindicate his father's honour, I shall do so too. I do remember what both my Lord Chief Justices[c] have said, whether this charge can be severed from the scandal, or not? Whether a necessity to name the Lord Treasurer, or not? I do conceive it to be unavoidable. If a necessity in using his name, then what fault in Sir Anthony Pell? If no necessity, I must condemn Bagg for being in a far greater fault, that by his open mouth so much vilified the honour of the name of my Lord Treasurer. I descend to the delivery of my judgment clearly, and am of opinion that my Lord Treasurer's honour standeth right in this court, there being nothing by way of proof or aspersion that can fasten upon him. If anything, it must arise from the plaintiff, or from the defendants. And I shall be as ready as any man to protect the honour of that great lord, be it against Pell, or Bagg, or whom else soever. But, my Lords, if it be a fault in Sir Anthony Pell, for the spreading of this, the fault must

[a] [This was an action by Sir Anth. Pell against Sir James Bagg, for defrauding him of sundry sums of money, under pretence of paying them as a bribe to the Earl of Portland, the Lord Treasurer, in order to secure for Pell some claims he had on the Treasury.—See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 302, 303.]

[b] [Jerome Weston, second Earl of Portland.]

[c] [Finch and Bramston.]

light upon Sir James Bagg, for he gave the occasion of all these reports.

My Lords,

Having, as far as lieth in me, done the duty I owe to the dead, whom I hold to be clear in all, I shall fall upon the particulars. First, for the examiner. I never knew so many gross abuses in any cause, by an examiner, as in this. If this course be held, any cause of the King's may be overthrown. Since I had the honour to sit in this court, never such gross abuses were committed by an examiner. That order may be taken with this base examiner, I hold him to be the most unworthy fellow, and a cut-throat of any man's cause.

For Sir Richard Tichburne, I hold him innocent from any aspersion; but I can give him no reparation. What if five or six defendants, and only proof be brought against them, one or two, shall this fall foul upon the plaintiff for want of proof?

For the plaintiff's debt, I shall not say anything, nor think it a crime that Pell was delayed in the payment of his money; for the King hath a great many very great public and important occasions, that he cannot pay all upon demand. And withal considering that the original debt was but 7,000*l.*, and it suddenly grew to above 13,000*l.*, therefore the Lord Treasurer had need to look about him. God forbid, that upon main occasions, when the King promiseth a suit (perhaps directly) of so much money, and is not presently paid, that the King must pay interest for this; this is no fair usage of the King.

The thing that troubleth me is this, of the attendants on the Lord Treasurer. If the Lord Treasurer have a near kinsman, or secretary, or any other employed for him, if those men shall be corrupt, or do those acts which shall make the world believe it is so, it shall be as much as if they were really guilty. For by this means the people will run on with an opinion of bribery and corruption. They cannot have it out of this great man's hand, but they must go that way of bribery to the secretary for it. It shall not only bring great men into despite, who perhaps never heard of it; but men when they cannot have their money without going this way, care not what they do.

Because he nameth the great officer in the bill, is it a scandal? Must this be a terror to any man for doing the King's service? Oh, but there is meddling with the King's revenue. What hath Sir Anthony Pell to do with it? If there be but a possibility of fraud, shall the King have no court of justice to do him right? If it come to this pass, that no abuse concerning the revenue must be questioned, the King shall never know what the escheat is.

Here are four defendants:—

For Sir Richard Tichburne, the Lord Treasurer had no dishonour by him; a gentleman of an ancient family, and very worthy as any man; therefore I shall concur, that the sentence may be drawn up with a fair mention of his manifest innocency throughout the cause.

For the second defendant, Mr. Gibbins, I do clear him.

For the third defendant, his secretary, Mr. Lake, I am very sorry to meet him here upon this occasion, not that I shall censure him, but yet somewhat sticketh with me, and that is his letter to Mr. Bond, that upon his faith and credit he had assignments of 6,000*l.* in keeping for the plaintiff. Should he be so adventurous as to write so without his lord's privity? It troubleth me the more, partly for the proof of it, because there are six days between Sir James Bagg's advancement of 2,000*l.*, and Mr. Lake's letter to Bond to help Sir Anthony to 3,000*l.*, therefore a fraud is contrived in some kind. Yet I shall acquit Mr. Lake, though I cannot think so well of him as I have done.

My Lords,

Now as for Sir James Bagg, I do not stand upon it, whether Sir Anthony Pell is damnified in this business, yea or no? The question is, what fraudulent practices are here by Sir James Bagg? And if there be but an intention to do the same, I hold him as guilty as if he had done it. Join this together with his using of my Lord Treasurer's name to lend these monies, that so he might be enticed by that merely to get the assignments; I do hold this practice to be criminal in this court.

The proof is, That he had experience in businesses of this nature; he was to have but seven hundred pounds for his pains. He must to Wallingford House; though in answer

to this it was wittily observed by Sir James Bagg's Counsel, this construction, (*sensu diviso, sensu composito,*) that he must pay the money, and then presently to Wallingford House, and pay the money there.

If two witnesses not concurring in time and place, yet if they shall concur in proving the crime, they are of force to me, they all come home to this plot and practice. I should be of opinion with my Lord of London, if these things were several.

But consider the shoehorn they draw on by the name of the Lord Treasurer, and the plot will appear.

I find this money pretended to be for my Lord Treasurer, though it was never paid back again, nor ever tendered; and yet what a glorious defence at bar was offered, that Bagg would not pay it till the bill came in. For why? Because that the world should not take notice, that he was afraid of the bill. This is but a gloss and weakening of himself. All the world may see, if it had not been for the bill, Sir Anthony Pell should never have had his money. It is even as if one fall upon another in the highway, and they rob him, and make him enter into bond, that he will not question him hereafter; and then others come and see them, then he that robbed him answers, Here is your money, I did but borrow it. I conceive the getting of the money by Bagg from Pell as bad, as if he had gone away with the two thousand and five hundred pounds.

I agree in one thing with my Lord Finch, that Bagg was a most unnatural man, that had drawn two thousand five hundred pounds for the use of himself and his friends, from the plaintiff. And whereas Sir Anthony was in a strait how to advance three thousand pounds, that he should be so hard-hearted (that two thousand five hundred pounds being in his hands) as not to help him at such a time, I would have sentenced him for this unnatural part alone. Poor Sir Anthony must suffer all this, while it is likely Bagg would never have been gulled in a business. He was an ingenious man, Sir Anthony was a single plain man.

If Bagg had put this bill in, I should have conceived the worst of it; but I shall never believe poor Sir Anthony had in him that malice, as if Bagg had put it in. For his Counsel to take exceptions against witnesses at the hearing,

is of dangerous consequence; any cause of the King's may be so spoiled. They say one of Sir Anthony's witnesses was but seventeen years of age; if it were so, yet he was of age enough to tell and receive money. They except against them because they are Sir Anthony's servants. Who are so proper to be witnesses as his men? Why is here no exception taken to Sir James Bagg's witnesses? for he had two sworn as well as Sir Anthony.

For Mr. Escourt, they say he was then present, and heard no such words as Marsh sweareth. That might be true, and he not hear; for they might be spoke, and not in his hearing. What if Pell did fail in the proof of his bill, not only in the matter, but in the manner?

I will not look upon Pell, but upon the public; but I hold this proved both in matter and manner; for it would not have been sufficient for Pell to have proved he was cozened thus much, but in this manner. That which is worst of all, and is so foul, that his Counsel offered no defence, and that was Bagg's own answer; where he sweareth, that he never did deserve any such kindness of Sir Anthony Pell for to do so great courtesy, as to lend him these monies. Look but upon, and see the many letters he writ; 'James Bagg, your most real friend; your business will be better done, if you leave it to your friend James Bagg.' Here is his hand against his oath, and his oath against his hand. He was a most base fellow to say, 'Your most real friend,' and to serve Sir Anthony as he did. I have now done with that bottomless Bagg, and my censure. I leave my Lord of Portland to do what he thinketh fit against him. I hold it as dangerous a practice of him as ever was in this kind. I fine him at 5,000*l.*, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure; only pray, that a man whose hand and oath cannot be taken, may not be in trust, especially in places concerning his Majesty. The plaintiff hath a loss personal and real, and engaged himself in many thousand pounds for the obtaining of money; therefore I fine Bagg 500*l.* damages to Sir Anthony Pell.

A SPEECH

DELIVERED IN THE

STARR-CHAMBER,

ON WEDNESDAY, THE

xiv. of IUNE MDCXXXVII.

AT THE CENSURE,

Of { *Iohn Baſtwick,*
Henry Burton, &
William Prinn;

Concerning *pretended Innovations*

In the CHURCH.

By the most Reverend Father in GOD,

WILLIAM,

L. Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* his *Grace.*

LONDON:
Printed by RICHARD BADGER.
MDCXXXVII.

[*This Speech has been collated with the original edition, the pages of which are inserted in the text in brackets. The figures in the margin mark the pages of the second volume of Laud's Works, Lond.* 1700, *in which it was reprinted.*]

TO HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

CHARLES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

I HAD no purpose to come in print, but your Majesty commands it, and I obey. Most sorry I am for the occasion that induced me to speak, and that since hath moved you to command me to print. Nor am I ignorant that many things, while they are spoken and pass by the ear but once, give great content; which when they come to the eyes of men, and their often scanning, may lie open to some exceptions. This may fall to my lot in this particular, and very easily, considering my many diversions, and the little time I could snatch from other employment to attend this. Yet choose I rather to obey your Majesty, than to sacrifice to mine own privacy and content.

Since then this Speech uttered in public in the Star-Chamber must now come to be more public in print; I humbly desire your sacred Majesty to protect me and it from the undeserved calumny of those men, 'whose mouths are spears and arrows, and their tongues a sharp sword,' Psal. lvii. 4. Though, as the wise man speaks, 'their foolish mouths have already called for their own stripes, and their lips' (and pens) 'been a snare for their souls,' Prov. xviii. 6, 7.

The occasion which led me to this speech is known. There have of late been divers libels spread against the prelates of this Church. And they have not been more bitter, which is the shame of these 'raging waves [a],' than they are utterly false,

[a] Jude, ver. 13.

which is our happiness. But I must humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that 'tis not we only, that is, the Bishops, 64
that are struck at, but, through our sides, your Majesty, your honour, your safety, your religion, is impeached. For what safety can you expect, if you lose the hearts of your people? And how can you retain their hearts, if you change their religion into superstition? And what honour can you hope for, either present, or derivative to posterity, if you attend your government no better than to suffer your prelates to put this change upon you? And what majesty can any prince retain, if he lose his honour and his people?

God be thanked 'tis in all points otherwise with you: for God hath blessed you with a religious heart, and not subject to change. And he hath filled you with honour in the eyes of your people: and by their love and dutifulness he hath made you safe. So that your Majesty is upheld, and your crown flourishing in the eyes of Christendom. And God forbid any libellous blast at home from the tongues or pens of a few, should shrivel up any growth of these.

We have received, and daily do receive from God, many and great blessings by you: and I hope they are not many that are unthankful to you, or to God for you. And that there should be none in a populous nation, even enemies to their own happiness, cannot be expected. Yet I shall desire even these to call themselves to an account, and to remember that blasphemy against God, and 'slandering the footsteps of His anointed,' are joined together, Psal. lxxxix.[b] For he that blasphemes God will never stick at the slander of his prince; and he that gives himself the liberty to slander his prince, will quickly ascend to the next highest, and blaspheme God.

But then, as I desire them to remember, so I do most humbly beseech your Majesty to account with yourself too: and not to measure your people's love by the unworthiness of those few. For a loyal and obedient people you have, and such as will spare nor livelihood, nor life, to do you service; and are joyed at the heart to see the moderation of your

[b] Psal. lxxxix. 50. "Wherewith thine enemies have blasphemed Thee, and slandered the footsteps of thine anointed."

government, and your constancy to maintain religion, and your piety in exampling it.

And as I thus beseech you for your people in general, so do I particularly for the three professions which have a little suffered in these three most notorious libellers' persons.

65 And first for my own profession, I humbly beg of your Majesty to think Mr. Burton hath not in this many followers, and am heartily sorry he would needs lead. The best is, your Majesty knows what made his rancour swell[c]; I'll say no more.

And for the law, I truly honour it with my heart, and believe Mr. Prynn may seek all the Inns of Court, (and with a candle too if he will,) and scarce find such a malevolent as himself against State and Church. And because he hath so frequently thrust mistaken law into these pamphlets, to wrong the governors of the Church, and abuse your good and well-minded people, and makes Burton and Bastwick utter law which, God knows, they understand not (for I doubt his pen is in all the pamphlets), I do humbly, in the Church's name, desire of your Majesty, that it may be resolved by all the reverend Judges of England, and then published by your Majesty, that our keeping courts, and issuing process in our own names, and the like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, are not against the laws of the realm (as 'tis most certain they are not), that so the church-governors may go on cheerfully in their duty, and the people's minds be quieted by this assurance, that neither the law, nor their liberty as subjects, is thereby infringed[d].

And for physic, the profession is honourable and safe; and I know the professors of it will remember that *corpus humanum*, man's body, is that, about which their art is conversant, not *corpus ecclesiasticum*, or *politicum*, the body of the Church, State or Commonwealth. Bastwick only hath been bold that way. But the proverb in the Gospel, in the fourth of St. Luke, is all I'll say to him: *Medice, cura teipsum*; 'Physician, heal thyself[e].' And yet let me tell your Majesty, I believe

[c] [He had been Clerk of the Closet to the King, when Prince, and expected to have been continued in the same office on his accession to the crown.]

[d] [Such a Proclamation was subsequently issued. See Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 536.]

[e] St. Luke iv. 23.

he hath gained more by making the Church a patient, than by all the patients he ever had beside.

Sir, both myself and my brethren have been very coarsely used by the tongues and pens of these men, yet shall I never give your Majesty any sour counsel; I shall rather magnify your clemency, that proceeded with these offenders in a court of mercy as well as justice: since (as the reverend Judges then declared) you might have justly called the offenders into another court, and put them to it in a way that might have exacted their lives, for their stirring (as much as in them lay) of mutiny and sedition. 66

Yet this I shall be bold to say, and your Majesty may consider of it in your wisdom, that one way of government is not always either fit or safe, when the humours of the people are in a continual change: especially, when such men as these shall work upon your people, and labour to infuse into them such malignant principles, to introduce a parity in the Church or commonwealth. *Et si non satis sua sponte insaniant, instigare* [f]; and to spur on such among them as are too sharply set already: and by this means make and prepare all advantages for the Roman party to scorn us, and pervert them.

I pray God bless your Majesty, your royal consort, and your hopeful posterity, that you may live in happiness; govern with wisdom; support your people by justice; relieve them by mercy; defend them by power and success; and guide them in the true religion by your laws and most religious example, all the long and lasting days of your life: which are and shall be the daily prayers of

Your sacred Majesty's most loyal Subject, and

Most dutiful Servant, as most bound,

W. CANT.

[f] [Terent. And. iv. 2. 9.]

67 (1) MY LORDS,

I SHALL not need to speak of the infamous course of libelling in any kind: nor of the punishment of it, which in some cases was capital by the imperial laws; as appears, Cod. lib. ix. t. xxxvi.[g]: nor how patiently some great men, very great men indeed, have borne *animo civili* (that's Sueton. his word[h]) *laceratam existimationem*, the tearing and rending of their credit and repu(2)tation, with a gentle, nay, a generous mind.

But of all libels, they are most odious which pretend religion: as if that of all things did desire to be defended by 'a mouth that is like an open sepulchre,' or by a pen that is made of a sick and a loathsome quill.

There were times when persecutions were great in the Church, even to exceed barbarity itself: did any martyr or confessor, in those times, libel the governors? Surely no; not one of them to my best remembrance: yet these complain of persecution without all show of cause; and in the meantime libel and rail without all measure. So little of kin are they to those which 'suffer for Christ,' or the least part of Christian religion.

My Lords, it is not every man's (3) spirit to hold up against the venom which libellers spit. For S. Ambrose, who was a stout and a worthy prelate, tells us, not that himself, but that a far greater man than he, that's King David, had found out (so it seems in his judgment 'twas no matter of ordinary ability) *grande inventum*, a great and mighty invention, how to swallow and put off those bitter contumelies of the tongue[i]: and those of the pen are no whit less, and spread further. And it was a great one indeed, and well beseemed the greatness of David. But I think it will be far better for me to look upward, and practise it, than to look downward, and discourse upon it.

[g] [Col. 852. Col. Allob. 1624.]
[h] In Jul. c. 75. [p. 88. Lugd. Bat 1672.]
[i] In Apol. i. David. c. vi. [§ 31. Op., tom. i. col. 685.]

In the meantime I shall remember what an ancient, under 68
the name of S. Hierom, tells me, *Indignum est et præposterum*[k], 'Tis unworthy in itself, and pre(4)posterous in demeanour, for a man to be ashamed for doing good, because other men glory in speaking ill.

And I can say it clearly and truly, as in the presence of God, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in this Church of England.

For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the external worship of God in it, and the settling of it to the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended) of all this malicious storm, which hath lowered so black upon me, and some (5) of my brethren. And in the meantime, they which are the only, or the chief innovators of the Christian world, having nothing to say, accuse us of innovation; they themselves and their complices in the meantime being the greatest innovators that the Christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have spread more dangerous errors in the Church of Christ; but no men, in any age of it, have been more guilty of innovation than they, while themselves cry out against it. *Quis tulerit Gracchos?*

And I said well, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* For 'tis most apparent to any man that will not wink, that the intention of these men, and their abettors, was and is to raise a sedition, being as great incendiaries in the State (where they get power) as they have ever been in the (6) Church; Novatian himself hardly greater.

Our main crime is (would they all speak out, as some of them do), that we are bishops[l]; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men.

[k] ["O quam indignum est atque præposterum, ut justi confundantur in bonis, et peccatores glorientur in malis."]—Ad Ocean. de Ferend. Opprob. [S. Hieron. Op., tom. xi. col. 366. D. inter Opera spuria.]

[l] Burton's Apol. [of an Appeal,] p. 110. [Lond. 1636. The passage is in the 'Summe of two Sermons,' entitled, 'For God and the King,' appended to the Apology.]

And a great trouble 'tis to them, that we maintain that our calling of bishops is *jure divino,* by divine right: of this I have said enough, and in this place, in Leighton's case, nor will I repeat. Only this I will say, and abide by it, that the calling of bishops is *jure divino,* by divine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling. And this I say in as direct opposition to the Church of Rome, as to the Puritan humour.

And I say further, that from the Apostles' times, in all ages, in all places, the Church of Christ was governed by bishops: and lay-elders never heard (7) of, till Calvin's new-fangled device at Geneva.

Now this is made by these men, as if it were *contra Regem,* against the King, in right or in power.

But that 's a mere ignorant shift; for our being bishops *jure divino,* by divine right, takes nothing from the King's right or power over us. For though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not exercise that power, either of order or jurisdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his Majesty's or any Christian king's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the King given us so to do.

And were this a good argument against us, as bishops, it must needs be good against priests and ministers too; for
69 themselves grant that (8) their calling is *jure divino,* by divine right; and yet I hope they will not say, that to be priests and ministers is against the King, or any his royal prerogatives.

Next, suppose our calling, as bishops, could not be made good *jure divino,* by divine right, yet *jure ecclesiastico,* by ecclesiastical right, it cannot be denied. And here in England the bishops are confirmed, both in their power and means, by Act of Parliament. So that here we stand in as good case as the present laws of the realm can make us. And so we must stand till the laws shall be repealed by the same power that made them.

Now then, suppose we had no other string to hold by, (I say suppose this, but I grant it not,) yet no man (9) can libel against our calling, (as these men do,) be it in pulpit, print, or otherwise, but he libels against the King and the State, by whose laws we are established. Therefore, all these libels, so far forth as they are against our calling, are against the

King and the law, and can have no other purpose than to stir up sedition among the people.

If these men had any other intention, or if they had any Christian or charitable desire to reform anything amiss, why did they not modestly petition his Majesty about it, that in his princely wisdom he might set all things right, in a just and orderly manner? But this was neither their intention nor way. For one clamours out of his pulpit, and all of them from the press, and in a most viru(10)lent and unchristian manner set themselves to make a heat among the people; and so by mutiny to effect that which by law they cannot; and by most false and unjust calumnies to defame both our callings and persons. But for my part, as I pity their rage, so I heartily pray God to forgive their malice.

No nation hath ever appeared more jealous of religion than the people of England have ever been. And their zeal to God's glory hath been, and at this day is a great honour to them. But this zeal of theirs hath not been at all times and in all persons alike guided by knowledge. Now zeal, as it is of excellent use, where it sees its way, so it is very dangerous company where it goes on in the (11) dark[m]: and these men, knowing the disposition of the people, have laboured nothing more than to misinform their knowledge, and misguide their zeal, and so to fire that into a sedition, in hope that they whom they causelessly hate might miscarry in it.

For the main scope of these libels is to kindle a jealousy in men's minds that there are some great plots in hand, dangerous plots, (so says Mr. Burton expressly[n],) to change the orthodox religion established in England, and to bring in, I know not what, Romish superstition in the room of it. As if the external decent worship of God could not be upheld in this kingdom, with(12)out bringing in of Popery.

Now, by this art of theirs, give me leave to tell you that the King is most desperately abused and wounded in the minds of his people, and the prelates shamefully.

[m] You may see it in the example of S. Paul himself, whose very zeal in the darkness of his understanding, which he then had, made him persecute Christ and his Church, Acts xxii. 3, 4. And he was very dangerous company then; for he breathed out threatenings against the disciples, Acts ix. 1. So true is that of Saint Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi.: *Zelus iracundiam acuit:* All zeal puts an edge to anger itself: and that must needs be dangerous in the dark.

[n] [Burton's Humble Appeal,] page 5. [Lond. 1636.]

70 The King most desperately: for there is not a more cunning trick in the world, to withdraw the people's hearts from their sovereign, than to persuade them that he is changing true religion, and about to bring in gross superstition upon them. And the prelates shamefully: for they are charged to seduce, and lay the plot, and be the instruments.

For his Majesty first. This I know, and upon this occasion take it my duty to speak: there is no prince in Christendom more sincere in his religion, nor more constant to it, than the (13) King. And he gave such a testimony of this at his being in Spain, as I much doubt whether the best of that faction durst have done half so much as his Majesty did, in the face of that kingdom. And this you, my Lord, the Earl of Holland, and other persons of honour, were eye and ear witnesses of, having the happiness to attend him there. And at this day, as his Majesty (by God's great blessing both on him and us) knows more, so is he more settled and more confirmed, both in the truth of the religion here established, and in resolution to maintain it.

And for the prelates; I assure myself they cannot be so base, as to live prelates in the Church of England, and labour to bring in the superstitions of the Church of Rome upon themselves and it. And if any should be so foul, I (14) do not only leave him to God's judgment, but (if these libellers, or any other, can discover that his base and irreligious falsehood) to shame also, and severe punishment from the State: and in any just way, no man's hand shall be more or sooner against him, than mine shall be.

And for myself, to pass by all the scandalous reproaches which they have most injuriously cast upon me, I shall say this only:

First, I know of no plot nor purpose of altering the religion established.

Secondly, I have ever been far from attempting anything that may truly be said to tend that way in the least degree: and to these two I here offer my oath.

Thirdly, if the King had a mind to change religion, (which I know he (15) hath not, and God forbid he should ever have,) he must seek for other instruments. For as basely as these men conceive of me, yet I thank God, I know my duty

well, both to God and the King: and I know that all the duty I owe to the King is under God. And my great happiness it is (though not mine alone, but your Lordships' and all his subjects' with me), that we live under a gracious and a religious King, that will ever give us leave to serve God first, and him next. But were the days otherwise, I thank Christ for it, I yet know not how to serve any man against the truth of God, and I hope I shall never learn it.

But to return to the business; what is their art to make the world believe a change of religion is endeavoured? What? Why forsooth, they say, (16) there are great innovations brought in by the prelates, and such as tend to the advancing of Popery.

Now, that the vanity and falsehood of this may appear, I shall humbly desire your Lordships to give me leave to recite briefly all the innovations charged upon us, be they of less or greater moment, and as briefly to answer them. And then you shall clearly see, whether any cause hath been given of these unsavoury libels, and withal, whether there be any show of cause to fear a change of religion. And I will take these great pretended innovations in order, as I meet with them.

First, I begin with the 'News from Ipswich[o].'

Where the FIRST INNOVATION is, 'that the last year's fast was enjoined to be (17) without sermons in London, the suburbs, and other infected places, contrary to the orders for other fasts in former times: whereas sermons are the only means to humble men[p],' &c.

To this I say, first, that an after-age may, without offence, learn to avoid any visible inconvenience observed in the former. And there was visible inconvenience observed in men's former flocking to sermons in infected places.

Secondly, this was no particular act of prelates; but the business was debated at the Council-table, being a matter of State as well as of religion. And it was concluded for no sermons in those infected places, upon this reason, that infected persons or families, known in their own parishes, might not take occasion upon those (18) by-days to run to

[o] [This book was written by Prynne, under the name of Matthew White, and was specially directed against the proceedings of Bishop Wren.]

[p] Page 2.

other churches where they were not known, as many use to do, to hear some humorous men preach; for on the Sundays, when they better kept their own churches, the danger is not so great altogether.

Nor, thirdly, is that true, that sermons are the only means to humble men. For though the preaching of God's word, where it is performed according to His ordinance, be a great means of many good effects in the souls of men, yet no sermons are the only means to humble men. And some of their sermons are fitter a great deal for other operations: namely, to stir up sedition, as you may see by Mr. Burton's; for this his printed libel was a sermon first, and a libel too. And 'tis the best part of a fast to abstain from such sermons.

(19) 2. The SECOND INNOVATION is, 'that Wednesday was appointed for the fast-day, and that this was done with this intention, by the example of this fast without preaching, to suppress all the Wednesday lectures in London[q].'

To this I answer, first, that the appointing of Wednesday for the fast-day was no innovation. For it was the day in the last fast before this: and I myself remember it so, above forty years since, more than once.

Secondly, if there be any innovation in it, the prelates named not the day; my Lord Keeper, I must appeal to your Lordship: the day was first named by your Lordship, as the usual and fittest day. And yet I dare say, and swear too, that your Lordship had no aim to bring in Popery; nor to suppress all or any the Wednesday lectures (20) in London. Besides, these men live to see the fast ended, and no one Wednesday lecture suppressed.

72 3. The THIRD INNOVATION is, 'that the prayer for seasonable weather was purged out of this last fast-book, which was,' say they, 'one cause of shipwrecks and tempestuous weather[r].'

To this I say, first in the general; this fast-book, and all that have formerly been made, have been both made and published by the command of the King, in whose sole power it is to call a fast. And the archbishop and bishops to whom the ordering of the book is committed, have power under the King to put in or leave out whatsoever they think fit for the

[q] Page 3. [r] Page 3.

present occasion; as their predecessors have ever done before them. (21) Provided that nothing be in contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England.

And this may serve in the general for all alterations, in that or any other fast-book, or books of devotion upon any particular occasions, which may and ought to vary with several times; and we may, and do, and will justify, under his Majesty's power, all such alterations made therein.

Secondly, for the particular. When this last book was set out, the weather was very seasonable. And it is not the custom of the Church, nor fit in itself, to pray for seasonable weather when we have it, but when we want it. When the former book was set out, the weather was extreme ill, and the harvest in danger; now (22) the harvest was in, and the weather good.

Thirdly, 'tis most inconsequent to say, that the leaving that prayer out of the book of devotions caused the shipwrecks and the tempests which followed. And as bold they are with God Almighty, in saying it was the cause: for sure I am, God never told them that was the cause. And if God never revealed it, they cannot come to know it; yet had the bishops been prophets, and foreseen these accidents, they would certainly have prayed against them.

Fourthly, had any minister found it necessary to use this prayer at any one time during the fast, he might with ease and without danger have supplied that want, by using that prayer to the same purpose which is in the ordinary Liturgy.

(23) Fifthly, I humbly desire your Lordships to weigh well the consequence of this great and dangerous innovation. The prayer for fair weather was left out of the book for the fast; therefore the prelates intend to bring in Popery. An excellent consequence, were there any show of reason in it.

4. The FOURTH INNOVATION is, 'that there is one very useful collect left out, and a clause omitted in another[s].'

To this I answer, first, as before; it was lawful for us to alter what we thought fit.

And secondly, since that collect made mention of preaching, and the Act of State forbad sermons on the fast-days in

[s] Page 3.

infected places, we thought it fit, in pursuance of that order, to leave out that collect.

73 (24) And thirdly, for the branch in the other, which is the first collect, though God did deliver our forefathers out of 'Romish superstition,' yet (God be blessed for it) we were never in. And therefore that clause being unfittingly expressed, we thought fit to pass it over[t].

5. The FIFTH INNOVATION is, 'that in the sixth order for the fast, there is a passage left out concerning the abuse of fasting in relation to merit[u].'

To this I answer, that he to whom the ordering of that book to the press was committed, did therefore leave it out, because in this age and kingdom there is little opinion of meriting by fasting.

Nay, on the contrary, the contempt and scorn of all fasting (save what humorous men call for of themselves) is (25) so rank, that it would grieve any Christian man to see the necessary orders of the Church concerning fasting, both in Lent and at other set times, so vilified as they are.

6. The SIXTH INNOVATION is, 'that the Lady Elizabeth and her princely children are dashed' (that 's their phrase) 'out of the new collect, whereas they were in the collect of the former book[x].'

For this first, the author of the 'News' knows full well that they are left out of the collect in the latter editions of the Common Prayer-book, as well as in the book for the fast. And this was done according to the course of the Church, which ordinarily names none in the prayer but the right line descending. Yet this was not done till the King himself commanded it; as I have (26) to show under his Majesty's hand.

Secondly, I beseech your Lordships to consider, what must be the consequence here: The Queen of Bohemia and her children are left out of the collect; therefore the prelates intend to bring in Popery; for 'that,' you know, they say, 'is the end of all these innovations.' Now, if this be the end and the consequence, truly the libellers have done very duti-

[t] [The passage is quoted in Prynne's Cant. Doom, p 249.]

[u] Page 3. [The passage is quoted in Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 250.]

[x] Page 3.

fully to the King, to poison his people with this conceit; that the Lady Elizabeth and her children would keep Popery out of this kingdom, but the King and his children will not. And many as good offices as these have they done the King quite through these libels, and quite through his kingdoms. For my part, I honour the Queen of Bohemia and her line as much as any man whatsoever, and shall be as ready (27) to serve them; but I know not how to depart from my allegiance, as I doubt these men have done.

7. The SEVENTH INNOVATION is, 'that these words, 'who art the Father of Thine elect and of their seed,' are changed in the preface of that collect which is for the Prince and the King's children[y].' And with a most spiteful inference, 'that this was done by the prelates to exclude the King's children out of the number of God's elect.' And they call it 'an intolerable impiety and horrid treason.'

To this I answer, first, that this alteration was made in my predecessor's time, before I had any authority to meddle with these things, further than I was called upon by him.

Secondly, this is not therefore to lay any aspersion upon 74
my predecessor, for (28) he did in that but his duty: for his Majesty acknowledges it was done by his special direction, as having then no children to pray for.

And thirdly, this collect could not be very old, for it had no being in the Common Prayer-book all Queen Elizabeth's time, she having no issue.

The truth is, it was made at the coming in of King James, and must of necessity be changed over and over again, *pro ratione temporum*, as times and persons vary. And this is the 'intolerable impiety and horrid treason' they charge upon us.

In this method the innovations are set down in the 'News from Ipswich.' But then in Mr. Burton's News from Friday-street (called his 'Apology[z]') they are in another order, and more are added. Therefore, with your Lord(29)ships' leave, I will not repeat any of these, but go on to the rest, which Mr. Burton adds.

[y] Page 3.

[z] [Burton's 'Apology of an Appeal.' There is not a second title, 'News from Friday-street.']

8. The EIGHTH INNOVATION is, 'that in the Epistle the Sunday before Easter, we have put out 'in,' and made it 'at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow;' which alteration,' he saith, 'is directly against the Act of Parliament[a].'

Here give me leave to tell you, 'tis 'at the name of Jesus,' in the late learned translation made in King James his time. About which many learned men of best note in the kingdom were employed, besides some prelates.

But to this I answer, first, 'tis true the Common Prayer-book was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and so all things contained in it at the passing of that Act. But I hope if anything were false-(30)printed then, the Parliament did not intend to pass those slips for current.

Secondly, I am not of opinion, that if one word be put in for another, so they bear both the same sense, that there is any great matter done against the Act of Parliament.

Thirdly, this can make no innovation. For 'in the name,' and 'at the name of Jesus,' can make no essential difference here. And Mr. Pryn (whose darling business it hath long been to cry down the honour due to the Son of God, at the mention of His saving name Jesus) knows the grammar rule well, 'In a place, or at a place,' &c.

Fourthly, if there were any error in the change of 'in' into 'at,' I do here solemnly protest to you I know not how it came: for authority from the pre(31)lates the printers had none, and such a word is easily changed in such a negligent press as we have in England. Or if any altered it purposely, for aught I know, they did it to gratify the preciser sort. For therein they followed the Geneva translation, and printed at Geneva, 1557[b], where the words are, 'at the name of Jesus.' And that is ninety-four years ago, and therefore no innovation made by us.

Fifthly, this I find in the Queen's Injunctions, without either word 'in' or 'at.' 'Whensoever the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise, pronounced in the church,' 'tis enjoined, 'that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowliness of courtesy, and uncovering of the heads of the men-kind, as thereunto doth

[a] Burton's Apology, pag. 2.

[b] In octavo.

necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed[c].' (32) So here is necessity laid upon it, and custom for it, and both expressed by authority in the very beginning of the Reformation, and is therefore no innovation now.

9. The NINTH INNOVATION is[d], 'that two places are changed 75
in the prayers set forth for the fifth of November: and ordered to be read,' they say, 'by Act of Parliament. The first place is changed thus: from, 'Root out that Babylonish and antichristian sect which say of Jerusalem,' &c., into this form of words, 'Root out that Babylonish and antichristian sect (of them) which say,' &c. The second place went thus in the old: 'Cut off these workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion;' but in the book printed 1635, 'tis thus altered: 'Cut off those workers of iniquity, who turn religion into rebellion,'' &c.

(33) To this I say, first, 'tis a notorious untruth that this book was 'ordered to be read by Act of Parliament.' The Act of Parliament, indeed, is printed before it; and therein is a command for prayers and thanksgivings every fifth of November, but not one word or syllable for the form of prayer: that's left to the Church. Therefore, here's no innovation against that Act of Parliament.

Secondly, the alteration first mentioned, that is, 'that sect,' or 'sect of them,' is of so small consequence as 'tis not worth the speaking of; besides, if there be anything of moment in it, 'tis answered in the next.

Thirdly, both for that and the second place, which seems of more moment; and so for the rest, not only in that book, but that other also for his Majesty's coronation, his Majesty expressly (34) commanded me to make the alterations, and see them printed. And here are both the books, with his Majesty's warrant to each of them. So that herein I conceive I did not offend, unless it were that I gave not these men notice of it, or asked them leave to obey the King.

Against this there can be but two objections, should malice itself go to work. The one is, that I moved his Majesty to command the change; and the other, that now, when I saw

[c] Injunction lib. [Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 188.] [d] Page 3.

myself challenged for it, I procured his Majesty's hand for my security.

To these I answer clearly, first, that I did not move the King, directly or indirectly, to make this change.

And, secondly, that I had his Majesty's hand to the book, not now, but then, and before ever I caused them (35) to be printed as now they are. And that both these are true, I here again freely offer myself to my oath.

And yet, fourthly, that you may see his gracious Majesty used not his power only in commanding this change, but his wisdom also, I shall adventure to give you my reasons, such as they are, why this alteration was most fit, if not necessary.

My first reason is, in the Litany in Henry VIII. his time[e], and also under Edward VI.[f], there was this clause: 'From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, from all false doctrine, &c., Good Lord, deliver us.' But in the Litany in Queen Elizabeth's time, this clause about the Pope was left out, and it seems of purpose, for avoiding of scandal: and yet the prelates for (36) that not accounted innovators, or introducers of Popery. Now 'tis a far greater scandal to call their religion 'rebellion' than 'tis to call their chief bishop 'tyrant.'

76 And this reason is drawn from scandal, which must ever be avoided as much as it may.

My second reason is, that the learned make but three religions to have been of old in the world, Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity; and now they have added a fourth, which is Turcism, and is an absurd mixture of the other three. Now, if this ground of theirs be true, (as 'tis generally received,) perhaps it will be of dangerous consequence sadly to avow that the Popish religion is rebellion. That some opinions of theirs teach rebelli(37)on, that's apparently true; the other would be thought on, to say no more. And this reason, well weighed, is taken from the very foundations of religion itself.

My third reason is, because if you make their religion to be rebellion, then you make their religion and rebellion to be

[e] It was put into the Litany of Hen. VIII.'s time, as appears in his Primer, with his injunction before it.

[f] And 'tis in both the Service-books of Edw. VI., both that which was printed 1549, and in that which was after, anno 1552.

all one. And that is against the ground both of state and the law. For when divers Romish priests and Jesuits have deservedly suffered death for treason, is it not the constant and just profession of the State, that they never put any man to death for religion, but for rebellion and treason only? Doth not the State truly affirm, that there was never any law made against the life of a Papist, *quatenus* a Papist only? And (38) is not all this stark false, if their very religion be rebellion? For if their religion be rebellion, it is not only false, but impossible, that the same man, in the same act, should suffer for his rebellion, and not for his religion.

And this King James of ever-blessed memory understood passing well, when, in his Premonition to all Christian Monarchs, he saith, 'I do constantly maintain that no Papist, either in my time or in the time of the late Queen, ever died for his conscience[g].' Therefore, he did not think their very religion was rebellion; though this clause passed through inadvertency in his time. And this reason is grounded both upon the practice and the justice of the law.

Which of these reasons, or whe(39)ther any other better, were in his Majesty's thoughts when he commanded the alteration of this clause, I know not. But I took it my duty to lay it before you, that the King had not only power, but reason to command it.

10. The TENTH INNOVATION is, 'that the Prayer for the Navy is left out of the late book for the fast[h].'

To this I say, there is great reason it should. For the King had no declared enemy then, nor (God be thanked) hath he now. Nor had he then any navy at sea; for almost all the ships were come in before the fast-book was set out.

But, howsoever, an excellent consequence it is, if you mark it: The Prayer for the Navy was left out of the (40) book for the fast; therefore by that, and such like innovations, the prelates intend to bring in Popery. Indeed, if that were a piece of the prelates' plots to bring in Popery from beyond sea, then they were mightily overseen that they left out the Prayer for the Navy. But else what reason or consequence is in it I know not, unless perhaps Mr. Burton intended to

[g] [Works,] page 336. [h] Page 3.

befriend Dr. Bastwick, and in the navy bring hither the Whore of Babylon to be ready for his christening, as he most profanely scoffs.

77 Well; I pray God the time come not upon this kingdom, in which it will be found that no one thing hath advanced or ushered in Popery so fast, as the gross absurdities even in the worship of God which (41) these men, and their like, maintain, both in opinion and practice.

11. The ELEVENTH INNOVATION is, 'the reading of the second service at the communion-table, or the altar[i].'

To this, first, I can truly say, that since my own memory this was in use in very many places, as being most proper (for those prayers are then read which both precede and follow the Communion); and by little and little this ancient custom was altered, and in those places first where the emissaries of this faction came to preach. And now, if any in authority offer to reduce it, this ancient course of the Church is by and by called an innovation.

Secondly, with this the Rubrics of the Common Prayer-book agree; (42) for the first Rubric after the Communion tells us, that upon holidays, though there be no Communion, yet all else that 's appointed at the Communion shall be read. Shall be read? That's true; but where? Why, the last Rubric before the Communion tells us, 'that the priest, standing at the north side of the holy table, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with that which follows.' So that not only the Communion, but the prayers which accompany the Communion (which are commonly called the Second Service), are to be read at the communion-table. Therefore, if this be an innovation, 'tis made by the Rubric, not by the prelates. And Mr. Burton's scoff, that this 'second service must be served in for dainties[k],' savours too much of belly and profanation.

(43) 12. One thing sticks much in their stomachs, and they call it an INNOVATION too; and that is, 'bowing, or doing reverence at our first coming into the church, or at our nearer approaches to the holy table, or the altar,' (call it

[i] [Burton's Sermon for God and the King,] page 105.

[k] Page 105: "Then the second service, as dainties, must be said there."

whether you will;) in which they will needs have it, 'that we worship the holy table, or God knows what[1].'

To this I answer, first, that God forbid we should worship anything but God Himself.

Secondly, that if to worship God when we enter into His house, or approach His altar, be an innovation, 'tis a very old one.

For Moses did reverence at the very door of the Tabernacle (Numb. xx. 6)[m]; Hezekiah, and all that (44) were present with him, when they had made an end of offering, bowed and worshipped (2 Chron. xxix. 29); David calls the people to it with a *Venite*, 'O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker' (Psal. xcv. 6). And in all these places (I pray, mark it) 'tis bodily worship.

Nor can they say, that this was Judaical worship, and now not to be imitated; for long before Judaism began, Bethel, the house of God, was a place of reverence (Gen. xxviii. 17, &c.); therefore, certainly, of and to God.

And after Judaical worship ended, *Venite, adoremus*, as far upwards as there is any track of a liturgy, was the *introitus* of the priest, all the Latin Church over.

And in the daily prayers of the (45) Church of England, this was retained at the Reformation; and that Psalm, in which is *Venite, adoremus*, is commanded to begin the Morning Service every day. And for aught I know, the priest may as well leave out the *Venite*, as the *Adoremus;* the calling the people to their duty, as the duty itself when they are come.

Therefore, even according to the Service-book of the Church of England, the priest and the people both are called upon for external and bodily reverence and worship of God in His church. Therefore, they which do it do not innovate. And yet the government is so moderate, (God grant it be not too loose therewhile,) that no man is constrained, no man questioned, only religiously called upon, *Venite, adoremus*, 'Come, let us worship.'

(46) For my own part, I take myself bound to worship with body as well as in soul, whenever I come where God is

[1] Page 105.

[m] [Prynne has commented very scurrilously on this and the following paragraphs, which relate to the twelfth innovation, in Cant. Doom, pp. 200, 201.]

worshipped. And were this kingdom such as would allow no holy table standing in its proper place, (and such places some there are,) yet I would worship God when I came into His house. And were the times such as should beat down churches, and all the 'curious carved work thereof, with axes and hammers,' as in Psal. lxxiv. 6, (and such times have been,) yet would I worship in what place soever I came to pray, though there were not so much as a stone laid for Bethel. But this is the misery, 'tis superstition now-a-days for any man to come with more reverence into a church, than a tinker and his bitch come into an ale-house. The (47) comparison is too homely, but my just indignation at the profaneness of the times makes me speak it.

And you, my honourable Lords of the Garter, in your great solemnities, you do your reverence, and to Almighty God, I doubt not; but yet it is *versus altare*, 'towards His altar,' as the greatest place of God's residence upon earth. (I say the greatest, yea, greater than the pulpit; for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus meum*, 'This is My body;' but in the pulpit 'tis at most but *Hoc est verbum meum*, 'This is My word.' And a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the body than to the word of our Lord. And so, in relation, answerably to the throne where His body is usually present, than to the seat whence His word useth to be proclaimed. And (48) God hold it there, at His word; for, as too many men use the matter, 'tis *Hoc est verbum Diaboli*, 'This is the word of the Devil,' in too many places. Witness sedition, and the like to it.) And this reverence ye do when ye enter the chapel, and when you approach nearer to offer. And this is no innovation, for you are bound to it by your order, and that's not new.

And idolatry it is not to worship God towards His holy table; for if it had been idolatry, I presume Queen Elizabeth and King James would not have practised it, no not in those solemnities. And being not idolatry, but true Divine worship, you will, I hope, give a poor priest leave to worship God as yourselves do: for if it be God's worship, (49) I ought to do it as well as you; and if it be idolatry, you ought not to do it more than I.

I say again, I hope a poor priest may worship God with as lowly reverence as you do, since you are bound by your

order, and by your oath, according to a constitution of Henry the Fifth (as appears[n]), to give due honour and reverence *Domino Deo, et altari ejus, in modum virorum ecclesiasticorum;* that is, 'to the Lord your God, and to His altar,' (for there is a reverence due to that too, though such as comes far short of Divine worship;) and this 'in the manner as ecclesiastical persons both worship and do reverence.' 79

The story which led in this decree is this: King Henry the Fifth, that noble and victorious prince, return(50)ing gloriously out of France, sat at this solemnity; and finding the knights of the Order scarce bow to God, or but slightly, and then bow towards him and his seat, startled at it, (being a prince then grown as religious as he was before victorious;) and after asking the reason, for till then the knights of the Order never bowed toward the King or his seat, the Duke of Bedford answered, it was settled by a Chapter Act three years before. Hereupon that great King replied: 'No; I'll none of this, till you the knights do it *satis bene*, well enough, and with due performance, to Almighty God.' And hereupon the forenamed Act proceeded, that they should do 'this duty to Almighty God,' not slightly, but *ad modum virorum ecclesiasticorum,* 'as low, as well, as decently as clergymen use to do it.'

(51) Now, if you will turn this off, and say it was the superstition of that age so to do, Bishop Jewell will come in to help me there. For where Harding names divers ceremonies, and particularly bowing themselves and adoring at the Sacrament,—I say, 'adoring at the Sacrament,' not 'adoring the Sacrament,'—there Bishop Jewell (that learned, painful, and reverend prelate) approves all, both the kneeling and the bowing, and the standing up at the Gospel, (which, as ancient as it is in the Church, and a common custom, is yet fondly made another of their innovations;) and further, the Bishop adds, 'that they are all commendable gestures, and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understand what they mean, and apply them unto God[o].' Now, with us the people did (52) ever understand them fully, and apply them to God,

[n] In Libro Nigro Windesoriensi, p. 65. [See 'The Register of the most noble Order of the Garter,' &c., by John Anstis, vol. ii. p. 76.]

[o] B. Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer, art. 3, div. 29. [p. 151. Lond. 1609.]

and to none but God, till these factious spirits, and their like, to the great disservice of God and His Church, went about to persuade them that they are superstitious, if not idolatrous gestures: as they make everything else to be, where God is not served slovenly.

13. The THIRTEENTH INNOVATION is, 'the placing of the holy table altarwise, at the upper end of the chancel,' that is, 'the setting of it north and south, and placing a rail before it,' to keep it from profanation, which Mr. Burton says, 'is done to advance and usher in Popery[p].'

To this I answer, that 'tis no Popery to set a rail to keep profanation from that holy table; nor is it (53) any innovation to place it at the upper end of the chancel, as the altar stood. And this appears both by the practice, and by the command and canon of the Church of England.

First, by the practice of the Church of England: for in the King's royal chapels, and divers cathedrals, the holy table hath ever since the Reformation stood at the upper end of the quire, with the large or full side towards the people.

And though it stood in most parish churches the other way, yet whether there be not more reason the parish churches should be made conformable to the cathedral and mother churches, than the cathedrals to them, I leave to any reasonable man to judge.

And yet here is nothing done, ei(54)ther by violence or command, to take off the indifferency of the standing of the holy table either way, but only by laying it fairly before men, how fit it is there should be order and uniformity; I say still reserving the indifferency of the standing.

But, howsoever, I would fain know how any discreet moderate man dares say that the 'placing of the holy table altarwise' (since they will needs call it so) is done either 'to advance or usher in Popery?' For did Queen Elizabeth banish Popery, and yet did she all along her reign from first to last leave the communion-table so standing in her own Chapel Royal, in St. Paul's and Westminster, and other places, and all this of purpose to advance or usher in that Popery which she had driven out?

[p] [Apology,] pp. 4, 5, [and Sermon for God and the King, p.] 105.

(55) And since her death, have two gracious Kings kept out Popery all their times, and yet left the holy table standing as it did in the Queen's time, and all of purpose to advance or usher in Popery, which they kept out?

Or what's the matter? May the holy table stand this way in the King's chapel, or cathedrals, or Bishops' chapels, and not elsewhere? Surely, if it be decent and fit for God's service, it may stand so (if authority please) in any church. But if it 'advance or usher in any superstition and Popery,' it ought to stand so in none.

Nor hath any King's chapel any prerogative (if that may be called one) above any ordinary church to disserve God in, by any superstitious (56) rites. Where give me leave to tell you, that the King and his chapel are most jeeringly and with scorn abused, in the last leaf of Mr. Burton's mutinous Appeal, for such it is.

Secondly, this appears by the canon or rule of the Church of England too, for 'tis plain in the last Injunction of the Queen, that the holy table ought to stand at the upper end of the quire, north and south, or altarwise. For the words of the Queen's Injunctions are these:—

'The holy table in every church' (mark it, I pray, not in the Royal Chapel or cathedrals only, but 'in every church') 'shall be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood[q].' Now, the altar stood at the upper end of the quire, north and south, as (57) appears before by the practice of the Church. And there to set it otherwise is to set it cross the place, not 'in' the place where the altar stood; and so, *Stulti dum vitant vitia*[r]—weak men, as these libellers are, run into one superstition while they would avoid another; for they run upon the superstition of the cross while they seek to avoid the superstition of the altar. So you see, here's neither Popery nor innovation in all the practice of Queen Elizabeth, or since.

These words of the Injunction are so plain, as that they can admit of no shift.

And give me leave to tell you, that a very learned prelate of this Church, and one whom I think these men will not

[q] [Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 188.]

[r] [Hor. Sat. i. 2. 24.]

accuse as a man like to (58) 'advance or usher in Popery,' is of the same opinion: 'tis my Lord the Bishop of Salisbury[s].

Some difference was lately rising about placing the communion-table in a parish church of his diocese. The Bishop, careful to prevent all disorder, sends his injunction[t] under his hand and seal to the curate and churchwardens, to settle that business; in which he hath these two passages remarkable. I have seen and read the order[u].

[s] [Dr. John Davenant, a divine of strong Calvinistic leanings.]

[t] May 17, 1637.

[u] [The Editor, in examining the Parish Register of Aldbourne for another purpose, most unexpectedly discovered a copy of this very document, which, by the kindness of the Rev. G. P. Cleather, M.A., Vicar of the parish, he was permitted to transcribe.

"A copy of the order sent from the Right Reverent father in God the Bishop of Sarum to the Parish of Alborne for the placing of the Holy Table, and administration of the Holy Sac. of the Lord's Supper.

"John, by divine providence Bishop of Sarum, To the Curate and Churchwardens with the Parishioners of Auborne, in the County of Wilts, and our Dioces of Sarū, greeting. Whereas his Matie hath beene lately informed, that some men factiously disposed, have taken upon themselves to place and remove the Comunion Table in the Church of Auborne; and thertupon his highnes hath required me to take p^rsent order therein. These are to let you know, that both according to the Iniunctions given out in the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth for the placing of Comunion Tables in Churches, and by the 82 Canon agreed upon in the first yeare of the Raigne of King James of blessed memory, it was intimated that those Tables should ordinarily be sett and stand with the side to the East wall of the Chauncell. I therefore require you the Churchwardens, and all other persons, not to meddle with the bringing downe or transposing of the Comunion Table, as you will answere it at your owne perill. And because some doe ignorantly suppose that the standing of the Comunion Table where Altars stood in times of supstition has some relish of Popery: And some prchance may as erroniously conceive that the placing thereof otherwise when the holy Comunion is administered savo^rs of irreverence: I would have you take notice from the forenamed Iniunction, and Canon, from the Rubric p^refixed before the administration of the Lord's Supper, and from the first article not long since inquired of in the Visitation of our most reverend Metropolitan; that the placing of it higher or lower in the Chauncell, or in the Church, is by the iudgment of the Church of England a thing indifferent, and to be ordered and guided by the only Rule of Conveniencie. Now because in things of this nature to iudge and determine what is most cōvenient, belongs not to private persons, but to those that have Ecclesiastical authority; I inhibit you the Church-Wardens, and all other persons whatsoever, to meddle with the bringing downe of the Comunion Table, or with altering the place thereof at such times as the Holy Supp is to be administered; and I require you herein to yield obedience unto what is already iudged most convenient by my Chauncellor, unless upon further consideration and viewe it shall be otherwise ordered. Now to the end that the Minister may neither be overtoyled, nor the people indecently and inconveniently thronged together, when they are to draw neere, and take the holy Sacrament; and that the frequent celebratiō thereof may nevertheless be continued, I doe further appoint that thrice in the yeare at the least, there be publique notice given in the Church, for fower Comunions to be held upon fower Sundaies together; and that there come not to the Comunion in one day above two hundred at the most. For the better observation whereof, and that every man may know his prop time, the Curate shall divide the Parishioners into fower parts according to his discretiō, and as shall most fittingly serve to this

The first passage is this: 'By the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth,' saith he, 'and by Can. 82 under King James, the communion-tables should ordinarily be set and stand with the side to the east wall of the chancel.' Therefore, 81 this is no innovation, since there is injunction and canon for it.

(59) The other passage is this: ''Tis ignorance,' saith that learned Bishop, 'to think that the standing of the holy table there relishes of Popery.' Therefore, if it do not so much as relish of Popery, it can neither advance it nor usher it in. And therefore, this is a most odious slander and scandal cast upon us.

So here 's enough both for the practice and rule of the Church of England since the Reformation. Now before that time, both in this and other Churches of Christendom, in the East and West ordinarily, the holy table or altar stood so. Against this Mr. Burton says little.

But the Lincolnshire minister comes in to play the Puritan for that. Concerning which book [x] (falling thus in my way) and the (60) nameless author of it, I shall only say these two things.

The one is, that the author prevaricates from the first word to the last in the book; for he takes on him both for the name and for the placing of the holy table, and the like, to prove, that generally, and universally, and ordinarily in the whole Catholic Church, both East and West, the holy table did not stand at the upper end of the quire or chancel. And this he must prove, or he doth nothing.

Now when he comes to make his proofs, they are almost all of them particular, few or none general and concludent; for he neither brings testimonies out of the general and received rituals of the Eastern and Western Churches, nor

purpose. And if any turbulent spirit shall disobey this our order, hee shall be proceeded against according to the quality of his fault and misdemeanour. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale Episcopal this seventeenth day of May, 1637. And in the yeare of our Consecration the sixteenth."

From a memorandum in the same page of the Register it appears that this order was copied by the Rev. Mr. Atkinson, then minister of Aldbourne.]

[x] [The title of the book here referred to is, 'The Holy Table, Name and Thing, &c., written long ago by a Minister in Lincolnshire.' It was the production of Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, whose name appears as its licenser for the press. Heylin replied to it in his 'Antidotum Lincolniense.']

of Fathers and histories of the Church, (61) which speak in general terms of all, but where they speak of particular Churches only.

So that suppose the most that can be, that is, suppose his quotations be all truly alleged, and true too in the sense that the minister takes them, (though in very truth, the places, most of them, are neither truly alleged, nor sensed,) yet they are but exceptions of, and exemptions from the general practice. And you know both in law and reason, *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*[y]. So that upon the sudden I am not able to resolve, whether this minister hath done more wrong to himself or his readers, for he hath abused both.

The other is, that in the judgment of very many learned men, which have perused this book, the author (62) is clearly conceived to want a great deal of that learning, to which he pretends; or else to have written this book wholly and resolvedly against both his science and his conscience.

And for my own part, I am fully of opinion, this book was thrust now to the press, both to countenance these libellers, and, as much as in him lay, to fire both Church and State.

And though I wonder not at the minister, yet I should wonder at the bishop of the diocese (a man of learning and experience), that he should give testimony to such a business, and in such times as these.

And once more, before I leave the 'Holy Table, Name and Thing,' give me leave to put you in mind, that there is no danger at all in the altar, 'name or thing.' For at the begin(63)ning of the Reformation, though there were a law for the taking down of the altars, and setting up of holy tables in the room of them; yet in some places the altars were not suddenly removed. And what says the Queen in her Injunction to this? Why she says, 'that there seems no matter of great moment in this, saving for uniformity, and the better imitation of the law in that behalf[z].' Therefore
82 for any danger or hurt that was in the altars, 'name or thing,' they might even then have been left standing, 'but for uniformity, and the imitation of the law.'

[y] [See Gloss in Clement. lib. v. tit. xi. cap. 1. § 'Cum autem.']

[z] Injunct. ultim. [Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 188.]

But howsoever, it follows in the same Injunction, 'that when the altar is taken down, the holy table shall be set in (not cross) the place where the altar stood;' which, as is aforesaid, (64) must needs be altarwise.

14. The FOURTEENTH and the last INNOVATION comes with a mighty charge, and 'tis taken out of an 'Epistle to the temporal Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council.' Of which epistle we got one sheet, and so (for aught I yet know) that impression stayed. In that sheet is this charge; the words are:

'The prelates, to justify their proceedings, have forged a new article of religion, brought from Rome (which gives them full power to alter the doctrine and discipline of our Church at a blow,' (as they interpret it,) 'and have foisted it' (such is their language) 'into the beginning of the 20th Article of our Church. And this is in the last edition of the Articles, *anno* 1628, in affront of his Majesty's Declaration before them,' &c.

(65) The clause (which they say is forged by us) is this: 'The Church' (that is, the Bishops, as they expound it) 'hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matter of faith.' (The word is 'controversies of faith,' by their leave.) 'This clause,' say they, 'is a forgery fit to be examined, and deeply censured in the Star-Chamber. For 'tis not to be found in the Latin or English Articles of Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth, ratified by Parliament.'

And then in the margent thus: 'If to forge a will or writing be censurable in the Star-Chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man; how much more the forgery of an article of religion, to wrong the whole Church, and overturn religion, which concerns all our souls?'

(66) This is a heavy charge, my Lords; but I thank God the answer's easy.

And truly I grant, that to forge an article of religion in whole or in part, and then to thrust it upon the Church, is a most heinous crime, far worse than the forging of a deed. And is certainly very deeply censurable in this court. And I would have humbly besought you, that a deep censure might have been laid upon it, but that this sheet was found

after, and so is not annexed to the information, nor in judgment at this present before you.

But then, my Lords, I must tell you, I hope to make it as clear as the day, that this forgery was not, that this clause mentioned was added by the prelates to the Article, to gain power to the Church, and so to serve (67) our turns; but that that clause in the beginning of the Article was by these men, or at least by some of their faction, rased out, and this to weaken the just power of the Church to serve their turns.

They say (to justify their charge) that this clause is not to be found in the Articles, English or Latin, of either Edw. VI. or Q. Elizabeth.

I answer: The Articles of Edw. VI. and those made under Q. Elizabeth differ very much. And those of Edw. VI. are not now binding. So whether the clause be in or out of them, 'tis not much material.

But for the Articles of the Church of England, made in the Queen's time, and now in force, that this clause for the power of the Church to 'decree ceremonies, and to have authority in con(68)troversies of faith,' should not be found in English or Latin copies till the year 1628, that it was set forth with the King's Declaration before it, is to me a miracle; but your Lordships shall see the falschood and boldness of these men.

83 What? Is this affirmative clause in no copy, English or Latin, till the year 1628? Strange. Why, my Lords, I have a copy of the Articles in English of the year 1612, and of the year 1605, and of the year 1593, and in Latin of the year 1563, which was one of the first printed copies, if not the first of all. For the Articles were agreed on but the nine-and-twentieth day of January, *anno* 1563.[a]

And in all these, this affirmative clause for the Church's power is in. (69) And is not this strange boldness, then, to abuse the world, and falsely to say 'tis in no copy, when I myself, out of my own store, am able to show it in so many, and so anciently?

But, my Lords, I shall make it plainer yet: for 'tis not fit concerning an Article of religion, and an Article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church,

[a] [In 1562, according to the English computation.]

you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many or never so ancient.

Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned me the twentieth Article with this affirmative clause in it[b]. And there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen.

[b] [The Editor is indebted to the Rev. W. C. Sharpe, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, for a copy of the following paper, preserved in the library of that Society:—

"A Transcript of a Paper thus endorsed by A. B. Laud's own hand. 'Jun. 12, 1637. A Transcript out of my Registry concerning ye 20th Article of those y^t were made 1562.'

"Extract. e Registro Principali Sedis Archiep. Cant. &c.

"Acta Convocationum tempore Rev^mi D^ni Parker Archiep'i Cantuar. &c.

"In Convocatione Anno D^ni 1562 in Capellâ Regis Henrici 7^mi infra Eccl'am Collegiatam D. Petri Westmon. situat. tentâ die Martis 19° die mensis Januarii Sess. 3^tia pag. 19 & 20 prædicti libri, inter alia actum erat prout sequitur.

"Tandem dictus Rev^mus accersiri jussit ad se Prolocutorem domus inferioris, Qui quidem Prolocutor unà cum sex aliis de Clero dictæ domus infer. coram Patribus sui copiam faciens proposuit & asseruit q^d quidam de dictâ domo exhibuerunt quasdam diversas schedas de rebus Reformandis per eos respectivè excogitat. & in Scripta redact. Quæ quidem Schedæ de cõmuni consensu traditæ sunt quibusdam viris gravioribus & doctioribus de cœtu dict. domus infer. ad hoc electis perspiciendæ & considerandæ. Quibus sic electis (ut asseruit) assignatum est ut hujusmodi Schedas in Capitula redigant ac in proximâ Sessione exhibeant coram eodem Prolocutore; et ulterius proposuit q^d articuli in Synodo Londinensi tempore nuper Regis Edw. 6^ti (ut asseruit) editi, traditi sint quibusdam aliis viris ex cœtu dictæ domus infer. ad hoc etiam electis ut eos diligenter inspiciant, examinent & considerent, ac prout eis visum fuerit, corrigant & reforment ac in proximâ Sessione etiam exhibeant. Et tunc Rev^mus hujusmodi negotia per dictum Prolocutorem & Clerum incepta approbavit, ac in eisdem in prox. Sessionem juxta eorum determinationem procedere voluit & mandavit.

"Octava Sessio.

"Die Veneris 29° viz. die mensis Januarij Anno D^ni prædicto inter horas 8 et 9^am ante meridiem ejusdem diei Rev^mo in Christo Patre D^no Matthæo Archiep'o Cantuar. etc. necnon Reverendis Patribus D^nis Edmundo Londin., Rob. Winton., [Jo]han. Hereforden., Rolando Bangor, Joan. Sarum., Nicol. Lincoln., Johanne Norwicen., Richardo Meneven., Thomâ Asaphen., Edmundo Roffen., Richardo Glocestren., Thomâ Cov. et Lichfield., Gilberto Bathon. et Wellen., Richardo Elien., Wilhelmo Exon. respectivè Ep'is in domo Capitulari Eccl'æ Cathedralis D. Pauli London. congregatis, post tractatum aliquem inter eos habitum tandem super quibusdam articulis orthodoxæ fidei inter Ep'os, quorum nomina eis subscribuntur, unanim. convenit, quorum quidem articulorum tenores sequuntur in Eccl. præd. In quo tenore articulus vicesimus de Ecclesiæ authoritate sic se habet in hæc verba, p. 27.

"'Habet Eccl'a ritus statuendi jus & in fidei controversiis auctoritatem, quamvis Eccl'æ non licet quicquam instituere q^d verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest ut alteri contradicat; quare licet Eccl'a sit divinorum librorum testis & conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nil credendum de necessitate Salutis debet obtrudere.'

"P. 31.

"Hos articulos fidei Christianæ continentes in universum novemdecim paginas in autographo q^d asservatur apud Rev^mum in Christo Patrem D^um Matthæum Cantuar. Ep'um totius Angliæ Primatem Metrop. Archiep'i et Ep'i utriusq^e provinciæ Regni Angliæ in Sacrâ Provinciali Synodo legitimè congregati unanimi assensu recipiunt & profitentur & ut veros & orthodoxos manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant 29° die mensis

(70) By this your Lordships see how free the prelates are from forging this part of the Article. Now let these men quit themselves and their faction, as they can, for their *index expurgatorius* and their foul rasure in leaving out this part of the Article. For to leave out of an Article is as great a crime as to put in; and a main rasure is as censurable in this court as a forgery.

Why, but then, my Lords, what is this mystery of iniquity? Truly, I cannot certainly tell; but as far as I can I 'll tell you.

The Articles you see were fully and fairly agreed to and subscribed in the year 1563. But after this, in the year 1571, there were some that refused to subscribe, but why they did so is not recorded. Whe(71)ther it were about this Article, or any other, I know not. But in fact this is manifest, that in that year 1571, the Articles were printed both in Latin and English, and this clause for the Church left out of both[c]. And certainly, this could not be done, but by the malicious cunning of that opposite faction. And though I shall spare dead men's names where I have not certainty; yet if you be pleased to look back and consider

Januarii An° D^ni^ secundum computationem Eccl'æ Anglicanæ 1562°, Universusq^e^ Clerus inferioris domus eosdem etiam unanimiter & recepit & professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & deposuit apud eundem Rev^mum^ 5to die Februarii anno prædicto.

"In Convocatione tentâ An° D^ni^ 1571 inter alia p. 110 continetur ut sequitur,

"Et tunc dictus Rev^mus^ dimisso Clero domus infer. exceptis Prolocutore ac Decanis & archidiaconis voluit & jussit ut omnes de cœtu eorum qui Articulis, de quibus in Synodo Londinensi An° D^ni^ juxta comput. Eccl'æ Angl. 1562 inter Archiep'os et Ep'os utriusque Provinciæ, necnon universum Clerum convenit, hactenus non subscripserunt modo eis subscribant; & q^d^ omnes & singuli qui eisdem articulis subscribere voluerint aut recusaverint (si qui tales inveniantur) a dicta domo inferiori & cœtu Cleri præd. penitus excludantur.

"In Convocatione tentâ An° D^ni^ 1604, Regniq^e^ Serenissimi D^ni^ Jacobi Regis Anno 2do Rev^do^ Patre D^no^ Richardo London. Ep'o tunc Præsidente.

"Sess. 16.

"Demum idem Rev^dus^ Præses London. Ep'us protulit quendam librum articulorum de quibus in Synodo London. communi assensu Archiep'orum, Ep'orum & Cleri utriusque Provinciæ consensum est Anno D^ni^ 1562 ad tollendam opinionum varietatem & confirmand. veram, uniformem Christi religionem Regiâ authoritate & assensu publicatis et in Anno D^ni^ 1571 per &c. revisis. Quem per Mag. Wil. Wood Legum Doctorem alta & intelligibili voce perlegi fecit, quo lecto dicti Rev^di^ Patres consensum et assensum suos eisdem articulis præstiterunt & eorum nomina manibus suis propriis eisdem articulis respectivè subscripserunt tunc et ibidem.

"Concordat cum Reg'ro præd. factâ collatione per me Sac. Wade Not^um^ Publicum."]

[c] [Strype (Life of Parker, book iv. chap. v.) states that he had seen three different English editions of the Articles, printed in 1571 by Jugg and Cawood, in all of which this clause was found.]

who they were that governed businesses in 1571, and rid the Church almost at their pleasure; and how potent the ancestors of these libellers began then to grow, you will think it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, and this clause left out.

And yet 'tis plain, that, after (72) the stir about subscription in the year 1571, the Articles were settled and subscribed unto at last, as in the year 1562, with this clause in them for the Church: for looking further into the records which are in mine own hands, I have found the book of 1563 subscribed by all the Lower House of Convocation, in this very year of contradiction, 1571, Dr. John Elmar (who was after Lord Bishop of London) being there Prolocutor: Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, having been Prolocutor in 1563, and yet living and present and subscribing in 1571[d]. Therefore, I do here openly in the Star-Chamber charge upon that pure sect this foul corruption of falsifying the Articles of the Church of England; let them take it off as they can.

(73) I have now done, and 'tis time I should, with the innovations charged upon the prelates, and fit to be answered here.

Some few more there are, but they belong to matter of 84
doctrine, which shall presently be answered, *justo volumine*, at large, to satisfy all well-minded people[e]. But when Mr. Burton's book, which is the main one, is answered, (I mean his book, not his railing,) neither Prynn, nor Bastwick, nor any attendants upon Rabshakeh, shall by me or my care be answered. If this court find not a way to stop these libellers' mouths and pens, for me they shall rail on till they be weary.

Yet one thing more, I beseech you, give me leave to add. 'Tis Master Burton's charge upon the (74) prelates. 'That the censures formerly laid upon malefactors, are now put upon God's ministers for their virtue and piety[f].'

A heavy charge this too. But if he or any man else can show that any man hath been punished in the High-Com-

[d] [This very copy is preserved among Selden's books in the Bodleian Library.]

[e] [It was answered by Peter Heylin, in a book entitled, 'A Brief and Moderate Answer to the Seditious and Scandalous Challenges of Henry Burton,' &c. Lond. 1637.]

[f] Page 175.

mission, or elsewhere, by the prelates, for virtue and piety, there is all the reason in the world we should be severely punished ourselves. But the truth is, the virtue and piety for which these ministers are punished, is for preaching schism and sedition, many of their sermons being as bad as their libels, as Burton's libel was one of his sermons first. But whether this stuff have any affinity with virtue and piety, I submit to any Christian reader.

(75) And yet Mr. Burton is so confident of his innocency, even in this cause wherein he hath so foully carried himself, that he breaks forth into these words: 'I never so much as once dreamed, that impiety and impudency itself, in such a Christian State as this is, and under such a gracious Prince, durst ever thus publicly have called me in question, and that upon the open stage,' &c.[g]

You see the boldness of the man, and in as bad a cause as, I think, in this kind ever any man had.

I shall end all with a passage out of S. Cyprian[h], when he, then Bishop of Carthage, was bitterly railed upon by a pack of schismatics, his answer was, and 'tis now mine: 'They have railed both bitterly and falsely upon (76) me, and yet *non oportet me paria cum illis facere,* it becomes not me to answer them with the like either levities or revilings, but to speak and write that only which becomes *sacerdotem Dei,* a priest of God.'

Neither shall I in this give way (though I have been extremely vilified) to either grief or passion to speak, remembering that of the Psalmist, Psal. xxxvii. 8, 'Fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil.'

Neither yet, by God's grace, shall the reproaches of such men as these make me faint, or start aside, either from the right way in matter of practice, (they are S. Cyprian's words again[i],) or *a certa regula,* 'from the certain rule of faith.'

And since, in former times, some spared not to call the Master of the (77) house Beelzebub, how much more will they be bold with them of his household? as it is in St. Mat-

[g] [Burton's Appeal,] page 7.

[h] [S. Cypr.] Lib. i. Ep. 3. [Ep. lv. ad Cornel. p. 85. Ed. Ben.]

[i] ["Nec movere nos debent convicia perditorum, quominus a via recta et a certa regula non recedamus."] —Ib. p. 10. [Ibid. p. 83.]

thew x. 25. And so bold have these men been; but the next words of our Saviour are, 'Fear them not.'

I humbly crave pardon of your Lordships for this my necessary length, and give you all hearty thanks for your noble patience, and your just and honourable censure upon these men, and your unanimous dislike of them, and defence of the Church.

But because the business hath some reflection upon myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy and the King's justice [k].

[k] [The sentence of the court was, that they should each be fined 5000*l.*, be deprived of their ears, and be committed to prison. The sentence was accordingly executed; after which, Bastwick was committed to Launceston, Burton to Lancaster, and Prynne to Caernarvon Castle. Afterwards they were respectively removed to S. Mary's Castle, in Scilly Island, to Cornet Castle, in Guernsey, and Mont Orgueil, in Jersey. Their conduct when in the pillory is described in the Biographia Britannica, in the notes to their several lives, and in a letter from Garrard to Wentworth (Strafford Letters, vol. ii. p. 85). They were released from prison in 1640, and entered London in triumph.]

*** [It is stated in the Harleian Cat. (vol. ii. p. 669.) that there were only twenty-five copies of the first edition of this Speech; which seems hardly probable, considering that there are three copies still preserved in the Bodleian Library alone. (Wood, Ath. iii. 135.) It has not been thought necessary to cumber these pages with extracts from Bp. Williams's notes on the Speech, which are there mentioned. It was translated into French in 1637, of which translation there is a copy in the Cathedral Library, Canterbury.

SPEECH

AT THE

TRIAL OF JOHN WILLIAMS,

BISHOP OF LINCOLN,

JULY 19, 1637.

[Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 438–445 [a].]

SORRY I am, my Lords, that such a man as my Lord Bishop of Lincoln for profession, and sorry that he, being so wise, so discreet and understanding a man every way, should come to stand culpable of such faults as should deserve the censure of this court, and in this nature, that it should fall out, that by being over-active and over-doing businesses of other men's, to undo his own, nay even hereby also to undo himself.

We have adversaries too many amongst ourselves, but this day's work opens a way for the Romanists to take advantage by it, to see so eminent a person as a Bishop, and so eminent a Bishop as he, to become thus censurable in a thing of so high a nature in this high court; it opens a way, I say, to them of rejoicing, which I would to God had not been at all, or at least not by him.

When I look upon and consider his excellent parts, both of nature and achieved unto by study and art; when I think upon his wisdom, learning, agility of memory, and the experience that accompanies him with all those endowments, it puts me to a stand; that after he had been overtaken in one error in the first cause [b], he should not have recalled himself, and made a stand, but that he hath now run on into a far

[a] [There are two copies of this speech in the Ashmolean MSS., Numb. 800, Art. vi., Numb. 824, Art. vii. The first of these is a brief abstract; the other a full report, apparently taken down at the time. That in Rushworth seems to have been printed from a similar report. Several places that were clearly wrong in Rushworth have been corrected, and passages supplied, from the Ashmole MS.]

[b] [The first charge brought against Williams was for revealing the King's secrets, contrary to his oath as a Privy Counsellor.]

worse, and more desperate a one in this cause, by obnoxious and criminal ways, even to a very precipitation and downfall of himself and his credit.

What though there was some question made, and some proofs on foot, whereby his loyalty to the King his master seemed to be in dispute, and his discretion might have someways come to a trial in matter of words, discovering his affection in some matters of state, must he seek unlawful means to procure his actions and words to be lawful, and leave the course of a good conscience, to bolster up a fancy of innocency in another man, and make himself plainly faulty, for to make another man seem free from shame[c]? I could wish heartily from my heart, (however this cause be, let it be as it is,) that his deportment for passion had been like to that of St. Cecilia. I read it in a very good author, and it is not impertinent, nor unworthy, what her patience was. When a great stir there was, and all the stream and current ran quite against her, to bear her down in a most furious and violent manner, she mildly in the heat of these storms, and when those billows seemed to overwhelm her, and hide her from all hopes of being admitted hearing her to plead her own innocency, much less to gain success to her desires, it being told her there were many witnesses against her, but none that did, or would be seen to appear for her, or in her behalf; she used the saying of holy Job, *Testis meus est in cœlis,* 'My witness is above[d];' and so it fell out, for (as the story saith) when the matter came to be scanned, the witnesses that were against her, (by what means, or from whence, or how, I know not,) but they were so daunted and struck with such an amazement, that it was their general vote, *Nos nihil habemus contra Cecilium.* I have it in St. Augustine, a Father of the Church, (whose authority there is no doubt of, he being held learned among the best of that time,) *lib.* i. *contra Hæreticum Donatum*[e]. It had been better with my Lord Bishop, if he had had such a cause. I am sure, in the circumstances, if his behaviour had been more temperate, and mixed with more patience, the

[c] [Prigeon, the principal witness in Williams's favour, was charged with incontinency, and Williams was accused of tampering with the witnesses who supported this charge.]

[d] [Job xvi. 19.]

[e] [There appears to be a serious error in this reference, which the Editor cannot correct.]

event could not have been so unlucky, and his censure so sharp, as it is now like to be.

I may be bold to say it, my Lords, (it's no untruth,) I have been five several times upon my knees to the King my master in his behalf, I delivered for him several petitions myself into the King's own hand, and I then did that (which had I known what now I do) I should not have done. I sent him, under my own hand, the King's answer upon every petition. And after all those five several services, I must tell you, my Lords, I was but coarsely dealt withal, nay very ill requited; yet was I overcome to move again, and I have it under his own hand, or (if his secretary writ the letter) his own hand and name is underscribed, that he had better and more hopes by my once moving the King, than he had formerly had, by the solicitation and means of all the friends he had at court.

And no longer ago than at Christmas last I moved the King my master again in his behalf[f]; and then (had he followed that which was intended for his good, and prosecuted the same with submission) it had in all likelihood gone better with him than he could have expected, nay, I think, as the case stood, better than he then desired.

But a cross business came just in the way at the very time (of which your Lordships, or the most part of you, I am sure, are privy to), and had not I then interposed myself (the King being then so exasperated against him), he had fallen. But to let pass my desires, and the earnestness I used, and the tenderness I had, lest my public aspersion should have been opened, and such as could not have been wiped away, but needs have left a stain to my coat, I must needs say thus much for his Majesty, he was very inclinable to have had a fair reconcilement, as may appear by his often asking, 'What Lincoln did? Doth he seek to repair my credit? Hath he any show of sorrowfulness for his fault?' And, my Lords, I may safely say (because I truly speak it), whoever penned his petitions (howsoever they seemed to be his friends, or whoever advised him to let them pass in that form), they did him (though questionless he is able to pen them himself) an injury; yet if he did it by

[f] [See Laud's Letter to Williams, Jan. 6, 1636.]

advice, they were not therein his friends; for in them all there was not at any time one word tending to submission or confession, or so much as an acknowledgment of a fault, whereby any show of reparation in that nature might be made to his Majesty, as both in duty he ought, and in wisdom might have made proffer of, and with more safety and assurance have performed; insomuch as that, by his stiff and stubborn behaviour, there was no way but to have the business fully ripped up, heard, and decided. Yet there were not wanting divers ill-disposed persons, who bruited it forth, and very boldly gave out, that my Lord Bishop of Lincoln had not made any fault, or done, or spoken aught, but that which he could stand unto, and needed not to be ashamed of; only that he was rich, and must be let blood, he might well spare it, and the King wanted 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.*, and so he should have little said to him, if it was once condescended unto, and either given by him, or gotten from him. But howsoever these reports go, the King is just, as he is honourable; and though he was inclined to mercy (for so the Bishop of Lincoln had found it, if he had sought it seasonably), yet now you see there is cause, and just cause of censure, and in a very high nature of desert in him to be sentenced by this court.

Now for the nature of the cause, the several charges and the proofs, the defences also that have been made by my Lord Bishop's Counsel, all hath fully and amply been opened by the two Lords Chief Justices[g], and if I should attempt anything this way, it were but needless labour to myself, and would breed a tedious troublesomeness to your Lordships; *dictum dicere* would be all, when I had said all.

I leave to meddle with the manner of the proceedings, and must give Mr. Attorney[h] a great and large commendation, and Mr. Solicitor[i] also, for their wise stating of the cause, and for their wisdom, wit, temper, and patience in the prosecuting of the same.

The matter is ill, and howsoever it perhaps be not subornation of perjury, yet to tamper with witnesses, to threaten, deter, affright, corrupt, silence, or absent those that are to witness the truth, and to give evidence in a court of justice, are *ejusdem naturæ*, a very foul crime, and a most odious and

[g] [Finch and Bramston.] [h] [Sir John Banks.] [i] [Sir Edward Littleton.]

detestable fault in any man, of what condition soever he be; and if these things be suffered, and may go unpunishable, no state can stand; it destroys the interest of *meum* and *tuum*, and no man is sure of what he holds, or can say whether he hath an estate or no.

It 's a point that ruins all right, and is the utter enemy and subverter of all justice, and must needs overthrow any state, where it is not weeded out, and prevented by severe animadversion, and correction, where it happens to be found out.

First, it destroys *maximum mandatum*, the great commandment given by the great Lawgiver, God himself, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.' In the fifth of Leviticus [k], if a man know a truth he is not to conceal it, nay, he is to witness it.

In the twenty-third of Exodus [l], a man is not in any case to bear unjust witness; and so in the nineteenth of Deuteronomy [m] it is *in criminalibus*, and he that did bear false witness was to suffer *per legem talionis* that same punishment and loss, which by his false testimony the other party should have undergone.

In all the time that passes from the creation of the world until the Law, I do not find that the Holy Ghost once made mention of any that attempted in this way. I find no shadow nor overture of any such crime. The corruption of nature had not then grown to the height, and so overswollen the banks, as to break out so outrageously, and produce any such ill-disposed persons.

Insomuch as I find not any track, no *vestigium* of the like precedent for above 3000 years: and the Fathers of the Church upon that place, where it is said, 'Out of the mouth of two or three witnesses shall everything be justified [n];' they descant upon it, why two or three witnesses in matters of consequence? Because, say they, if so many, they should not be subject to be tampered withal, being they might be of several tempers, several conditions, and so the truth might be had by some of them, if not by all.

And for a long time I read of none, but of the devilish practice and leading piece of impiety set on foot by Jesabel, for what cause, and how prosecuted, you know as well as myself, and what she was, how she sped, and what end she made, is

[k] [Levit. v. 1.]
[l] [Exod. xxiii. 1.]
[m] [Deut. xix. 19.]
[n] [Ibid. 15.]

recorded to posterity. Yet, my Lords, I pray you observe, and note with me, how warily the Holy Ghost goeth about in the setting forth of this fact, and the passages therein, in the 21st verse; as if the Spirit of God was unwilling to display and discover the heinousness of this monster hatched by this vile woman; as if He would not have it seen, He shadows it forth in a low strain, that there came in two sons of Belial, and said, &c. 1 Kings, cap. xxi. As if the original of this odious practice was not rooted in human nature, but took his birth from hell; it came in with two sons of Belial in the devil's name.

Well, afterwards such a tutor could not want apt scholars, and, as St. Paul saith in another place, when I come to speak of it 'after the manner of men,' I find it then practised, and that (with a witness) 'it outfaced the God of truth,' though truth itself must not be trodden under foot; but this engine fetched from hell must be planted to defeat the counsels of God Almighty. They found out and hired false witness against Christ Himself. Who they were you know; 'The chief priests and the elders, and all the whole council, sought false witness against Jesus to put Him to death[o].' And after Him, Stephen had the same measure; 'Then they suborned men, who said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God[p].'

Thus amongst those stiff-necked and hard-hearted Jews, the fault was in use, when sin and iniquity grew ripe, and as the prophet saith, 'faith and truth could scarce be found amongst mortal men[q];' but the subversion and destruction of their city follows, and there comes in the government of a warlike nation and people, the Romans; amongst whom I find some laws made against false witnesses, and those very severe ones.

Besides other laws, in the law of the Twelve Tables there is a strict law confirmed against it; and these Twelve Tables were not made by any mean advice or persons, but by the persons of a powerful Consul and the *decemviri;* that he that was found faulty in this notorious crime, he was to be thrown down a steep high rock, to have his bones shivered all to pieces, *e monte Tarpeio,* or *e saxo Tarpeio*[r]; afterwards

[o] [Mark xiv. 55.]
[p] [Acts vi. 11.]
[q] [Jer. v. 1.]
[r] [Legg. XII. Tabularum, Tab. VII. leg. xii.]

the lawgivers pursued this fault with banishment and confiscation of goods; *Confiscatio bonorum fiat, et puniatur uti pro crimine falsi,* which in those times was a heavy and most severe punishment, whereby their posterity also was branded with the fault of them that went before them.

In the ninety-fifth Counsel I find a course set down for the prevention of this crime, and a punishment set for the offenders therein [s].

And in later times Bartolus [t] often meets with it, and goes very precisely and very exactly in the case, that if so be it be found in any man, so much as an overture of tampering with witnesses, it is censurable; *reus est,* he is guilty, though he effect not his purpose, if he menace, threaten, or deter a witness. And so, my Lords, shall I do,—hold him fit for censure. I hold him worthy of censure, though he but barely attempt to smother, deter, or hinder any witness, when he is to give his testimony; be it by words, looks, or actions, promises or threats, it comes much to one in my opinion upon the matter.

Now, my Lords, to come unto the laws of the Church, if we peruse the canon and ecclesiastical law, there we shall often in every age have somewhat or other still established against it. In the canon-law, the second part of the Decretals, 22. Caus., if any man shall be a suborner of witnesses, *etiamsi instigatus aut compulsus a domino* [u], if he bring a false testimony, though he be even enforced to it by his superior, his lord, governor, or his master, deliver him over to excommunication, *et sic maneat usque ad exitum vitæ,* and so he must stand and remain in that state and case during term of life. A grievous thing, and a most heavy burden, inflicted on the offender, though nowadays and in our times excommunications are slighted, and little set by; yet in cases of this nature, when the offence is so high and transcendent, and of condition tending to the ruin and condemnation of the soul, the party at that time, and for that present, even dallying, mocking, and abusing of God to His very face, to be left void

[s] [The Editor has examined several collections of 'Consilia,' but cannot find the passage referred to.]

[t] [Vid. Bartolum (de Saxoferrato) De Reprobatione Testium, apud Tractatus Univ. Juris, tom. iv. p. 72, seq.]

[u] [Vid. Decret. par. ii. Caus. xxii. Quæst. v. cap. i. 'Qui compulsus.' Corp. Jur. Can. tom. i. col. 1274. The words which follow 'et... exitum vitæ,' are found in substance in cap. vii. ibid. col. 1275.]

of the communion of saints, to be bereaved of the benefit of being a member of Christ's flock, and cut off from that holy body the Church, I think that no man is in a worse and a more miserable estate; and more to be pitied, if he be insensible of it himself.

To come to the first Council of Macedon [Macon], the seventeenth canon, *Si scit illum falso juraturum, reus esto.* And what is he guilty of? Of no small matter. Ranked and ranged in the degree and place of a murderer—*et cum homicidis*[x].

Nay, he is worse than a manslayer, for he that kills a man destroys but one, and that but the body neither, for he cannot any way infringe the union of his soul, that it had with its Maker. But he that goes about to suborn and procure false witnesses, he at one time destroys two souls, both his own, and the soul of him that he so in that kind intermeddles withal; and unless he be rejoined again by the renewing of faith, and serious and hearty repentance, he sets God and both their souls at odds.

Afterwards you find it in the western parts of England; and in France, in the seventeenth [canon of the] Council of Agatha, you have a tamperer with witnesses adjudged to death[y]; even in the time of Alaricus, who was no better than a barbarous Goth, this crime was disallowed, made horrid and abominable, and held severely to be punished.

You may find it in St. Augustine, who lived about some 400 years after our Saviour Christ, and indeed he most excellently sets it out, in his 28th Sermon, *De Nativitate Domini*[z]; either he had it out of that Council, or the Council out of him, being much-what both at one time, and in one age.

Some parts of Greece, I find, did affect and patronise lying, but Tully wittily girds them for it, saying they were not wise to countenance folly[a]; yet I find that Aristotle, in his Rheto-

[x] [The Council of Macon contains no statement of the kind. See Decret. par. ii. Caus. xxii. Quæst. v. cap. vii. It seems to be a reference to the following passage of S. Aug. quoted in the same Quæst. cap. v.: "Ille autem qui hominem provocavit ad jurationem et scit eum falsum esse juraturum, vincit homicidam. Quia homicida corpus occisurus est, ille animam; imo duas, et ejus quem jurare provocavit, et suam."—S. Aug. Serm. cccviii. cap. 4. Op., tom. v. col. 1836. A.]

[y] [The seventeenth canon of the Council of Agde states nothing of the kind. The statement that parricides and perjurers are to be condemned to death is found, Decret. par. ii. Caus. xxiii. Quæst. v. cap. xl. 'Rex debet.'—Corp. Jur. Can. tom. i. col. 1350.]

[z] [S. Aug. Serm. clxxx. (al. De Verbis Apost. xxviii.) Op., tom. v. col. 1248.]

[a] [See Orat. pro L. Flacco, cap. iv.]

rics, concerning the interrogatories to witnesses, gives admirable rules, and such as, though short, comprehends the most-what of the most settled, and the wittiest, and the safest ways used now-a-days in that kind; lib. ii. Rhet. you may read the ways of prevention herein by him set down.

And to come into our own country, about the year 1222, in the reign of King Henry III., and if I do name Henry III. your Lordships know that it was a troublesome time, yet I read that Stephen Langton, my predecessor, (then Archbishop of Canterbury,) called a Council to be held at Oxford: the main business was for the reformation of two points; the one was concerning marriage, the other concerning exhereditation, &c.; where I find a foul penance inflicted and set out for him that shall either bear false witness by himself, or procure it in another [b].

For he that is a tamperer this way, he is guilty of no small crime, doing (at one and the same time) wrong to three of the greatest persons in the world, namely, 1, to God; 2, to the King; 3, to the innocent, who, *in conspectu Dei*, in the sight of God, is a person of no small esteem.

First, he manifestly wrongs God by a notorious contempt, by a very slighting and vilifying His omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotency.

He disrobes God of that which is His very essence, for God is truth. And he that dares thus outface God's truth, and wittingly deviseth and practiseth to lay it aside, and keep it from the light; I find him in very nature to be abhorred, and held unfit for human society. Aristotle himself, in that glimmering he had of divine learning, deciphers such a one, and sets him out by these very characters; he must be one *qui pietatem non curat* [c], a man that matters not at all for piety; he must either deny the Deity, or else think he can escape the reach of the celestial powers, such a one *qui putat se latere Deo*, he must be able to skulk on the one side, and absent himself from the hand of God at his pleasure.

Secondly, in the next place, another great person unto whom he doth injury, is the King, whom he plainly cheateth to his face, and wrongeth him in the very seat of justice, even forcing his officers, the grave and learned judges, will they, nill they, to do injustice; for if the witnesses be suborned,

[b] [Wilkins' Conc. tom. i. p. 585.] [c] [Arist. Rhet. ad Alexand. cap. xviii.]

and give in false evidence, the juror cannot come near the truth, and the judge must needs exact, order, and sentence, what otherwise they neither would, nor ought to have done.

Last of all, the third person that is wronged, *in conspectu Dei* is a person of no small esteem, the innocent (one little enough, God He knows, of no esteem, or of very little many times in the eye of the world, yet is he gracious and great too in the sight of God); and he is also most shamefully wronged and abused, nay, perhaps undone, by the indirect practices of those false witnesses. Sometimes his person is traduced, his fame and credit either stained, or else quite taken away, or so shaken, that it's a shrewd matter to deal with him; another while his estate, his birthright, is wrested from him, or else withdrawn, and for a time withheld from him; one while his goods, another while his lands, a third time himself is at stake; so life, lands, goods, and all are in danger: well, though such witnesses be against him, his plea is never a whit the worse *in foro cœli*, his inheritance is laid up amongst the saints, *testimonium ejus est in cœlis*[d]: 'Doubtless there is a reward for the righteous, verily there is a God that judgeth the earth[e]:' 'for there is nothing hid which shall not be revealed[f].'

And thus, my Lords, have I said what I thought fit, though not so much as the crime deserves, for my time being scanted, I have laid it out, though roughly, yet so as it may easily be seen of what a vile nature this cankered and pestilent weed is, and from whence it had its original, and how odious and detestable it hath been to all ages, how dangerous the effects be that proceed from it, and therefore how carefully it ought to be looked unto, and suppressed in all good commonwealths.

I shall make my word good in my brevity concerning the last thing I am to perform, and shall pass over the sentence very speedily: to make any repetitions were but *actum agere* (as my Lord of London said), therefore I will be very short in this.

I find much tampering and striving by my Lord Bishop's agents for to suppress and decline a truth.

I wonder that Lake should be sent to the University of Cambridge presently to take the degree of Doctor, and that they would let him pass.

[d] [Job xvi. 19.] [e] [Psal. lviii. 10.] [f] [Matth. x. 26.]

I cannot commend Mosteyn (though otherwise a very civil and deserving man, and I think very true and trusty to his master); yet to be present when a blank is to be put up, and an affidavit to be made to a blank by his privity, and in his presence, this is not honest; he might have done well to have disallowed the proceedings, or at least not been present, and have countenanced the same. And Walter Walker, though he be a solicitor, and must and ought to follow the causes he undertakes, with as much skill, industry, and advice as he may, yet he might have been ashamed of this blank affidavit, and he ought indeed to have suppressed it. And Mosteyn must bring him in at the back door, an unworthy part; if the business be such, as will redound to the shame of my Master, he should have come in at no door, by my being usher unto him: and if the business and bringer be justifiable, the fore-door had better fitted.

If Walker had been a good servant, it had gone better with the Bishop than now it is like to do; and if Walker do escape sentence, it's more by hap than skill, more by luck than honesty. I find him to be a very arrant honest man in all the business, and my Lord Bishop is a very miserable man, thus to defend Prigeon's good name with the loss of his own.

Catlin, he must have a living given him, and well he deserved it, but as yet he had not played his part to the full, and therefore stay your hand, my Lord, (saith Walker,) till the business be done. A manifest plain proof that there was some use to be made of this cunning and crafty fellow, to countenance the business in hand. And I can say no less than that I find Catlin to be a very lewd man, a very incendiary, and truly to be paralleled with that Catlin of Rome, against whom so many learned and eloquent Orations were writ by Cicero, that famous orator.

For Lunn, let him go on in God's name, to be put off from the place and offices that he hath; and for Powell, I could go deeper than any before me hath yet done, who prosecutes an unjust act so long, so oft, and never repents of it.

For Kilvert's affronting of my Lord Bishop in that manner he did, I must set that, and the Bishop's offering to be present at the examination of the witnesses, both in one distance, and they may very well the one of them quit the other. For if Kilvert, being upon so weighty a business, and

concerning so great a matter, interessed into it by no worse than the King's Majesty, and in a cause that concerned himself; if Kilvert, I say, should have gone puningly, faintly, and cowardly have put his finger in a hole, if he had upon my Lord's presence, and by the terms he used, gone sheepishly on in his business, the matter might have failed. Some of your Lordships have condemned him for his bold carriage toward a bishop in his own diocese; but I cannot, for my Lord and his passions were more to be condemned. A temper would better have befitted him, and indeed he ought not to have given any such occasion, and therefore it may be said, *Etiamsi ego dignus sum hac contumelia, indignus tamen, qui fecerit*[g], I pass that by as to be excused, by reason of the weightiness of the matter.

For the gaining of papers from the Council-table, I find my Lord Bishop had them long enough in his custody, and they were returned unsealed; and I do find that he proceeds to counter-proofs directly, according as he was informed by these papers, which in my mind shows apparently, that he both had them and perused them.

For Sir John Mounson, the King is wounded through his sides. I have known him a long time, and I never knew nor heard anything of him but good, and therefore do hold one thousand marks little enough for reparation of his credit, who did nothing but that which was his duty, and belonged to his place.

For my Lord Bishop of Lincoln, truly I am heartily sorry to do that which I must do, both by reason he is of my own coat, and also by reason of the place he hath in former time sustained in this court amongst your Lordships, and in this commonwealth; but I must not forbear to do that which my conscience leads me unto, and less I must not do, than for to discharge that as I ought to do.

Wherefore I shall agree with my Lord Cottington, and the rest that have gone before me, in the fine of 10,000*l.* to his Majesty, and likewise for his imprisonment in the Tower during the King's pleasure, as also to be suspended from the exercise of his ecclesiastical function, *tam a beneficiis, quam officiis*, and to be referred over to be proceeded against in the High Commission Court, as the merit of his offence shall deserve.

[g] [Terent. Eun. v. 2. 27.]

THE ANSWER

OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

TO THE

SPEECH OF THE LORD SAY AND SEAL,

TOUCHING THE LITURGY[a].

THE speech begins thus:

My Lords, I have waited to find you free from greater businesses, that I might crave leave to speak of something that concerns myself. And this I have the more desired, since my Lord of Canterbury's last speech, who expressing his troubles, and bewailing the misery of his condition, and of the condition of the Church of England, (for he would needs join them together, which I think he may, as the cause and the effect, for the miseries of the Church have certainly risen from him,) he insisted much upon this: that these troubles had befallen him through the malice of two parties, the Papists and the Sectaries, and by those he said the Church was greatly afflicted.

My Lords, and all Christian readers, those great businesses which my Lord speaks of are now ended; and I hope as you are free from business, so you will be free from prejudice, while I also crave leave to speak something concerning myself. And this I also have the more desired, since I saw this honourable Lord had put his speech in print, which I find as

[a] [This Answer is reprinted from the first volume of Laud's Works (Lond. 1695), where it was inserted by H. Wharton, at the end of the Archbishop's History of his Troubles and Trial. The pages of this volume are noted in the margin.]

much, if not more, against me than for himself. This speech was not put in print till near six months after it was spoken; and, I conceive, was printed then to renew the business, and to whet the malice of those Sectaries against me. 'Tis true that after I was impeached by the House of Commons for high treason, there came no articles up against me in full ten 471
weeks after; then they came up in generals only; and I was called to the House to hear them on Friday, February the 26th, 164$\frac{0}{1}$. Now, by these articles I found that there was great but (I humbly praise God for it) causeless jealousy of me in point of religion. This made me labour more to clear myself from that, than from anything else objected against me, as ever hating to seem other in religion than what I truly and really am. For of all simulations or dissimulations, that is the basest, when a man, for poor, temporary, fading ends, shall shift his religion or his judgment concerning it, with the time if not with the tide, as if at all times he had somewhat to seek before he would express: whereas it is most true which St. Hilary speaks in matter of religion, *Non opus est intervallo aliquo inter cor et os*[b]: 'There's no need of a distance between the heart and the mouth; as if a man were to bethink himself of some faithless ambiguity, before he would speak that which belonged to the profession of his faith.'

Now, if seeing myself under so great a pressure, and the Church of England so hard laid at, as then it was, I did bewail the condition of both, I think I did what became me; and I hope I offended no man in 'joining our conditions together.' And whereas this honourable Lord thinks, 'that I might well join them, as the cause and the effect,' I think so too myself, but in another sense.

For his Lordship says too peremptorily, that 'the miseries of the Church have certainly risen from me.' No, certainly; the miseries of this Church have proceeded from the Separatists, and from such as for private at least, if not for worse ends, have countenanced them and their strange proceedings against the government and governors of the Church: and this so long, till they brought the Church's condition (which

[b] ["Non tardo opus est petitoque longe verbo confessionis, nec intervallo aliquo inter cor atque os relicto, ut quod ad protestationem religionis loquendum sit, per infidelem ambiguitatem cogitetur."]—St. Hilary, l. x. de Trin. p. 165. [§ 70, col. 1080. B. Paris. 1693.]

flourished before) to be the cause of my condition, such as it now is; and I fell into this condition by labouring, by all good means, to uphold the Church of England from that misery into which, I fear, it is now falling.

And I doubt not but God will open the eyes of all good men, to see clearly in time, that this was the cause which laid both me and this Church so low, and not any actions, much less practices of mine. This being so, if 'I insisted much upon this, that these troubles have befallen me through the malice of two parties, the Papists and the Sectaries' (as this honourable Lord says I did), I had great reason so to do. For, certainly, the Church of England is 'greatly afflicted' by them; and I pray God, in the end it be not torn in pieces between them. That which I then said, in my sudden speech to the Lords to this particular, was as follows[c]:—

"I am very unfortunate in this business, between the malignity of two parties against me, the Papist and the Separatist. And shall I suffer on both sides at once? Shall I be accounted a deadly enemy to the Papist, as I am reputed by them both at home and abroad; and, in the meantime, accused for no less than treason for favouring and complying with them? Well, if I do suffer, 'tis but because truth usually lies between two sides, and is beaten on both sides (as the poor Church of England is at this day by these factions). But in this and all things else, and in despite of malice, truth
472 shall either be my protection from suffering, or my comfort while I suffer: and by God's gracious assistance I shall never depart from it, but continue at the Apostle's ward, *Nihil possum contra veritatem:* 'I can do nothing against the truth[d];' and for it, I hope, God will enable me patiently to suffer anything."

This, or to this effect, I then spake, and I hope without any offence; sure I am, without reflecting upon any particular person. Yet my Lord seems to think otherwise; for he says—

How far this man will extend this word Sectary, and whom he will comprehend under it, I know not; but I have some cause to fear that I may lie under some misapprehension

[c] [This part of the Archbishop's speech is recorded by him in the History of his Troubles and Trial, chap. vii. Works, vol. iii. p. 415.]

[d] 2 Cor. xiii. 8.

in respect of matters of this nature, which how far it concerns him, your Lordships will perceive by what I shall say.

My Lord, it seems, 'knows not how far I will extend the word Sectary.' Truly, no further than the Church of Christ extended it, ever since sects and schisms broke in upon it, to help despoil it of peace and unity. And a Sectary is he[e] . .

. . . . . .

The next thing which my Lord knows not is, 'whom I will comprehend under that name;' and that his Lordship may easily know. For I comprehend none under it but such as divide from the Church, and either make or follow a breach, where no just cause is given by the Church, or where, though cause were given, ways of division are preferred before ways of peace. But that which troubles my Lord about these things, which he professes he knows not, is, that he hath some cause to fear (for so he confesses) 'that he may lie under some misapprehensions in respect of matters of this nature.' And this I think may trouble him indeed; for there's cause enough why he should fear that he may lie under, not misapprehensions, but very just apprehensions, in respect of matters of this nature, since 'tis manifest that he separates himself, as Sectaries use to do, from the common prayers of the Church; and those such as were composed by such bishops and other divines as suffered, some of them to martyrdom, for the truth of Christ; and those such also as were a second time, under the prosperous reign of Queen Elizabeth, confirmed by Act of Parliament. So that his Lordship, separating himself from those prayers which were made by the one and confirmed by the other, must needs be apprehended as a Sectary, whether you look upon Church or State. But my Lord tells you, 'that you will perceive by that which he shall say, how far this concerns me.' And therefore I pray you observe it diligently; for I cannot yet conceive how anything else that belongs to a Sectary can concern me, or anything else, much, which his Lordship can say against me.

My Lord of Canterbury! a man of mean birth, bred up in a College, (and that too frequently falls out to be in a

[e] The definition or description of a Sectary is wanting in the original.—H. W.

faction,) whose narrow comprehension extended itself no further than to carry on a side in a College, or canvass for a Proctor's place in the University.

473 This concerns me indeed, and very nearly; for I see his Lordship resolves to rake me up from my very birth, a way unusual for men well-bred, and little beseeming a person of honour, especially thus to insult upon a fallen fortune. But yet it concerns me not in any relation to a Sectary, unless his Lordship would possess the world that I was bred in faction, and so like enough to prove one. But how my Lord is mistaken in this will plainly appear. First, then, 'tis true I am a man of ordinary, but very honest birth; and the memory of my parents savours very well to this day, in the town in Reading, where I was born. Nor was I so meanly born as perhaps my Lord would insinuate; for my father had borne all offices in the town, save the mayoralty; and my immediate predecessor (whom I am sure my Lord himself accounted very worthy of his place) was as meanly born as myself, his father being of the same trade in Guilford that mine was of in Reading. But all this of my birth might well have been spared; for my Lord knows well enough—

'Miserum est aliorum incumbere famæ;
Ne collapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis[f];'

and that which follows in the satirist. And had my birth been meaner than it was, that would not have impaired me among men of understanding. And howsoever, this advantage I have; I have done honour to my birth, which every man hath not done, that hath had an honourable descent. To my birth, his Lordship adds that I was bred up in a College. That's true. But 'tis as true that his Lordship was bred up in a College also[g], and of the same University; and therefore, so far he speaks as much against himself as me. But I hope he intends not to charge being bred in a College, as a fault upon either of us; and though 'it too frequently falls out that Colleges be in a faction,' (for that also is too truly observed by his Lordship,) yet that is no fault in any man who neither causes nor nourishes the faction. But that which his Lordship charges next upon me is both a

[f] Juven. Satir. viii. [76, 77.].

[g] [In New College.]

weakness and a fault, if true: weakness, that 'my comprehensions are narrow;' and a fault, because 'they extended no further than to carry on a side in the College, or a canvass for a Proctor's place in the University.'

For the weakness first. My comprehensions, as narrow as they are, are yet as large as God hath been pleased to make them, and as large as my hard study, accompanied with His grace, hath been able to stretch them; and so large I am sure they are, as that I have ever looked carefully upon the whole Catholic Church of Christ, spread upon the face of the whole earth.

And therefore certainly my comprehensions are not so narrow as theirs, whose largest cannot, or will not, look upon one entire national Church; nay, a parochial is too big for them, and a conventicle big enough. Nor did my 'narrow comprehensions' ever reject that great body, the Catholic Church, out of the Creed, as some of late have done, whose comprehensions are not, for all that, censured by his Lordship for their narrowness.

Next for the fault. That's twofold. First, my compre- 474
hensions went no further (says my Lord) than 'to carry on a side in a College.' Here my Lord is either utterly mistaken, or, which is worse, in a wilful error; for, while I was Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, where I was bred, it is well known I never made nor held up any side. Indeed, when I was chosen President of that College, there was a bitter faction both raised and countenanced against me (I will forbear to relate how and by whom). But this is certain, I made no party then; for four being in nomination for that headship, I lay then so sick at London, that I was neither able to go down, nor so much as write to my friends about it. Yet, after much tumble, a major part of the votes made choice of me. Thus I was chosen President, May 10, 1611[h]. After this my election was quarrelled at, and great means made against me, insomuch that the most gracious king, King James, sat to hear the cause himself, for the space of full three hours, Aug. 28, at Tichburn in Hampshire, as he returned out of the western progress. Upon this hearing, his Majesty approved my election, and commanded my settle-

[h] [See Diary at this date, Works, vol. iii. p. 135.]

ment; which was done accordingly at Michaelmas following. But the faction in the College finding such props above, as they had, continued very eager and bitter against me. The audit of the College for the year's accounts, and choice of new officers, followed in November: there so God blessed me with patience and moderation in the choice of all offices, that I made all quiet in the College. And for all the narrowness of my comprehensions, I governed that College in peace, without so much as the show of a faction, all my time, which was near upon eleven years. And the truth of all this is notoriously known, and many yet living, of great worth in the Church, able and ready to avow it. And this, I hope, was not to lead on a side.

Secondly, my Lord charges my narrow comprehensions as reaching no further than 'a canvass for a Proctor's place.' I was (with thanks to their love that thought me worthy) chose Proctor of the University[i], so soon as by statute I was capable of it; but I never meddled in the managing of the canvass for it for myself, nor afterwards for any other, while I continued Fellow of the College. When I was chosen President, I continued so for two years, and meddled not in that business; and this I did, because in some things I did utterly dislike that canvass, and the carriage of it. At last some of the senior Fellows came to me, and told me that the College had been many years without the credit of a Proctor, and that the Fellows began to take it ill at my hands that I would not show myself, and try my credit and my friends in that business. Upon this, rather than I would lose the love of my companions, I did settle myself in an honest and fair way to right the College as much as I could; and by God's blessing it succeeded beyond expectation[k]. But when we were at the strongest, I made this fair offer more than once and again, that if the greater Colleges would submit to take their turns in order, and not seek to carry all from the lesser, we would agree to any indifferent course in Convocation, and
475 allow the greater Colleges their full proportion according to their number. This would not be hearkened unto; whereupon things continued some years.

[i] [In 1603.]

[k] [Richard Baylie, of St. John's College, was Proctor in 1615. He was, as mentioned above (vol. v. p. 143, note [i]), Laud's principal opponent in his election to the Presidentship.]

After this, by his Majesty's grace and favour, I was made Bishop of St. David's; and after that of Bath and Wells. When I was thus gone out of the University, the election of the Proctors grew more and more tumultuous, till at the last the peace of the University was like to be utterly broken; and the divided parties brought up a complaint to the Council-table. The Lords were much troubled at it, especially the right honourable William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward, and their honourable Chancellor. I had by that time, and by the great grace of his now Majesty, the honour to be a Councillor, and was present. There I acquainted the Lords what offers I had made, during my time in the University, which I did conceive would settle all differences, and make peace for ever. The Lords approved the way; and after the Council was risen, my very honourable Lord the Earl of Pembroke desired me to put the whole business in writing, that he might see and consider of it. I did so: his Lordship approved of it, and sent it to the University, with all freedom to accept or refuse, as they saw cause. The University approved all, only desired the addition of a year or two more to the circle; which would add a turn or two more, to content some of the greater Colleges. This that honourable Lord yielded unto; and that form of election of their Proctors was by unanimous consent made a statute in Convocation, and hath continued the University in peace ever since[1]. And this is all 'the carrying on of a canvass for a Proctor's place' which any truth can challenge me withal. And it may be, my Lord is pleased to impute 'narrow comprehensions' to me, because my advice enclosed the choice of the Proctors within a circle. I am heartily sorry I should trouble the reader with these passages concerning myself; but my Lord forces me to it, by imputing so much unworthiness to me. But my Lord leaves not here, but goes on, and says worse of me:—

Being suddenly advanced to highest places of government in Church and State, had not his heart enlarged by the enlargement of his fortune; but still the maintaining of his party was that which filled all his thoughts; which he prosecuted with so much violence and inconsiderateness,

[1] [See Wood's Annals, ad ann. 1628, 1629, pp. 360, seq.]

that he had not an eye to see the consequences thereof to the Church and State, until he had brought both into those distractions, danger, and dishonour, which we now find ourselves encompassed withal.

The next thing which my Lord charges me with is, that 'I was suddenly advanced to highest places of government in Church and State.' This is like the rest. And I dare say, when my Lord shall better consider of it, he will neither re-affirm nor avouch such an untruth. 'Suddenly advanced!' What does my Lord call 'suddenly?' I was eleven years his Majesty's Chaplain in Ordinary, before I was made a Bishop. I was a Bishop twelve years before I was preferred to be Archbishop of Canterbury, that highest place my Lord mentions. When I was made Archbishop, I was full three-
476 score years of age, within less than one month. Whereas my immediate predecessor was not any one month in his Majesty's ordinary service as chaplain, but far from that honourable indeed, but yet painful and chargeable service, and was made Bishop of Lichfield, of London, and of Canterbury, within the compass of two years, he being at the time of his translation to Canterbury but forty-nine years of age; and yet never charged as a man 'suddenly advanced.' But my advancement, which it seems pleased not my Lord so well as his did, was very sudden; which I leave to the impartial reader to judge.

Next being advanced to this 'high place,' as my Lord calls it, (but now made low enough by his Lordship, and other of the same feather,) he says, 'I had not my heart enlarged with the enlargement of my fortune.' Sure my Lord is mistaken again. For my heart (I humbly thank God for it) was enlarged every way as much as my fortune, and in some things perhaps more. But it may be my Lord meant, that my heart was not sufficiently enlarged, because I could not receive those separatists into it (further than to pray for them) which would not suffer the open bosom of the Church of England to receive them; but 'neglecting their father's commandment, forsook also their mother's instruction[m].'

Nor did I 'maintain any party;' but any Churchman, or

[m] Prov. i. 8, and vi. 20.

any man else that loved order and peace in the Church, was very welcome to me. And I leave the world to judge, by what they now see, whether I or this Lord have practised or studied most 'the maintenance and advancement of a party.' And as I did not 'maintain a party,' so much less 'did it fill all my thoughts' (as narrow as my Lord thinks them). Nor did I prosecute these or any other my thoughts either with 'violence' or 'inconsiderateness.' Not with 'violence;' for I can name many, of whose preferment, under God and the King, I was cause, who yet went not with them which my Lord will needs miscall 'my party.' Nor did I punish either more, or more severely, any that were brought before me in the Commission, than were punished for the like offences in any the same number of years in my late predecessor's time; as will manifestly appear by the Acts of the Court. Nor with 'inconsiderateness.' For I have many witnesses that mine eye was open, and did plainly see, and as freely tell (where I then hoped there might have been remedy) what was coming both upon Church and State, though not as consequences upon my proceedings; and I wish with all my heart they were no more consequences upon my Lord's proceedings than they have been upon mine.

And my Lord is extremely mistaken, to say that 'I brought both into those distractions, danger, and dishonour, with which they are now encompassed.' For 'tis not I that have troubled this Israel of God. For God is my witness, I laboured nothing but the settlement of the decent external worship of God among us, which, whatever some other men think, I know was sunk very low; and if in labouring this I did err in any circumstance, (for in matter of substance I am sure I did not,) that may be forgiven me for humanity's sake, which cannot free itself from error. But that which brought all these distractions both upon Church and State, was the bringing in of the Scots, and the keeping of them here at a vast charge, only to serve turns, and those very base ones: 477
and to the debasing and dishonour of this whole nation, as well as the King. And how far this Lord had his hand or his head in this treacherous business, he best knows. Sure I am, his Lordship is thought one of the chief moulders of this leaven of the Pharisees. But my Lord thinks himself

safe enough; so he can cry me up among the rabble, to be the author of all. And not content with this, he insults further upon me, as follows:—

> *Yet, to magnify his moderation, presently after the breaking of the last Parliament, he told a Lord, who sits now in my sight, that if he had been a violent man, he wanted no occasion to show it. For he observed that the Lord Say never came to prayers, and added, that I was in his knowledge as great a separatist as any was in England.*

Whatever it was I said, was not 'to magnify my moderation.' Nor do I remember that ever I spake these words. Yet first, if any Lord will say, upon his honour, that I did say these very words, I will bear him and the peerage of the realm that honour, as that I will submit and believe his testimony, against my own old now and weak memory. Next, upon inquiry made by some friends of mine, I find that the words I should speak are said to be these: 'that if I listed to take any advantage against this honourable Lord, I had as much exception to him as to any separatist in England.' These words are neither so bold nor so uncivil as those in the charge; and perhaps I might speak these, though I remember it not. For during the last Parliament, not so few as ten or a dozen several Lords came to me of themselves, as I sat there, and complained grievously of this Lord's absenting himself from the prayers of the Church; and some of them wondered he was not questioned for the scandal he gave by it. And if any of them would be so mean as to urge me to speak, by speaking broad themselves, and then carry the tale to this noble Lord, he did that, whoever he were, which I hope was not the noblest of his actions; and if I did say these latter words of this great Lord, I must and do say them again; and I heartily beseech God that this sin be not laid to my charge, that I questioned him not when the times were calmer; for had I done that, I had done my duty; and if I had not cured him, perhaps I might have prevented so much common danger to this Church, as his Lordship hath procured since that time, both by his example, his counsel, and his countenance. And for the words, I doubt not but he himself will be found to have made them good, before I have done examining

this speech of his Lordship. In the meantime, my Lord proceeds:—

My Lords, how far he hath spit this venom of his against me, I am not certain; but I may well fear, where it might do me greatest prejudice. I shall therefore entreat your Lordships' favour and patience, that I may give you in these things, which so nearly concern me, a true account of myself; which I shall do with ingenuity and clearness, and so as that, if I satisfy not all men, yet I hope I shall make it appear I am not such a one as this waspish man 478 *was willing to make the world believe.*

I have spit no 'venom' against his Lordship, much less have I spit anything far. For this report, which is here called 'venom,' is common through the kingdom. And I have already told you what divers Lords said to me during the last Parliament. And that is no more than hath been avowed unto me by very many others, and some of very good quality; so the spreading was to me, not from me. But yet, my Lord 'fears I spread it, where it might do him greatest prejudice.' I know not what my Lord means by this, unless it be that I should spread it to his Majesty. And if that be his meaning, I will tell his Lordship truth, what I know therein. I was present when I heard some Lords, more than once, tell the King, that the Lord Say was a separatist from the Church of England, and would not come at her common prayers. And one of these Lords afterwards told me, 'he did conceive it was a great danger to this kingdom, when noblemen should begin to separate in religion; and that his Majesty had need look to it.' To this last, which was spoken to me in private (but I will depose the truth of it), I could not but assent. And to the former I then said, I had heard as much as was then told his Majesty, but I was not certain of it. And I doubt not but these Lords 'sit in his Lordship's sight,' as well as that Lord who told him the other of me: and not in his sight only, but in his affections also, as things go now. But however they carry it with him now, this they said of him then. Nor will I here pick a thanks, to tell this Lord what service I did him to his Majesty, when he was thought to be in danger enough; though I was chidden by a

great one that stood by for my labour. I shall therefore entreat the Christian reader's 'favour and patience,' that having hitherto given him a most true and clear account of that which my Lord charges me with, and doth 'nearly concern' me, so I may proceed to the rest, which I do with all ingenuity and truth. 'And so as that if I satisfy not all men, yet I hope I shall make it appear that I am not such a waspish man' as my Lord would fain render me to the world. But if I have been a wasp in any court, wherein I have had the honour to sit; yet his Lordship should not have called me so, considering what a hornet all men say he is in the Court of Wards [n], and in other places of business: where he pinches so deep, that discreet men are in a doubt whether his aim be to sting the Wards, or the Court itself, to death first. For no man can believe 'tis for the good of the King. And if I fail in this endeavour of mine to clear myself, I must desire the courteous reader to ascribe it, not to my cause, which is very good against his Lordship, but 'to the narrowness of my comprehensions,' and my weakness compared with his Lordship's great abilities. And now my Lord charges as hard as he can. Thus:—

For the first of these which he charges upon me, it may be, he was willing to have it thought that I would not join in prayer with your Lordships, but refused such a communion; which is altogether false. For I should most willingly
479 *join in prayers with you. And further, I will add, that I do not think but some set form of prayers, by some men, in some cases, may be lawfully used.*

For this first; I was not willing to have anything thought of this Lord which is not true; and if it be 'altogether false,' (as his Lordship says it is,) 'that he will not join in prayers with the rest of the Lords in Parliament, but refuses such a communion;' I would fain know why his Lordship doth not join in prayer with them. For most undoubtedly he may if he will. And since it is most true, that he hath not come to prayers in the House with the rest of the Lords, not so much as once, either in the last Parliament, or this; I think it may reasonably be concluded without any falsehood, that his

[n] [He was appointed Master of the Court of Wards, May 17, 1641, in the vain hope of securing his services to the King.]

Lordship 'will not join,' no, not in 'such a communion' with them. Where it is to be observed, he says, he 'refuses not such a communion with them.' He refuses not; yet he will not join: and 'he refuses not such a communion.' A communion I have cause to doubt he doth refuse; but not such a communion as goes no further than prayers; yet to these he comes not. At the sacrament, I believe he will be more scrupulous, of whom, or with whom, he receives that.

Indeed, his Lordship adds, that 'he would most willingly join in prayers with their Lordships.' And though this be most strange, that he should never do that, which he would most willingly do, an opportunity being offered him every day: yet, my Lord is pleased to add further, what his judgment is 'of set forms of prayer.' And he tells you, that he thinks 'some set forms, by some men, in some occasions may be lawfully used.' Surely, the Church of England is much beholding to this Lord; very much, and the State too. For the set 'forms of prayer' which she enjoins, were compiled by some of those who suffered no less than martyrdom for the reformation of religion: the same form of prayer was established by Act of Parliament: and yet, as if Church and State were all at a loss, this noble Lord, who confesses 'some set forms lawful,' condemns this form, by his actions at least, in continual and professed abstaining from it. 'Some forms,' but not this; by 'some men,' but not these; in 'some cases,' but not in God's public service in the Church, 'may be lawfully used.' And yet for all these petty 'somes' of restraint, I know his Lordship's parts so great, that I dare not say (as he says of me) that his Lordship is of 'narrow comprehensions.' But his Lordship will now tell us, what that is, in which he is not satisfied.

But this is that which I am not satisfied in, that a certain number of men should usurp an authority unto themselves, to frame certain prayers, and forms of divine service; and when that is done, under the name of the Church to enjoin them upon all persons, in all times, and upon all occasions, to be used, and no other. And upon this ground, (which makes it the worse,) because these come from the public spirit of the Church, (when the bishop or

his Chaplain shall frame them,) and others proceed from the private spirit of this or that particular man.

Now, truly, since my Lord does not think 'some set forms of prayer unlawful,' I am very sorry his Lordship is not satisfied 'that a certain number of men should frame these forms of divine service.' For all Churchmen cannot possibly meet about that, or any other Church affair; nor can any synod or assembly be called, but there must be 'some certain number of them.' Nor do these 'men usurp any authority to themselves herein:' for in all ages of the Church, from Christ downward, all set forms of prayer, used in any Church, have been either made by 'a certain number of men,' or approved by them, when some eminent servant of God hath composed them first, and then tendered them to the judgment of the Church. And it is very necessary that it should be so. 'Nor would the Church of old admit any prayers in the public service and worship of God; but such as were so made, and so approved; lest through ignorance, or want of care and circumspection, something might slip in that was contrary to the faith [o].' But I fear here's *anguis in herba*[p]. And that my Lord is not satisfied, not so much because these set forms are made by 'a set number of men,' as because they are Churchmen, though he be shy to express it. And if that be his meaning, he must rest unsatisfied still. For Churchmen, and none but Churchmen, must actually do public Church-work, according to their calling, and their warrant. And yet, I hope, Churchmen will never be so proud, but that if any lay religious man, of 'larger comprehensions than themselves,' will offer in private any help to them, they will lend an open ear to it, and after, with a prudent consideration, do what is fit.

And as this Lord is not satisfied, that 'a certain number of men' should make these set forms; so much less is he satisfied, that when this is done, 'they should under the name of the Church, enjoin them upon all persons, in all times, and upon all occasions, to be used, and no other.' No

[o] "Nec aliæ (preces) omnino dicantur in Ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus traditæ [*leg.* tractatæ] vel comprobatæ in Synodo fuerint; ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum." — Concil. Milevita. II. can. 12. [Conc. tom. ii. col. 1540. E.]

[p] [Virg. Ecl. iii. 93.]

set forms, that I know, are enjoined 'under the name of the Church,' but such as the Church in Synod hath approved, or tolerated till a Synod may be called. And when any national Church, in a kingdom that is Christian, hath approved a set form; yet that cannot be enjoined upon all persons, till the sovereign power in that state hath weighed, approved, and commanded it. But then, though framed by 'a certain number of men,' that, and no other, lays hold 'on all persons, and in all times, and upon all occasions' that are public; if men will live in obedience to the Church and State. I say public, leaving 'all persons, at all times,' free to use any form of prayer agreeable to the foundations of Christian religion, which shall best serve their several private occasions.

And therefore I conceive, my Lord is in a great error in that which he adds next; namely, 'that this ground makes it the worse, because these set forms are said to come from the public spirit of the Church.'

I cannot think so hardly of my Lord, as if he could like a set form of prayer the worse, because it comes 'from the public spirit of the Church.' And therefore I will take his words in another sense, (though they be in my judgment very obscurely set down,) and perhaps that is his Lordship's meaning: that 'it makes the matter the worse, because these 481
forms of prayer come as from the public spirit of the Church, when it is but the bishop or his chaplain, or some private spirit, that frames them.' If this be my Lord's meaning; far be it from me, or any other, to impose any form of set prayers upon the Church. But it is one thing to 'impose,' and quite another to 'compose' a set form of prayer. 'Impose,' none can but just authority. 'Compose,' all together cannot; but some one or more must be singled out to take that pains. And all or most may approve, what one or few have compiled. When it is so approved, then it can no more be said to proceed from 'any private spirit of this or that man, be it the bishop or his chaplain;' but from the spirit and power of the Church. My Lord himself being a prudent man, hath had the happiness to make motions in Parliament, which have taken the House, been approved, and orders drawn up upon them: when the order is so agreed on, no man

may say, it is an order of my Lord's 'private spirit,' but the order of the House, and approved by the 'public spirit,' and imposed by the public authority of the State. And therefore to me it seems strange, that my Lord, who understands these things so well, should neither like of a set form of prayers, composed by private men, nor by 'a certain number of men,' and after publicly confirmed. Sure, this would make any man think my Lord likes none, however he minces it. But my Lord goes further, and says,—

> *This injunction is an usurpation of power over the Churches of Christ, and over the gifts and graces which Christ hath given unto men; which the Apostles never exercised, nor would assume. And yet they might much better have done it. And the same reasons might have been alleged for it that are now. This turns such forms, instead of being directions, into superstition.*

It seems by this (for I am most willing to take my Lord's meaning at the fairest) that my Lord can digest 'some set forms of prayer;' but he would have no 'injunction' upon them. So he that would use them might, and he that would not might choose; and this in short time would bring mere confusion into the Church of God, which I hope is not my Lord's intention to do. Besides, my Lord cannot but know that 'this injunction for our set forms of service' comes not from the Church's direction and constitution, (though her wisdom and piety framed it,) but from the authority and power of King and Parliament. So that all the arguments which his Lordship brings here against the Church, are equally, if not more, set against the King and the Parliament. Well; why then is not an injunction of set form of prayers fit? Why, my Lord tells you: First, because 'it is an usurpation of power over the Churches of Christ.' 'Tis indeed an act of power, but no usurpation. The Church directing, and the Sovereign enacting, ever had this power, since States became Christian. And should I have called it an 'usurpation of power,' his Lordship, I fear, would have called it treason against the King's supremacy. But I doubt my Lord would have the Churches free from regal power having aught to do with them, durst he speak out.

Secondly, because it's 'an usurpation of power over the gifts and graces which God hath given unto men.' Not so neither. For whatsoever gifts or graces God hath given unto 482
men, they may all have time, place, and occasions enough, to use them to God's glory, and the comfort of themselves and others; and yet in the public service of God, submit to that set form of God's worship, which is enjoined for unity and decency in that external service. So this lays no restraint upon the 'gifts and graces' of pious and religious men: but it keeps off bold, ignorant, and audacious men, from 'foaming out their own shame [q],' to the great disorder and scandal of the Church of Christ. As we may see at this day, now that injunction begins to be but a little loosed, what froth and base stuff is preached to the consciences of men. And yet these men, which preach thus scandalously, talk of 'gifts and graces;' none more.

Thirdly, because 'the Apostles never exercised, nor would assume this power of enjoining a set form, and yet they might better have done it.' But how doth my Lord know the Apostles never exercised, nor would assume this power? Out of all doubt the Apostles did exercise and assume many things, which are not come down to our knowledge. And since the Apostles did enjoin a form of doctrine to the Church of Rome [r], and delivered it too. And since St. Paul enjoined the Church at Philippi, to 'walk by a set rule,' (for a rule it cannot be, unless it be set,) 'that so they might learn to mind the same things [s],' Phil. iii. And a form of ordination by imposition of hands [t], 1 Tim. v., for such persons as should instruct the people in these things. And this with a stiff injunction, v. 21, and 'a form of wholesome words [u],' 2 Tim. i. And since St. John the Baptist taught his disciples to pray [v], St. Luke xi.;—and that it was by some set form of prayer, I have some reason to think. First, because if they did pray by the motion of the Spirit only, St. John could not teach them that, but the Spirit only. So either St. John taught them not at all to pray, which I hope this Lord will not say against a plain text; or else he taught

[q] [Jude, ver. 13.]
[r] Rom. vi. 17.
[s] Phil. iii. 16.
[t] 1 Tim. v. 22.
[u] 2 Tim. i. 13.
[v] St. Luke xi. 1.

them some set form, which was in his power and theirs, to teach and learn. Secondly, because Christ's disciples seem to intimate so much. For they desire Christ to 'teach them to pray, as St. John taught his disciples[w].' And Christ instantly granting their request, taught them a set form of prayer: therefore it is more than probable, that St. John taught his so too, though the form be not recorded in Scripture. Upon all which laid together, it is probable enough (by my Lord's leave) that the Apostles did 'exercise' some set form, that at least which Christ taught them. And 'assumed' power to enjoin it upon their followers. But herein yet the Apostles are somewhat beholding to this Lord, that he reallows, 'they might better have done it' than any nowadays. Well; I will not dispute what they might better have done; sure I am, it may and ought to be done now.

Fourthly, because 'the same reasons might then have been alleged for it, that are now.' The same might, but not all the same. In particular, the Church was small then, and might with ease be ordered, in comparison of the great congregations that are now. But especially the Apostles and Apostolical men were then present, and could in another manner, and with a greater power than men nowadays, both judge and order the 'gifts and graces of other men,' to the avoiding of confusion in the Church, which God by His Apostles would none of[x]. 1 Cor. xiv.

483 Besides, the Apostles and some others in those times had the grace and the gift of prayer, as well as other graces. And there was then as peculiar a gift by inspiration to pray, as to foretell things to come, or to do miracles: as is evident in St. Chrysostom, who says that 'these men made use of this gift, and prayed publicly in their assemblies[y].' But so soon as this gift with others ceased, there was a set form from the beginning. Neither is it hard to prove, that some parts of our Liturgy hath been as ancient as the Church hath any records to show, and some both practised and prescribed by

[w] [St. Luke xi.] 2.

[x] 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

[y] [Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν συμφερόντων ἡμῖν ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα αἰτοῦμεν, ἦρχετο χάρισμα εὐχῆς εἰς ἕνα τινὰ τῶν τότε, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης αὐτός τε ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἵστατο αἰτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαίδευε.] —St. Chrysost. in Rom. viii. 26. [Op., tom. ix. p. 586. B. Ed. Bened.]

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the Apostle St. Paul for the substance of them. And the true reason why we cannot show the exact primitive forms then in use is, because they were continually subject to alterations both in times and places. Now, if this Lord can furnish us with such men, as shall be enabled to pray by the immediate inspiration of God's Spirit, we will bind them up to no form. But, till he can, I hope we shall be so happy as to retain the set prayers of the Church.

Fifthly, because 'this (enjoining) turns such forms, instead of being directions, into superstition.' This is so wild a conceit, that I wonder how it fell into the thought of so wise a man as my Lord is taken to be. For can a command or an injunction alter the very nature of a thing so far, as to turn that which is a direction into a superstition? Then belike it is superstition for any Christian to obey the decrees and injunctions, whether for belief or practice, made by any the four first General Councils. And my Lord knows well that 'tis heretical for any man to profess against any of these Councils, and this not only by the Church law, (which his Lordship so much slights,) but by the laws of England[z]. So by this reason of my Lord's, it shall be heretical to deny the injunction, and superstition to obey it.

If this will not serve, my Lord may be pleased to remember that in the Council held at Jerusalem by the Apostles themselves[a], they gave a command, though no such command as might trouble the believing Gentiles; and therefore decreed that they would lay no greater burthen on them, no more grievous injunction, than 'that they abstain from things offered unto idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication[b].' Where, first, it is most evident that the Apostles did 'assume' this power of enjoining, and 'exercise' it too. And I hope my Lord, for very reverence to the Scripture, (for as for the Church, he valueth it not,) will not say this wholesome direction to avoid fornication is made superstition by the Apostles' injunction. If this doctrine may hold, I doubt very few will be superstitious in this point. And many men that are very strict, and hate superstition perfectly, will rather not abstain from fornication, than be

[z] 1 Eliz. c. 1. [a] Acts xv. 24, 29. [b] Ver. 28.

superstitious by abstaining. And no question can be made by a reasonable man, but that the Church of Christ had and hath still as much power to enjoin a set form of prayers as any of these things. But my Lord hath more reasons than these, and truly they had need be better too; but such as they are, they follow:—

This sets aside the gifts and graces which Christ hath given, and thrusts out the exercise of them, to substitute in their places and introduce a device of man.

484 Sixthly, then, this injunction of a set form is unlawful, because 'it sets aside the gifts and graces,' &c. This is upon the matter all one with my Lord's second reason; and there 'tis answered. Yet truly I know no 'gifts or graces set aside, much less thrust out,' but such as are neither gifts nor graces of Christ, but the bold and impudent attempts of weavers, cobblers, and felt-makers, taking on them to preach without knowledge, warrant, or calling. Much like the gifts which Alexander the coppersmith had in St. Paul's time. And such gifts and graces as these cannot be said to be 'thrust out.' But my Lord and his adherents thrust them into the Church, to help cry down all truth and order. Much less can they be said to be 'thrust out to make room for a device of man,' meaning the set form of Common Prayer. Now surely I think, and upon very good grounds, that they which composed the Common Prayer-book, had as good gifts and graces of Christ as these men have; and that the conceived and oftentimes senseless prayers of these men, are as much or more the 'device of man' than the set form of Common Prayer is. Yea, but for all that, my Lord says:—

This injunction of such forms upon all men, turns that which in the beginning necessity brought in for the help of insufficiency, to be now the continuance and maintenance of insufficiency, and a bar to the exercise of able and sufficient gifts and graces. As if, because some men had need to make use of crutches, all men should be prohibited the use of their legs, and enjoined to take up such crutches as have been prepared for those who had no legs.

In the seventh and last place, my Lord is pleased to tell us,

'This injunction of such forms upon all men, turns that which in the beginning necessity brought in for the help of insufficiency, to the maintenance of it.' My Lord told us a little before, of a 'turning into superstition:' now here's another 'turning into the maintenance of insufficiency;' two very bad turnings, were either of them true. But God be thanked neither is. In the meantime, my Lord confesses that necessity brought in this injunction of set forms. And I believe there now is, and ever will be to the end of the world, as great a necessity to continue them. But I cannot agree with my Lord in this, that it was 'a necessity for the help of insufficiency' that brought them in; for when these were first enjoined in the Church of Christ, men were endued with as great gifts and graces as any now are, and perhaps greater. But necessity brought them in when Christianity multiplied, to preserve unity and order, and to avoid confusion, and sects and schisms in the Church, and that all sorts of men might be acquainted with that which was used in the public worship and service of God.

Now that which follows is an unjust and foul scandal upon the Church; namely, 'that this injunction is made the continuance and maintenance of insufficiency.' For I believe few Churches in many ages have had more sufficient preachers than this of late hath had; and therefore 'tis evident, this injunction here hath neither been the 'maintenance' nor 'continuance of insufficiency.' This ground failing, my Lord's 485
fine simile hath neither crutch nor leg to stand on; but it is as all such fine fetches are, when they have no ground to rest on. Nor is any thing more poor in learning than a fine, handsome similitude such as this, when it hath no truth upon which to rest; for the best that can be said of it is, that it is a pretty fine thing, if it were to the purpose.

But to come nearer to the business; I would have his Lordship remember, that Christ taught His Apostles a set form of prayer, St. Luc. xi.[c]; and I believe they were so religiously dutiful, as that they would not beg of Christ to teach them to pray, and when He had taught them, then neglect or not practise the very form He taught. If my Lord can think this of the Apostles, he may; I cannot. Nor can

[c] St. Luc. xi. 2.

I think that Christ taught them this form, to be used as crutches till their legs were grown stronger. For our Saviour doth not say, till ye be stronger, and have better gifts, pray as I teach you; but simply and absolutely, 'When you pray, say, Our Father,' &c.: that is, say these very words, this very form. And what? will my Lord say that Christ taught them this form to maintain them in insufficiency? Or did He make crutches for their lameness? Or thereby prohibit the use of their legs? This speech savours of more profaneness than well becomes such a professor.

His Lordship speaks better of them in another place. There he can say, 'There never were, nor ever will be, men of so great abilities and gifts as they were endued withal[d].' And I think he dares not say, I am sure, nor he, nor any man living can prove, that the Apostles, when their gifts were at fullest, did neglect or not use this form of prayer which Christ taught them. Therefore, either to use a set form of prayer is not to use crutches; or if it be, 'tis to use the same, or the like crutches which Christ made, and His Apostles used. And they will better beseem any good Christians to use, than his own legs, be they never so good. And for the set prayers of the Church, this I think I am sure of, that the men which are cried up by my Lord to have such excellent gifts and graces, are in as much need of these crutches as other men. In the meantime, my Lord every way shows his love to the set Liturgy of the Church, that makes nothing of it but crutches, which a man, if the bath cure him, would gladly hang up and leave behind him. I well hoped to have found that my Lord had entertained more moderate thoughts of things appertaining unto religion; but since he himself thus proclaims it otherwise, let us see how he goes forward without these crutches.

This, I confess, I am not satisfied in; yet will further say thus much. Here are with your Lordships some Bishops, men of great parts, able to offer up this worship unto God, in the use of those gifts which God hath endued them with. And certainly they ought to serve Him with the best of their abilities which they have received. Let them make

[d] In his Speech against the Bishops' Votes in Parliament, p. 3. [Lond. 1641.]

use of their own gifts; nay, let them but profess that they account not themselves bound to use forms, nor to this form they use, more than any other, but that it is free for them to conceive prayer, or to help themselves by the use of any other form they please, as well as this prescribed. And let them practise the same indifferently, that so it may be 486
manifest the fault rests in the person, and not in the service; in the negligence of him that may offer better if he will, not in the injunction of that which is offered. And I will not refuse to come to prayers. For I take the sin then to be personal, and to reside in the person officiating only.

Now, my Lord goes on further, and tells us 'that there are with your Lordships some Bishops, men of great parts, able to offer this worship unto God,' &c. Indeed, my Lord goes far here; and I am glad to hear that any Bishops can please him. Are Bishops, even as such, members of Antichrist (so I am sure my Lord and his followers have accounted them, and their libels print them for such every day); and now can any 'offer this worship unto God' which his Lordship would have? Why, then, my Lord can be pleased, I see, that even in this Church God should be worshipped by the members of Antichrist; or if not, then in this passage he grossly dissembles.

But what is this worship which his Lordship would have? Why, it is to pray in public, and not by a set form enjoined, but 'in the use of those gifts which God hath endued them with.' And it is most undoubtedly true which follows, 'that they ought to serve God with the best of the abilities they have received;' but 'tis as true that Bishops, and all ministers else, ought to serve God with the best abilities which the Church of Christ can furnish them with. And I presume I shall not wrong any my brethren, not those of the greatest parts, if I say (as I must) that those Bishops and other divines which composed the set form of our service, and enjoined it too (as far as their power reached), were men of as great piety and learning, and all other good parts, as any now living. And it can be no disparagement, much less any fault or dulling of their own gifts, for the best of Bishops to use the set forms ordered by them. And the phrase which my

Lord uses is somewhat unusual: 'to offer this worship unto God.' We are said, indeed, to offer up our prayers unto God, and by so doing to worship, honour, and serve Him, and Him alone in that. But to offer worship to God, I think, is an improper phrase at least. And Psal. cx.[e] the people are said 'to offer their freewill offerings with an holy worship,' or 'in the beauties of holiness:' and though, perhaps, his Lordship will not allow of this translation, yet so far he may as to see the use of the phrase. And 'in the beauties of holiness[f],' (which keeps close to the original,) will please him less; since a barn with them is as good as a church; and no church holy with them, but that which is slovenly even to nastiness; but then 'tis void of all superstition.

Next, my Lord proposes some conditions, which being observed, his Lordship will not refuse to come to common-prayer.

I'll examine these, then; for I would have all just demands of his granted, that he may come.

1. The first is, 'Let these Bishops' (and others I suppose he means) 'make use of their own gifts.' Well, let them on God's name, in that dutiful, peaceable, and orderly way, make use of their own gifts, not crossing what the Church justly prescribes.

487 2. Secondly, 'Let them but profess, that they account not themselves bound to use forms.' This condition is somewhat hard. For if they shall acknowledge they hold themselves bound to no forms, they must be bound to no order: and how Bishops will keep the Church in order, if they will be bound to observe none themselves, I cannot tell. Besides, if they shall profess this, they must profess against the constant and continued practice of the whole Church of Christ.

3. Thirdly, 'Let them profess they are not bound to this form they use more than any other, but that it is free for them to conceive prayer,' &c. Harder and harder. For they stand bound not only by Church-ordinance, but by injunction, and command of the State in Parliament, strictly to observe this form. And they are therefore bound to this form more than any other. And therefore so long as this

[e] Psal. cx. 3.
[f] 'In decoribus sanctitatis.' Ar. Mont. Ibid. [p. 42. Antv. 1584.]

Act of Parliament remains in force, with what honour of conscience can this Lord (who seems to stand so much upon law) ask this at the Bishops' hands, that they should profess that they are not bound to any forms? Nor, to this more than any other; when his Lordship must needs know they are bound to this, and no other, and that by an Act of Parliament? Besides, what a coil hath been kept by some of this Lord's favourites, against innovations of religion, as contrary to law! No rails to fence the holy table from profanation; though that be no ceremony, nor forbidden by law. No coming up to it, or the steps of the chancel, to receive the Communion; though most decent, and in ancient usage, and forbidden by no law that I know. No reverence to God Himself at coming in or going out of His temple; though that of the Psalmist began the ancient Liturgies of the Church, and is continued in our 'O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker,' &c. Psal. xcv.[g] The communion-table must not stand north and south, though the Queen's Injunction commanded it to be set just in that place in which the altar then stood[h]. So they innovate themselves, and then cry out of innovation. And if this Lord's doctrine be good, let's have no injunction for north and south, and all's well. But then we must have no injunction for east and west neither. For, if there be an injunction, east and west is superstition, as well as north and south.

But then, if my Lord would have all free, what would he have in this particular? Why, first, he would have it 'free for these men to conceive prayer.' Let them in due time and place 'conceive prayer' on God's name: but let them not make public abortion in the Church. 'Tis an over-hasty mother, that brings forth so soon as she has conceived: and yet, extemporary men outrun these mothers; and conceive and bring forth their unnatural monsters, both at once.

Next, he would have 'these men to help themselves by the use of any other forms they please, as well as this which is prescribed.' So then belike, these great 'men of gifts' in my Lord's eye, are not so perfect in the Spirit, but that they may need helps. And if my Lord be so indifferent, that these may

[g] Psal. xcv. 6.

[h] [See Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 188.]

help 'themselves by the use of any other forms, as well as this which is prescribed,' let him be as fair, at least, to the Church that made him a Christian, as to others; and give men leave to help themselves, by the use of this form which is prescribed, as well [as] any other. And if it be the injunction only that
488 sticks in his stomach, I am sorry he should show himself so guilty of the great sin of disobedience.

4. Fourthly, 'Let them practise the same indifferently, that so it may be manifest the fault rests in the person, and not in the service,' &c. This is his Lordship's last condition. And either I am dulled with this business, or the expression is somewhat obscure: but I will take it as right as I can. It seems, my Lord would not refuse coming to the prayers of the Church, for the personal fault of him that officiates. And that's well. It seems, likewise, that to manifest this, whether the sin lies in the person that offers, or in the service that is offered up, his Lordship would have an indifferent practice of that which is enjoined, and other forms. And that's stark naught. For by this we shall have no certain service of God for the people. It shall differ, and perhaps more dangerously than is fit, not only in different parishes, but in the same congregation at different times. And were not this so, yet I cannot assent to my Lord in this, that these men he means can so easily offer better if they will, and that when they do not, it is their negligence that is the only cause. And besides, it is useless: for it is known already to sober minds, that the fault (when any arises in that work) is neither in the service, which is very good; nor in the injunction, which is very lawful; but in the person which officiates, if he do not his duty: and so there is no need of a confused practising of divers forms indifferently, to manifest that which is known already. And if my Lord brings no worse sins about him when he comes to church, than he will find faults in the Liturgy, he may safely come to church, and be a happy man in so doing. And I might well doubt of my Lord's meaning herein, for himself is jealous of his auditors. Therefore he adds:—

I know not whether I express myself clearly, to be understood in this, or not; and it may seem to be a nice scrupulosity:

give me leave, therefore, to endeavour to clear it by an instance or two.

Truly my Lord takes himself right. For neither hath he expressed himself very clearly, nor is the matter so material in itself, but that it may be, as it seems, 'a very nice scrupulosity,' and altogether unable to warrant his Lordship's separation from the prayers of the Church. Yet since my Lord desires to 'clear it by an instance or two,' I shall be well content to hear and consider of them. His first instance is,—

In the time of the Law, when God appointed Himself to be worshipped by offerings and sacrifices, the shadows and types of those truths which were to come, if a poor man, which had not ability to bring a bullock, or a ram, or a lamb, had brought a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, it would have been in him an acceptable service. But if a man of ability, who had herds and flocks, should out of negligence or covetousness, have spared the cost of a bullock or ram, and brought young pigeons, his service would have been rejected, and himself punished. How much more would the service have been abomination, if men should have taken authority to have enjoined all to 489
bring no other but turtles or young pigeons, because some were not able to do more? In one kind there might be a tolerable and lawful [*use*] *of that which otherways used,* (*especially if generally enjoined*) *would have been most unlawful. God will be worshipped with the fat and best of the inwards, the best of men's gifts and abilities, which he that worships, or officiates in worshipping, is to do at his own peril. And if it be left free unto him, the worship may be lawful to him that joineth with him therein, in itself, though performed in a negligent, and so in a sinful manner, by the minister. But if that manner be enjoined, the service itself is to be refused.*

This is my Lord's first instance from the services under the Law. And I must needs say, he hath made it clear what he would have. But then he must give me leave to say too, that this instance differs so mainly from the thing in ques-

tion, that it helps my Lord and his cause in nothing. Perhaps it makes it worse than it was.

The difference is: God in the Law did not only prescribe all the sacrifices and offerings which He would have, and for what; but also when, and how He would have them. And the poor man which had not ability to bring the greater sacrifice, might, by the express letter of the Law, bring turtles or pigeons[i], Levit. v. 'But if a rich man had brought them, his service would have been rejected, and himself punished.' So says my Lord: but the Law says not so. He that brought it should have borne his sin, and the priest could have made no atonement for him, which was punishment enough. But that he should any other way be punished, I find not in the text of the Law. And this Lord, which will admit of nothing but text, should not presume to add anything to it. The Rabbins[j], indeed, reckon up six-and-thirty kinds of offenders, which for their sins are threatened to be cut off from their people; and some are mentioned[k], Levit. vii. and xvii. But none of these mentioned in Leviticus, or by the Rabbins, is the rich man's offering turtles or pigeons, instead of a bullock or a ram. Well, this was the strict prescription of sacrifices and offerings in the Law. But in the Gospel, though Christ settled His doctrine and sacraments, yet when, and how, with other ceremonial things, were left at large to the ordering of the Apostles, and the Church after them, always providing for decency and order. And this liberty was left as much, if not more, in preaching and public prayer, than in the sacraments. And therefore my Lord's instance in this way will not follow from the Law to the Gospel.

To give instance in his own words. In the Law, 'the poor man which had nor bullock, nor lamb, might by the express warrant of the Law bring turtles or pigeons,' but they were to be his own which he brought, and the priest was to make his atonement accordingly. But in the Gospel men do not bring to the priest or minister their own doctrines, or their prayers; but he offers in public the sermon to them, and the prayers for them. So here the instance comes not home neither.

[i] Levit. v. 7.

[j] Apud Ainsworth in Levit. xx. 3. [p. 121, Lond. 1639.]

[k] Levit. vii. 25, and Levit. xvii. 4, 9, 10.

As for my Lord's aggravation; 'How much more would the service have been abomination, if men should have taken authority to themselves, and have enjoined all to bring 490
nothing but turtles or pigeons?' Indeed it would have been full of abomination, because in this injunction they would have gone quite contrary to God's own command. And let my Lord show in the Gospel any precept that commands men to use extemporary or conceived prayers in the public service or worship of God, or that forbids the use of a set form of prayer, and then I will grant the Church's injunction of such forms to be in the highest degree unlawful. But these cannot be showed.

Besides, there is a great deal of pride in this instance. For my Lord all along the instance makes the set forms of the Church, turtles and pigeons, the poor man's sacrifice; and the conceived prayers of his party to be the rich and able men's sacrifice, the ram and the bullock (the calf I doubt it is). So a very little before his Lordship tells us of a negligence in those his 'men of gifts, which might offer better if they will.' As if it were a most easy thing for those men to offer up far better prayers to God, than the set Liturgy of the Church. Whereas my Lord must give me leave to doubt that, even of the best of them. And so again a little after, his Lordship tells us, 'that God will be worshipped with the fat and the best of the inwards,' which he interprets, 'with the best of men's gifts and abilities;' and of this there is no doubt. Nor doth the enjoining of a set form of public prayer hinder any man from worshipping God with the best gifts and abilities which he hath. And who should be served with the best, if not He that gave them all? But here's the pride of the instance again. Their conceived, tedious, and ofttimes senseless prayers, must be the 'fat and the inwards' with which God is pleased; and the set forms of the Church lean carrion, and not fit for the altar. O, my Lord, that you would in time lay your hand on your heart, and consider from what, and into what you are fallen!

My Lord concludes this instance with this, 'That if it be left free to him that officiates, 'tis his personal sin if he be negligent; but it may be lawful for another that joins with him in that service: but if that manner be enjoined, the

service itself is to be refused.' And after this great pride in, or of this opinion, my Lord ends with a fallacy[1]. For the question is not, whether a negligent set form of prayer, or a good form of set prayer negligently and without devotion offered up to God (as too often they are, God help us), be better than other prayers, carefully composed and devoutly uttered? but simply, whether a good set form of prayer (such as the Liturgy of England is) be made so evil, only by the enjoining of it, as that therefore the service itself ought to be refused? Now this my Lord may say as boldly as he will; but neither he nor any man else shall ever be able to prove it.

And in this very close, I cannot but observe that which in me or another man would have been great pride: but what it is in this Lord, let the reader judge. For he doth not conclude that this form being enjoined, is the cause why he refuses to come to our prayers. But absolutely, as if all men were bound to do as he doth. He says peremptorily, that in this case of injunction of a set form, 'the service itself ought to be refused.' So that by this doctrine, he is a sinner that refuses not the prayers of the Church of England. My Lord in the
491 beginning asked leave to speak a few words concerning himself; but I believe these will be found to concern somebody else. Well, 'tis time to consider of my Lord's second instance; and so I will.

> *Now in the time of the Gospel, God hath appointed the foolishness of preaching (for so the world accounts it) to be the means by which He will save those that believe. I conceive, where there are not gifts enabling men to preach, there might be a lawful and profitable use of reading of printed sermons and homilies; and in such cases they might very lawfully be heard. But if some men, upon pretence to prevent extravagant preaching, should take upon them to set forth a book of public common sermons, fit for all times and occasions; and should enjoin ministers to conform to these, and use no other preaching at all,*

[1] 'Tis *fallacia accidentis:* for it is not in, or of the nature of prayer, that it should be in a negligent form set down, or negligently performed; but a mere accident, and a bad one.

but the reading of those common sermons or homilies so devised for public worship; this would make it utterly unlawful, and to be professed against, as that which were the bringing in of a human device and injunction in the place and instead of God's ordinance, to the exclusion thereof. As the Pharisees, to establish traditions of their own, made void the commandments of God.

I hope, my Lord will have no better success with this instance under the Gospel, than he had with that under the Law. And yet whatsoever is truth in his instance, I shall most willingly grant. And therefore I do acknowledge, that 'in the time of the Gospel, God appointed the foolishness of preaching[m],' 1 Cor. i., to be 'a means;' but 'not to be the means' (if it be meant the only means) 'by which He will save those that believe.' I likewise confess, that in 'the world's account 'tis made the foolishness of preaching.' And I would to God some men, much magnified in these times, did not give too often very just cause to the world to account it, not only the 'foolishness,' but the madness of preaching; such 'preaching' as is far from being 'a means of salvation.' I conceive also, as well as my Lord, 'that where there are no gifts enabling men to preach,' (as it falls out in too many parishes in England, and the true cause is, the smallness of the living, unable to feed and clothe men, and therefore cannot expect men of parts,) there not only might be, but is 'a lawful and profitable use of reading of printed sermons and homilies; and that in such cases,' yes, and in other cases too, 'they may very lawfully be heard.' And I think further, that if 'some men,' not upon their own private authority, but lawfully meeting in a synod or convocation; shall 'not upon pretence,' but truly, 'to prevent extravagant preaching,' such as of late hath been, and is too common in England, 'should take upon them to set forth a book of common sermons, such as might be fit for all times and all occasions,' which is not impossible to be done, 'and should enjoin ministers to conform to these, and use no other preaching at all, but the reading of these common sermons or homilies so devised for public worship;' I must needs say, it were a cure not to be

[m] 1 Cor. i. 21.

used but in extremity, to bar all other preaching for the abuse of some, be it never so gross. Yet if the distempers of the pulpit should grow in any national Church so high, so seditious, so heretical and blasphemous, so schismatical and
492 outrageous, as many of them have been of late in this distracted Church of ours; I say, if such 'a book of sermons' should be so set out, by the Church direction, and published by the authority of King and Parliament, as the Book of Common Prayer is: when the comparison is made thus even, and my Lord's instance so brought home[n]: I do then think, such a book, not 'devised for public worship,' but for 'public instruction,' (for sermons are not properly the worship of God, but to teach us faith and obedience, and how we are to pray and give worship to Him,) might be used with great profit; yea, and with far more than many sermons of the present time, which do in a manner teach nothing but disobedience to princes and all authority, under a false pretence of obedience to God.

And for the 'injunction,' which sticks so much with my Lord; certainly in cases of such extremity, as is above mentioned, and when nothing else will serve, I conceive it might well and profitably be laid upon the ministers; and yet that such an 'imposition' would be far 'from making it utterly unlawful, and to be professed against, as that which were the bringing in of a human device in the place and instead of God's ordinance, to the exclusion thereof.' For 'tis probable these sermons my Lord speaks of, would be preached before they were printed. And the end of their being preached was to publish Christ and His Gospel to the world. And that also was or ought to be the end of publishing the same sermons in print, that the benefit of them might reach the further, and be of longer continuance. So that upon the matter, 'the printing of sermons' is but a large and more open preaching of them still. And then if preaching be 'God's ordinance,' printing of sermons is the 'publishing of

[n] In the Church of Africa, when the Arian heresy began, the Church had suffered so much by the preaching of Arius the presbyter, that they made a law not to suffer any presbyter to preach at all, at least not in the mother Church, and in the Bishop's presence. As may be seen in Socrates, lib. v. Hist. cap. 22. And though this may seem a hard cure, yet when the disease grew masterful and epidemical, the Church did not refuse to use it.

'God's ordinance.' And therefore, if there were 'an injunction for a book of sermons,' as is mentioned, it were but a more public and durable divulging of 'God's ordinance;' and not 'the bringing in of a human device instead of it, and to the exclusion thereof.'

As for that which follows, 'that this is like the Pharisees, who, to establish traditions of their own, made void the commandments of God,' this is but a simile, and is answered in the former. And you see that should any necessity force the making of such an injunction (which God forbid), it did help to publish God's ordinance, and not make void His commandments. Howsoever, my Lord may take this along with him: that that party which he governs in this kingdom, are as well seen in this art of the Pharisees as any men in Christendom; and will, if they be let alone, make void all the service of God, to bring in their dreams, against all reason, religion and lawful authority. And this is most true, whatever they think of themselves. But my Lord desires further consideration of his instance:—

> *Let it be considered, what difference can be found between these, but only this. Use and custom hath inured us to that of prayer, not so in this of preaching; and therefore the evil of it would easily appear unto us, if so enjoined.*

It is fit my Lord should have his desire in this, 'that it be considered what difference can be found between these:' and out of all doubt my Lord acknowledges, that some difference 493
there is. And were it 'this only,' as his Lordship would have it, 'that use and custom hath inured us to that of prayer, and not so in this of preaching;' that might be reason enough to continue our public set form of prayer. For if the service have not fault in it, but that 'tis 'enjoined:' and if the enjoining of a good service of God Almighty, in which Christian people may consent, and unanimously and uniformly worship Him, be no fault at all, as most certain it is not: 'tis neither wisdom nor safety to cast off such a 'custom or usage,' and leave every minister (and perhaps other men too) to make what prayers they please in the congregation, which doubtless would be many times such, as no good understanding Christian could say Amen to.

Besides, with my Lord's leave, upon the 'consideration' which he desires me to take, I think I have found 'other differences.' For, besides 'the use and custom which we are inured to,' I find, that to have some set form of prayer, when the congregation meets, is little less than *traditio universalis*, an universal tradition of the whole Church °.

° 'Tis universal for time. For it is testified by Dionysius the Areopagite, (if those works be his,) De Ecclesia Hierar. p. 77. edit. Gr. Lat., and he was one of the contemporaries of the Apostles, that there were then set forms of prayer, to which all the people said Amen. [Εὐχὴν ἱερὰν ποιεῖται, καὶ ταύτην ἀπάσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συμπληρωσάσης ('dicendo Amen' is added in Lat. vers.).—Dion. Areop. de Eccl. Hier. p. 77. Lut. Par. 1615.] And if Dionysius were not the author, yet the work is exceeding ancient. And so some set forms continued, till after St. Augustin's time, as appears by Justin Martyr, Apol. ii. p. 97. edit. Gr. Lat. an. Christi 150. [Κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως. —S. Just. Mart. Apol. i. (al. ii.) § 65.] By Tertull. Apologet. c. 39. an. Christi 200. ["Coimus ad Deum, quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis."—Tert. Apol. cap. xxix. Op., p. 31. A.] By St. Cyprian, De Orat. Domin. ["Publica est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno sed pro toto populo oramus, quia totus populus unum sumus."—S. Cypr. de Orat. Dom. Op., p. 206.] By Origen, Hom. v. in Num. an. Christi 230. ["Sed et Eucharistiæ sive percipiendæ, sive eo ritu quo geritur explicandæ, vel eorum quæ geruntur in baptismo, verborum, gestorumque et ordinum, atque interrogationum ac responsionum, quis facile explicet rationem."— Orig. in Num. cap. iv. Hom. v. vers. Ruffini. Op., tom. ii. pp. 284. col. 2. F., 285. col. 1. A.] By the Council of Laodicea, can. xviii. xix. an. Christi 316. [Περὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι. — Conc. Laod. can. xviii. Conc., tom. i. col. 1500. B. Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ. —Can. xix. ibid. C.] By St. Basil, Epist. ad Clericos Neocæsariensis Ecclesiæ. [Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς ψαλμῳδίαις ἔγκλημα, ᾧ μάλιστα τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους φοβοῦσιν οἱ διαβάλλοντες ἡμᾶς, ἐκεῖνο εἰπεῖν ἔχω· ὅτι τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συνῳδά ἐστι καὶ σύμφωνα. Ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς . . . ἔπειτα . . . ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης, πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ.—S. Bas. Ep. ccvii. (al. lxiii.) ad Neoc. § 3. Op., tom. iii. p. 311. A. B. C.] By St. Chrysostom . . . [Bingham has devoted a whole chapter of his Antiquities (book xiii. chap. vi.) to prove not merely that set forms of prayer were used in the time of S. Chrysostom, but also to show what were the details of the public service.] . . . both about the same year. As also by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. [See S. Cyril's third Catech. Lecture, passim.] . . . . By the third Council of Carthage, can. xxiii. an. Christi 397. ["Quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit."—Conc. Carth. III. can. xxiii.—Conc., tom. ii. col. 1170. D. E.] By St. Aug. Ep. lix. et clvi. and De Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 13. an. Christi 400. ["Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut 'precationes' accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, etc." — S. Aug. Epist. cxlix. (al. lix.) § 16. Op., tom. ii. col. 761. B. "Ut anima Christiana non frustra audiat 'Sursum cor;' nec frustra respondeat se, 'Habere ad Dominum.'"—Epist. cxxxi. (al. clvi.) Ibid. col. 589. C. "Quod ergo in sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ut 'Sursum cor habeamus ad Dominum,' munus est Domini; de quo munere ipsi Domino Deo nostro gratias agere, a sacerdote, post hanc vocem quibus hoc dicitur, admonentur; et 'Dignum

And that it took beginning while some of the Apostles were yet living, and hath continued from thence in all ages and places of the Church to this day. Now, though particular customs and traditions vary and may be varied in several Churches; yet I do not find there is such a power over traditions that are general; but that next to the Scripture itself, they are kept by all sober Christians inviolable. And St. Au-

ac justum esse' respondent."—S. Aug. de Dono Persev. cap. xiii. (§ 33.) Op., tom. x. col. 1417. C. D.] By the second Milevitan Council, can. xii. [See above, p. 97.] And by Prosper Aquitan, lib. i. De Vocat. Gent. c. 4; ["Quam legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit, in qua hujusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis Christianis."—Prosp. Aquit. de Voc. Gent. lib. i. cap. 4. fol. 92. a. Basil. 1524. Prosper is commenting on the passage 1 Tim. ii. 2.] since which time no question can be made, but the public prayers were always in a known and set form.

And that it was universal for place, appears by the concurrent testimonies of the Fathers before recited, and the Councils, and the practice, both of the Asian, African, and European Churches. As Justin Martyr, Basil, and Chrysostom, for the Greek; and Tertullian, Cyprian, St. Augustin, and Prosper, testify for the West. Insomuch, that St. Basil says expressly in that place, "that for the order of singing the Psalms in their public service, it was agreeable to all the Churches of God:" [see above:] which place is also cited by Whitaker at Ration. 6. Campiani. [Op., tom. i. p. 28. col. 1. Genev. 1610.] And divers particulars in their set form of prayer, remain to this day in the Liturgy of the Church of England. As that there should be recited a General Confession of the Faith. Dionysius Arcopag. de Ecclesia Hierar. p. 88. edit. Gr. Lat. [Προομολογηθείσης ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος τῆς καθολικῆς ὑμνολογίας. The Latin version is, "Cum antea universus fidelium cœtus generalem fidei confessionem pronunciaret.' — Dion. Areop. de Ecc. Hier. p. 88.] That prayers were made for emperors and men in authority; and for the peace and quiet of the world. So Tertullian. [See above.] That the presbyter should exhort them 'to lift up their hearts;' and the people answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' So St. Cyprian ["Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa præparat fratrum mentes dicendo, 'Sursum corda; ut dum respondet plebs, 'Habemus ad Dominum,' admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere."—S. Cypr. de Orat. Domin. Op., p. 213.] and St. Augustin. [See above.] The interrogations and answers in Baptism. So Origen. [See above.] That prayers should be made, not only for the faithful, but for infidels and enemies to the cross of Christ. So Prosper. ["Supplicat ergo ubique Ecclesia Deo non solum pro sanctis et in Christo jam regeneratis, sed etiam pro omnibus infidelibus, et inimicis crucis Christi."—Prosper, as above.] And 'tis preserved in our Collect for Good Friday. And the people's praying with, and answering the pastor, saying, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' with, 'Christ, have mercy upon us,' was before St. Gregory's time, and continued down to ours, yet with difference from the Mass-book too. As Dr. Rainolds proves, Conf. with Hart. c. 8. divi. 4. p. 581. [Lond. 1598.]

But howsoever, set forms they were, and such as in some particulars, *fere omnis Ecclesia Dominica*, almost all the Church of Christ used. So St. Augustin. [See above.] And there is *nulla pars mundi*, scarce any part of the world, in which there is not a concordant, an agreement in these prayers: so Prosper. [See above.] Which is impossible to be but by a set form. And so the Magdeburgians conclude upon due examination: *Formulas denique precationum absque dubio habuerunt:* "Out of all doubt the ancients had set forms of prayer."—Cent. 3. c. 6. [p. 135. Basil. 1560.]

gustine says plainly, ''tis *insolentissimæ insaniæ*, a trick of most insolent madness, to dispute or doubt of that, *quod tota per orbem frequentat Ecclesia*, which the Church of Christ practises throughout the whole world [p].' And for my part I believe him; and I would my Lord did so too, and then I think he would not refuse 'the service for the injunction,' nor fall into any fit of this 'insolent madness.' As for 'preaching,' that was ever left free. And therefore the Church did ever put a difference.

494 And I find, upon this 'consideration,' another difference yet, between 'prayer and preaching.' For preaching is a speech to man for his edification and instruction in faith and good life. But prayer is a speech to God, to honour and worship Him, in the acknowledgment of His dominion over, and His bounty and goodness towards all creatures, but mankind especially. And therefore, though a man cannot take too much pains in that which he is to speak from God to man, lest he be proved a false relater; yet of the two, there should be more care had, what prayers he puts up for himself and the whole congregation, unto God; lest he be not only a false worshipper, but also, lest he suddenly and unadvisedly ask that, which may be hurtful unto all. And for aught he knows, God may at that time be angry with us for our sins, and may hear in His anger, and grant. And I believe it will be found a greater and more dangerous sin for the priest to make the people ask at God's hands those things 'which they ought not.' Besides, the public prayers of the Church do teach and inform the people, not only how to pray, and so how to worship, but in many things also, what to believe, as well, nay, oftentimes better, than many sermons. So that ill praying in public contains almost all the mischiefs that ill preaching hath in it, over and above all the ill that is proper to itself: and so is the more dangerous sin: and therefore the Church cannot be too careful for a set and known form for public prayer; yea, and that enjoined too, so it be well weighed beforehand; though for preaching she leave a greater latitude. So upon consideration, I think there is more difference between a set form of

[p] St. Aug. Epist. cxviii. [(al. liv.)] c. v. [Op., tom. ii. col. 188. D.]

prayer, and a set form of preaching, than that we are invited to the one, and not to the other. Yet, when I hear what extravagant, nay, seditious preaching there is nowadays, I am strongly tempted to believe, that were the like injunction for preaching, it were far better, than that such loose, dangerous, and most unchristian preachings, as are in many places, should continue. It seems, my Lord hath now done with the first part of the 'waspish-man's' charge against him (for so he is pleased to call it). And that is his Lordship's account why he refuses to come to common-prayer. And now he goes on to the next:—.

My Lords, let me presume upon your patience, so far further, as to give me leave to speak to the other imputation laid upon me; that I am a Separatist, and the greatest in England.

My Lords very honourably afforded his Lordship patience 'to speak to the other imputation laid upon him;' and so shall I very freely. But how far, and in what language, and upon what occasion I imputed anything to his Lordship, I have ingenuously declared already: and shall add no more, till my Lord hath proceeded further, and expressed what he pleases; as follows:—

And first, I shall say of this word 'Separatist,' as that learned man, Mr. Hales of Eaton, saith in a little manuscript of his, which I have seen: "That where it may be rightly fixed, and deservedly charged, it is certainly a great offence. But in common use now among us, it is no 495
other than a theological scarecrow, wherewith the potent and prevalent party uses to fright and enforce those who are not of their opinions to subscribe to their dictates, without daring to question them, or bring them to any rule of examination, either of Scripture or reason[q]*." And he observeth, that this was too usual even in ancient times, as well as now.*

And first, my Lord begins with the word 'Separatist:' and he professes he will say of that as 'learned Mr. Hales saith.'

[q] [These words occur in substance in p. 1 of Hale's 'Tract Concerning Schisme,' published anonymously in 1642.]

And surely the first part of Mr. Hales is very true, that where this word, or the crime signified by it, 'is rightly fixed and deservedly charged, 'tis a great offence.' But that which follows, by my Lord's good leave, and Mr. Hales his too, is somewhat too hard a censure upon the times, and the persons living in them. The truth is, some men are too apt to accuse others of schism and separation; but yet I do not think the disease is so epidemical, as 'tis here expressed. As namely, that it is 'in common use amongst us.' Perhaps, nothing so common at this time to call Separatist as to be one. Or that it is a 'theological scarecrow, by which the potent and prevalent party uses to affright and enforce those who are not of their opinions, to subscribe to their dictates.' Or sure, if there be such practice, the fault is in the persons that use it. But even that is no excuse at all for schism or separation; because some, in an inconsiderate heat, charge that crime upon such as are not guilty. For perhaps my Lord may say as much as this of excommunication itself, that some are struck with it who deserve it not; and yet, I hope, my Lord hath not proceeded so far, as to say that excommunication is but 'a theological scarecrow.'

And I further think, there are as few at this day of them whom my Lord calls 'the potent and prevalent party, which refuse to be brought to any rule of examination, either of Scripture or reason,' as have lived in this Church for some hundreds of years past, how meanly soever this Lord esteems them, and how 'narrow' soever he thinks their 'comprehensions' are.

To conclude this passage; my Lord tells us 'that Mr. Hales observes further, that this was too usual, even in ancient times, as well as now.' That some faults, and some degrees of this fault, were in ancient times, as well as now, may be true enough; and yet in those ancient times none thought 'schism or separation from the Church,' howsoever charged, to be but 'a theological scarecrow;' but caused it to be examined to the bottom, as 'tis fit, nay necessary, that it should: for else the most dangerous separation that can be may go away free with this: that it is but 'a trick of the prevalent party, to fright other men into their opinions, by charging them with separation.' Now, the most dangerous separation in a

Church is, where the Church itself hath little or no power to punish separatists; and where they of the separation are, by the great misfortune of the State, become the potent and prevalent party. And whether this be not, or at least were not, the condition of the State and Church of England, when my Lord printed this speech of his, I leave to the indifferent reader to judge.

My Lord hath printed no more than this, and therefore 496
I will take notice of no more. But yet I am told by a very good hand, that his Lordship upon this quotation of Mr. Hales his manuscript was pleased openly in that honourable House of Parliament, where he spake it, to lend Mr. Hales one wipe, and me another. But since my Lord is pleased to pass it over at the press, I shall do so too. Yet with this, that if my Lord did give that gird, I will make it plainly appear, whenever he shall publish it, that there is no show of truth in it. But now that my Lord hath done with Mr. Hales, he proceeds, and tells us his own judgment:—

> *Secondly, I say that there is a twofold separation; one from the Universal or Catholic Church, which can no otherwise be made but by denying the faith (for faith and love are the requisites to that communion).*

And I say so too, that there is a twofold separation; and that one of them is from the 'Universal or Catholic Church.' But that this 'separation can no otherwise be made, but by denying the faith,' I doubt comes short of truth. First, because there is a great difference between schism and apostasy. And every apostasy is a separation; but every separation is not apostasy. For a man is not an apostate properly, till he fall away, by denying the whole faith. But a man may be in heresy, schism, and separation upon the denial of any one article of the faith, received by the Catholic Church. Secondly, because, should a man agree in all and every article of the faith with the Catholic Church, yet he may maintain some false opinion, and incongruous, both to the verity and the practice of religion, and judgment of the Universal Church, and be so in love with these, as that for these opinions' sake he will separate from the whole body.

Therefore denial of the faith is not the only cause of sepa-

ration from the Catholic Church, since this separation can be otherwise made. And my Lord, within the space of three lines, crosses himself. For first, he says, 'that this separation can no otherwise be made, but by denying the faith.' And in the very next words he tells us, 'that faith and love are the requisites to that communion.' Two requisites to that communion with the Universal Church; therefore two causes of separation from it. Therefore, by my Lord's own confession, he that is so out of charity with the Universal Church, for some opinions or practices which he dislikes, as that he will not communicate with it, is in separation, though he do not deny the faith.

> *The other* (my Lord tells us) *is a separation from this or that particular church or congregation. And that not in respect of difference with them in matter of faith or love, but in dislike only of such corruptions, in their external worship and Liturgies, as they do admit of, and would enjoin upon others.*

In this other particular separation, I shall meddle with neither congregation nor conventicle, meeting allowed or disallowed by Church or State; but that separation which is or
497 is not made by my Lord and his followers, from the National Church of England, as it stands settled and established by law: not as her service may be mangled, or otherwise abused, in any particular parish or congregation whatsoever. And if this Lord dislike any the service as 'tis used in some one parish or other, and yet will come to the service as it is established by law in other, either cathedral or parochial churches, my Lord hath had great wrong to be accounted a Separatist. But if my Lord will not come to the prayers of the Church of England by law established, let his pretence be what it will, a Separatist he is.

But my Lord says, 'that this particular separation is not in respect of difference with them in matter of faith or love.'

1. Where first you may observe on the by, that in my Lord's judgment, public breach in charity, as well as in faith, may be cause of this separation, too, as well as of that from 'the Universal or Catholic Church,' before mentioned.

2. Next, that this particular separation, if it be not 'in

respect of difference in faith or love,' in what respect is it then? Why, if we may herein believe my Lord, 'tis only in dislike 'of such corruptions in their external worship and Liturgies as they do admit of, and would enjoin others.' Well, first, I'll pray for my Lord, that there be no difference in faith and charity; but I do very much doubt there is. Next, either there are such corruptions in 'the external worship and Liturgies,' as his Lordship hath just cause to dislike, or there are not. If there be not, why doth he separate from them? If there be, or probably seem to be, why doth he not complain to the King and the Church, that these corruptions may be considered on, and amended, if cause appear?

And this he ought to do before he separate. For I hope Christianity is not yet come to that pass, (though it draw on apace,) that a powerful layman or two shall say there are corruptions in the set service of God, and then be judges of such corruptions themselves. Nor doth the Church of England 'admit of corruptions' in her Liturgy, or 'labour to enjoin them upon others.' Now, my Lord tells us further, that—

> *This is a separation, not from their persons, as they are Christians, but from their corruptions in matter of worship, as they are therewith defiled. And this separation every man that will keep himself pure from other men's sins, and not sin against his own conscience, must make.*

This will not yet help my Lord; for say 'this be not a separation from their persons, as they are Christians,' which yet it too often proves to be, and I believe, if this Lord would impartially examine himself, he would find to be true in himself and his comportment, but that it is 'from their corruptions in matter of worship, as they are therewith defiled.' 1. First, these corruptions are not proved; so 'tis *petitio principii*, the begging of that to be granted, which is the thing in question. 2. Secondly, if there be corruptions, yet it is not proved they are in the 'matter,' but of the two, rather in the manner of worship. 3. Thirdly, were both these granted, yet it will remain a question still, whether these corruptions be 498
such as 'that the worshippers are defiled therewith?' And another question, whether so deeply defiled, as that other

good Christians shall be defiled by coming to common-prayer with them? For I am not yet persuaded, nor shall be, till I be convinced, 'that every man that will keep himself pure from other men's sins, and not sin against his conscience, is bound to make this separation.' For I conceive, many corruptions may be tolerated, nay, ought to be, before a separation be made. And that a private conscience is to be both informed and reformed, before it be attempted.

Nor can I think that he which comes to the public service of any Church that is not idolatrous, or peccant in the fundamentals of religion, doth partake with other men's sins, that frequent the same common-prayer or service with him, or he with them.

And yet my Lord is so peremptory, as that without any distinction or degrees of corruption, he delivers it positively, with a great deal more boldness than knowledge, 'that every man that will keep himself pure from other men's sins, must make this separation.' 'Every man,' and 'must make.' And it is not to be conceived, but that what every man must do, my Lord, who seems to be so careful to keep himself pure from other men's sins, hath done already. That is, hath made this separation from the Church. And my Lord, for aught I see, is ready to confess as much. For he adds:—

> *And I will ingenuously confess, that there are many things, in many churches or congregations in England, practised, and enjoined upon all to be practised and suffered, which I cannot practise nor admit of, except I should sin against the light of my conscience, until I may out of the Word of God be convinced of the lawfulness of them; which hitherto I could never see sufficient ground for.*

I told you my Lord was very near confessing as much as I have said. For he says, 'ingenuously, there are many things in many churches in England practised.'

First, I told my Lord before, that this business of separation was not to be judged by what is practised in one or more parochial congregations, but by what ought to be practised in all the churches of England. And if my Lord dislike anything in one congregation, he may go to another, (so he will endure the whole Liturgy, as it is settled by law,) and no

man, if he will do this, ought to account him a Separatist. And I find by my Lord's words, that his exception is to 'many churches;' and I would willingly hope (if his carriage would let me) that he excepts not against all. Besides, he tells us that 'many things' are so practised; but he is not pleased to tell us what they are. And then it is not possible for me or any man else either to know whether his Lordship's exception be just against them, or to give him satisfaction in them. And it is no great sign that my Lord bears any good mind to the Church, that he is so ready to charge 'many things' against the Church, and to name none.

My Lord goes further, and says plainly, 'that there [are] many things thus practised, or enjoined also, and that upon all, to be practised or suffered, which he cannot practise nor admit of, except he should sin against the light of his conscience.' 499
You have heard already, how much my Lord is troubled with this 'enjoining,' and to that I refer you: in the meantime, since I am the man so particularly shot at by my Lord, I shall answer for myself according to truth; and with truth I can legally prove, if need be, I have not commanded or enjoined any one thing, ceremonial or other, upon any parochial congregation in England, much less upon all, to be either practised or suffered, but that which is directly commanded by law. And if any inferior ordinary in the kingdom, or any of my own officers, have given any such command, 'tis either without my knowledge, or against my direction. And 'tis well known, I have sharply chid some for this very particular; and if my Lord would have acquainted me with any such troubled thought of his, I would have given him (so far as had been in my power) either satisfaction or remedy, if anything had been 'against the light of his conscience.' Though in these things I must needs tell my Lord, that there is nowadays, in many men which have shaken off all Church obedience, great pretensions to light in their understandings and consciences, when to men which see indeed, 'tis little less than palpable darkness. But how it is with my Lord and his conscience, I will not take upon me to judge; but leave him to stand or fall to his own Master[r]. Rom. xiv.

For it seems, my Lord stands not simply upon the light of

[r] Rom. xiv. 4.

his conscience, 'but only until he may be convinced out of the Word of God of the lawfulness of these things, which hitherto he could never see sufficient ground for.' And this is the common plea which all of them have resort to, till they be convinced, which (as I have had experience of many) they are resolved not to be. And they will be convinced in every particular, 'out of the Word of God, to the very taking up of a rush or straw,' as their grave master, T. C.[s], taught them. As if God took care of straws, or their taking of them up: as if every particular thing of order or decency were expressly set down in the Word of God. Surely, if this were so, St. Paul should have had nothing 'to set in order when he came to Corinth[t],' 1 Cor. xi. And if this be so, the Church hath no power left in anything, not so much as to command a bell shall toll to call the people to public prayers, because 'tis nowhere commanded in the Word of God. So that upon this ground, if any man shall say 'he hath light enough in his conscience' to see the unlawfulness of such human devices, he may separate from the Church, rather than sin against this light. So there shall be no public service of God, but some *ignis fatuus* or other, under the name of 'light in the conscience,' shall except against it, and separate from it; which is directly to set up the light in each private spirit against that light which God hath placed in His Church, shine it never so clearly. Yet his Lordship is confident, and says:—

> *But, my Lords, this is so far from making me the greatest Separatist in England, that it cannot argue me to be any at all. For my Lords the Bishops do know, that those whom they usually apply this term unto are the Brownists (as they call them by another name), and they know their*
> 500 *tenents. The truth is, they differ with us in no fundamental point of doctrine, or saving truth, I know.*

Here then my Lord is pleased to say, that all that he hath hitherto said, 'is so far from making him the greatest Separatist in England, that it cannot argue him to be any at all.'

[s] T. C. l[ib]. s[ec]. pp. 59, 60, apud Hook. [Eccl. Pol.] lib. ii. s. 1. p. 54. [p. 361, Keble's ed. Oxf. 1836.]

[t] 1 Cor. xi. 34.

For my part, I would to God it were so; but let's examine whether it be so or not. First, then, this I humbly conceive is certain, that he, whoever he be, that will not communicate in public prayers with a national Church, which serves God as she ought, is a Separatist. But the Church of England, as it stands established by law, serves God as she ought: therefore my Lord, by his general absenting himself from her communion in prayers, is a Separatist. And this is by his own confession; for he says a little before, and that expressly, that 'this is a separation which every man must make, that will keep himself pure from other men's sins.' And I cannot doubt, but his Lordship hath made that, which he says he must make.

All that can be said for my Lord herein is this; first, that my Lord charges the Church of England with 'corruptions in the worship of God; and such corruptions, as he must separate from her.' But is it sufficient for a separation, for a particular man barely to say there are such corruptions in the Liturgy, when he doth neither prove them to be such, nor so much as name them what they are? Surely no. And I think these gnats (which his Lordship strains at) may be swallowed without any offence to God or man: so far are they from being 'a just cause of separation.' Therefore, for all this, my Lord is a Separatist.

Yea, but my Lord charges upon the Church of England, that 'she enjoins her Liturgy upon all men, by a certain number of men usurping authority to themselves, and imposing this injunction under the name of the Church.' I have made answer already to this power of the Church to compose a set form for public service; and, I hope, made it manifest, that this authority is not usurped. And then, that can be no just cause of a separation. Nay, I must doubt whether, if such authority were usurped by some Churchmen in any national Church, the enjoining of the service after it is made, supposing always that it contain no idolatry or fundamental error, be for the injunction alone a sufficient warrant to my Lord or any other to separate. Therefore, my Lord's forsaking the public service of the Church, upon no better grounds than these, makes him a Separatist by his own confession, without any man calling him so.

As for his Lordship's being 'the greatest Separatist in England,' I have at the beginning of this tract clearly related, to the uttermost of my memory, what and upon what occasion I spake of his Lordship in this kind. But whether I said it or not, my Lord, for aught I see, will hardly escape being so. For he is the greatest Separatist from the Church, that absents himself with most will and least cause: and this, if I mistake not, is my Lord's case; for he separates with most will that says, 'men must and ought to separate;' and upon least cause, because as yet he hath named none at all; but corruptions in general, which any man may say; and
501 'the injunction of a set form,' which is no cause. Therefore, (for aught I yet see,) it may truly be said of his Lordship, that he is 'the greatest Separatist in England.'

Especially if you add to this, how busy and active his Lordship is, and for many years hath been, to promote this cause of separation. And I have some very good grounds to think, that his Lordship hath been and is the great cause and enlarger of all the separation that now is in Church affairs; and of all the disobedience thereby bred or cherished against sovereign power.

Next, my Lord appeals to my Lords the Bishops; and tells them 'that they know that they whom they usually apply this name (Separatist) unto, are the Brownists, as they call them by another name.' I know not all things which the rest of my learned brethren the Bishops know; yet, I think, both they and I know this, that the name Separatist is a common name to all heretics or schismatics, that separate for their opinions' sakes either from the Catholic, or from any particular orthodox Church. And if my Lord himself (who, it seems, is well acquainted with them), or any of my Lords the Bishops do know that this name is usually applied to the Brownists, be it so. That, I am sure, is not material, unless it be for that which my Lord closes this passage withal.

Namely, that 'my Lords the Bishops know the tenents of the Brownists; and that the truth is, they differ from us in no fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth, that his Lordship knows.' I doubt not but my Lords the Bishops know the tenents of the Brownists, so far forth at least as they be tenents, and not varied from; and so far as they are their

general tenents, to which all or most of them agree; and so far as they are plain and univocal tenents, and not such as shall equivocate with the very faith itself. But such tenents of the Brownists as these are, it may be, all my Lords the Bishops know not.

Now, if the truth be, as my Lord says it is, 'for aught he knows, that the Brownists differ from us in no fundamental point of doctrine, or saving truth;' then, out of all doubt, *majus peccatum habent*[u],—their sin (and my Lord's too) is the greater, that they will so uncharitably, and with so great heat and settled violence, and to the great scandal of religion, first separate themselves from, and now labour utterly to overthrow, that Church, which (by my Lord's own confession here) differs not from them 'in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth.' For sure, if they differ not from us, we differ not from them. But this is only *argumentum ad hominem*, and is sufficient to convince this Lord, I think, in his own way.

But I doubt the truth is quite another thing; namely, that the Church of England is very orthodox, and that the Brownists, or Separatists, call them as you will, do separate upon false and unchristian opinions; and that, besides matters of opinion and breach of charity, they do differ from us in some 'fundamental points of doctrine and saving truth.'

My Lord a little before tells us of 'corruptions in the Liturgy of the Church,' but names none; and should I charge the Brownists with difference from the Church in fundamental points of doctrine, and yet name none, I should run into the same fault for which I there taxed my Lord. I shall therefore give some instances of some of their opinions, and then leave the indifferent reader to judge, whether they do not 'differ from us in some fundamental points of 502
doctrine and saving truth:' and then, consequently, whether it be not an heretical as well as a schismatical separation, which they make from the Church of England.

1. And, first, there was a creed printed by John Turner, in this present year, and the Parliament sitting. This Turner is a notorious Separatist, or Brownist, if you will[x]. In this

[u] [John xix. 11.]

[x] [See the Archbishop's Accounts of his Province for 1637, Works, vol. v. pp. 331, 347.]

creed of his, he leaves out 'the descent of Christ into hell.' This is an article of the Apostles' Creed; and 'tis an article of the Church of England; and so, I presume, a 'fundamental point of doctrine.' Yet herein this Brownist and his fellows differ from us. And I have heard from some present, that at a committee of Lords, appointed for matters of religion, a young Lord[y] should say, openly and boldly enough, that he did not believe 'the descent of Christ into hell:' and that my Lord, the author of this speech, should second him.

2. In the same creed, Turner professes he believes 'that Christ instituted by His Apostles certain particular Churches here on earth, and no other.' So the Catholic Church, the mother of all particular both men and Churches, and out of which there can be no salvation in the ordinary way, is quite thrust out of this Brownist's creed. And this, I hope, is another 'fundamental point of doctrine and saving truth.' But in this I must do my Lord right, and not charge him with this point; because a little before, his Lordship tells of 'a twofold separation, one whereof,' he says, 'is from the Universal, or Catholic Church.' So the Catholic Church is not yet thrust out of my Lord's creed. But then this appears, that the Separatists are not yet agreed upon all the articles of their creed. Nay, some of them call the Apostles' Creed 'a patched forgery;' and Barrow justifies it[z].

3. Thirdly, they differ from us in charging 'gross corruptions' upon the Church of England. And these are known to my Lord, for he acknowledges them; and so gross, that, should they be true, the Church of England must be faulty 'in fundamental and saving truth:' as shall further appear in my answer to my Lord's next passage[a]. Therefore, if their charge be true, they must, by my Lord's own confession, differ from us 'in fundamental and saving truth.' And if their charge be false, why do they separate from us? Besides, all Anabaptists and Brownists agree in this, that the Church of England is antichristian. And if it be so, they must either differ in fundamentals from the

[y] The Lord Brook.
[z] Barrow's Reply to Gifford, p. 255. [Lond. 1606.]
[a] P. 48.

Church of England, or be antichristian themselves in joining with them, or grant that Christ and Antichrist have one and the same foundation.

4. Fourthly, some of them yet living, though they dare not speak it out in all companies, do cunningly insinuate 'that at death, soul and body are extinct together, but shall rise again at the resurrection, first or last. And that Christ shall come and live here upon the earth again. That the martyrs shall then rise, and live with Him a thousand years; and that Christ, once come upon the earth, shall not (for anything they can learn out of Scripture) ever depart from the earth again.'

5. Fifthly, one Brierly and his Independent congregation are of this belief, 'that the child of God, in the power of grace, doth perform every duty so well, that to ask pardon 503
for failing, either in matter or manner, is a sin. That it is unlawful to pray for forgiveness of sins, after their conversion.' With divers others, some as bad, some worse, to the number of fifty[b].

6. Sixthly, one Spisberrye yet living, and of that Independent fraternity, maintains that 'God works all things in us, and that we are but organs, instruments, and mere empty trunks.' Which is to make God the author of all the sins which men commit. And therefore Brierly says expressly[c], 'that if they do at any time fall, they can by the power of grace carry their sin to the Lord, and say, Here I had it, and here I leave it.' Will not the devil one day stop the mouth of this blasphemy?

7. Seventhly, Mr. Pryn himself (who hath been a great stickler in these troubles of the Church) says expressly, 'Let any true saint of God be taken away in the very act of any known sin, before it is possible for him to repent; I make no doubt or scruple of it, but he shall as surely be saved as if he had lived to have repented of it[d].' And he instances in David, 'in case he had been taken away before he had repented of his adultery and murder.' So, according to this divinity, the true saints of God may commit horrible and

[b] The 50 Propositions taken from his own mouth.

[c] Proposit. xix.

[d] Pryn in his Perpetuity, p. 431. [Lond. 1627.]

crying sins, die without repentance, and yet be sure of salvation; which teareth up the very foundations of religion, induceth all manner of profaneness into the world, and is expressly contrary to the whole current of the Scripture[e].

8. In the eighth place, almost all of them say that God from all eternity reprobates by far the greater part of mankind to eternal fire, without any eye at all to their sin. Which opinion my very soul abominates. For it makes God, the God of all mercies, to be the most fierce and unreasonable tyrant in the world. For the question is not here, what God may do by an absolute act of power, would He so use it upon the creature which He made of nothing: but what He hath done, and what stands with His wisdom, justice, and goodness to do.

9. Ninthly, one Lionel Lockier, now or late of Cranbrooke, in Kent, among other his errors, rails against 'teaching children the Lord's Prayer, or other forms of catechising.' And if they differ from the Church of England in the whole Catechism, I think the Lord must work a miracle before he can make his speech good, that they 'differ from us in no fundamental point.'

10. Lastly, to omit all those base opinions in which the Brownists agree with the Anabaptists; this, in which they differ from them, will be sufficient to prove that they differ from us in that which is fundamental; unless they will say, that to believe the Trinity is not fundamental. For some of them, and by name one Glover[f], deny the Deity of the Holy Ghost. Which stands condemned for a gross and fundamental heresy in the second General Council[g], held against Macedonius. And for the Familists[h] (of which there is store this day in England), they deny the resurrection of the flesh, turning it, as they do many other things, into a mystery or allegory. Perhaps more particulars might be found upon

[e] Ezech. xviii. 26; Prov. xxviii. 13; S. Luc. xiii. 3; S. Luc. xxi. 24; Acts iii. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 9; Gal. v. 10; and many other places.

[f] Rog. in Symb. Art. vii. Prop. 5. [Glover is here said, not to deny the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, but the obligation of the moral law. Rogers on 'the Faith, Doctrine, &c. professed in the Church of England,' p. 39. Lond. 1633. In p. 24 he mentions the error of H. N., who held that the Holy Ghost was merely "the inheritance allotted to the faithful, and the being or virtuous estate of Christ."]

[g] Concil. Const. I. [Can. i.—Conc. tom. ii. col. 946. E.]

[h] Hooker's Pref. to Eccl. Pol. s. iii. [§ 9, p. 184; where see also Mr. Keble's valuable note, giving some further details of their opinions.]

a narrow search. But if there be no more, these are enough to make it evident to the world that these Separatists 'differ from us in some fundamental points of doctrine, or saving 504
truth.' And as these are in fault for their separation, so I doubt the Church is to blame, for not proceeding against such of them as are altogether incorrigible.

But whether my Lord thinks these to be fundamental points, or whether he know that the Brownists do differ from us in them, I shall not take on me to declare, till his Lordship open himself further. In the meantime his Lordship goes on to tell us wherein these Brownists fail, though they do not differ in fundamental points to his knowledge:—

> *Their failing is in this. They hold that there is no true Church in England, no true ministry, no true worship, (which depend the one upon the other;) they say all is antichristian. Here is their error; they distinguish not between the* bene esse, *or purity of a true Church, and the* esse, *or true being of it, though with many defects and gross corruptions; but conclude, because such things are wanting which are, indeed, necessary to the well-being of a true Church, and to be desired, therefore there is none at all in being.*

Here my Lord shows a great deal of sharp and good apprehension, and distinguishes very rightly between the entire being of a true Church, which is her *bene esse*, and the true being of a Church, which is her *esse* only. And my Lord doth further fairly acknowledge, that this is the Brownists' error,—to conclude no Church in being, because it hath many defects and gross corruptions in it to hinder its well-being.

So, then, my Lord here grants two things:

First, that 'to hold there is no true Church in England, no true ministry, no true worship, (which depend one upon another,) but that all is Antichristian,' is an error.

And, secondly, that it is the Brownists' error. How, and how far these three, no true Church, no true ministry, no true worship, depend one upon another; and in what cases it may in some exigents be otherways, I will not now dispute, nor divert from the main business.

1. First, then, if it be an error to say, there is no true

Church, no true ministry, no true worship in England; then, I hope, it will be found truth to say, there is a true Church, a true ministry, and a true worship in England. And he that shall avow the contrary, must needs differ from the Church of England in fundamentals. For these contradictions; a true Church, and no true Church; a true ministry, and no true ministry; a true worship of God, and no true worship; cannot be built up but upon different foundations. And as for that which my Lord affirms is added by the Brownists, that there are many defects and gross corruptions in it: so long as this is said, and not proved, 'tis enough, without further proof, to deny both the defects and corruptions, both the many and the gross. As I doubt not but the Church of England can make good, against both my Lord and all the Brownists in England.

2. Secondly, if to affirm this be the Brownists' error, then
505 I would fain know of my Lord how he can say, 'the Brownists do not differ from or with us in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth?' For if this be no 'fundamental point,' or no 'saving truth,' that we be in and of a true Church; that this Church hath a true ministry, to be between God and us in all the duties of their function; whether upward to God in prayer and spiritual sacrifice, or downward to us in the word and sacraments; that in this Church, and by this ministry, there is a true worship, and that without gross corruptions: what can be accounted, next the Creed itself, fundamental or saving? So that in one line my Lord is pleased to say, 'the Brownists do not differ with us in any fundamental point of doctrine, or saving truth;' and in the very next line his Lordship confesses they differ from us in these three things, which if not several, yet altogether, as they depend one upon another, are saving and fundamental.

Nor can this cautelous close help my Lord one jot, that he adds, 'The Brownists do not differ from us in any fundamental point of doctrine or saving truth, as his Lordship knows.' For were his Lordship of a 'shallow or narrow comprehension,' 'twere another matter: but since he is so full of understanding in these things, 'tis impossible but he must know these three together are fundamental; and being so, he must needs know also, that 'the Brownists differ with us in

fundamentals;' which is that which he denied. If, therefore, my Lord will say he knows not this to be the Brownists' error, why doth he take upon him to say it is? If he will grant that he knows it, he must needs know withal (if he will not shut out the light of his conscience, of which a little before he is so tender) that the Brownists, or Separatists, call them what you will, 'differ from us in some fundamental points of doctrine or saving truth.'

Thus far, then, my Lord relates the failing of the Brownist. I hope he will be so careful as not to fail with them himself. Yes, sure; for he adds:—

> *I hold no such opinion, but do believe to the contrary: that there are in England many true Churches, and a true ministry which I do hear, and with which Churches I could join in communion, were those yokes of bondage which are laid upon them taken off, and those corruptions removed, which they do (contrary, as I think, to their duty) yield unto and admit of: and this I am sure no Separatist in England holds, that deserves that name. And therefore I hope your Lordships will in that respect let me stand right in your opinions.*

Here my Lord tells us he holds 'no such opinion, but does believe to the contrary.' But I doubt, he so believes to the contrary, as that he is of the same opinion. For he believes 'that there are in England many true Churches, and a true ministry.' And so do all the Brownists; for no doubt but they believe, that all their congregations or conventicles are true Churches in England, and that the ministers which they hear are true ministers. And this is plainly my Lord's belief. For he saith he believes there is a true ministry in England, 'which he doth hear.' But what ministers they are 506
which he doth hear, he does not say.

Or if this be not my Lord's meaning, but that there are some true Churches and some true ministers in England, though ordained as in England they are; yet my Lord continues a Separatist still. For his Lordship doth not say, either that he doth, or that he will, or that he can join in communion with any of these Churches, or this ministry, which he says are true. But only that 'he could join with them if'—

If what? Why, 'if these yokes of bondage were taken off which are laid upon them, and those corruptions removed.' By the yokes of bondage he means the injunction of a set form of prayers, which he hath so often mentioned in this speech.

But what corruptions he means I know not, till his Lordship shall be pleased to tell us. Only this I conceive I may add; that all things are not corruptions in the Church, which my Lord calls so. That if these corruptions be fundamental, they may be such, too, as may keep these Churches which he speaks of from being true Churches, and the ministry from being a true ministry. But if these corruptions be of a very light allay, (as I verily believe they are, if there be any,) then his Lordship ought not to separate, but to join in communion with them, for all these, either 'yokes' or 'corruptions.' The Apostle, indeed, tells us of a Church without wrinkle[i], Ephes. v.: but that is a triumphant Church in heaven; not a militant upon earth. And for the yokes, which my Lord speaks of, they are not 'yokes of bondage,' as he pleases to call them; but yokes of obedience, which, whenever they shall be broken, the wild asses of the wilderness will overrun all[k].

My Lord goes further, and says, 'that in these true Churches this true ministry does yield unto and admit of these yokes and these corruptions, contrary, as he thinks, to their duty.' But it seems they think not so; or, if they do think so, why do they not remonstrate their grievance? Sure, if their conscience tell them they do against their duty, they ought to inform their conscience, or forbear the work. To inform their conscience I am sure is fit for them, if they need it. Though it seems my Lord would rather have them forbear the duty, the doing whereof he calls their yielding unto; and their admitting these things, which he calls 'yokes and corruptions.'

As for that which follows, and which my Lord says he is sure of, 'that no Separatist in England that deserves that name' holds that which his Lordship says here he doth believe, in that, also, I conceive his Lordship is utterly mistaken. For I believe there is no Separatist in England, Brownist or other, 'deserving that name,' but he holds and will say as much as my Lord believes, namely, that 'there are

[i] Ephes. v. 27. [k] Jer. ii. 24.

in England many true Churches,' that is, assemblies or congregations of their own brotherhood. 'And a true ministry:' to wit, those which themselves have made. And that they 'do hear them:' that is, such as these. Yea, and that they 'could join in communion with some other Churches, were those yokes of bondage which are laid upon them taken off, and those corruptions removed.' That is, upon the matter, if they would become as themselves are, then they would join with them. And this out of all doubt they think they ought to do, and neither 'yield unto such yokes, nor admit of such 507
corruptions.' So that my Lord may see every Separatist in England, even they which most deserve that name, hold that which his Lordship believes. And therefore no question can be made, but that my Lord deserves that name as much as any of them, even while he says, 'he is sure no Separatist in England that deserves that name holds as he doth.'

But to come to the quick. The Brownists and Separatists deal plainly with God and the world, and say expressly, that the whole Church of England, as it stands established by law, is peccant both in the doctrine, liturgy, and discipline of it, and in such a degree as that they neither will nor can join in communion with it, and therefore separate from it, and betake themselves to their own private opinions and congregations. But my Lord, he equivocates both with God and man, and tells us 'he believes there are true Churches in England, and a true ministry which he hears.' And this no Separatist that understands himself but will say as fast as he. But let his Lordship come home to the business directly and plainly. Let him say that the Church of England is a true Church; that the ministry of it is a true ministry; that the doctrine, liturgy, and discipline of it, as it stands established now by law, are free from any such corruptions as give just cause for a separation.

And when he hath said this, let him join in communion with it as he ought to do; and then he shall wrong my Lord very deeply, that says he is a Separatist.

But for all this which he hath yet said for himself, 'tis manifest, that a Separatist he is. And I doubt, hath hereby proved himself, whether I will or no, the greatest Separatist in England. And therefore he hath little cause to 'hope,' as

he says he doth, 'that he shall stand right in their Lordships' opinions,' or any other man's that is not possessed with the same humour. Yet my Lord hath two requests to make:—

> *I will now end with two requests: the one, that your Lordships will please to pardon me for troubling you with so long a discourse concerning myself. I have not used it heretofore, and I am not like to offend again in the same kind; it is but once, and your Lordships will consider the occasion.*

In this suit, were there need, I would join with my Lord; for though I have a great deal of hard measure put upon me in this speech, yet I have the more reason to be content with it, because this whole discourse of my Lord's, well weighed, is more against himself than me. And such trouble of his Lordship's, I hope all men, well affected to the present Church of England, will easily pardon. And this I doubt not, but their Lordships, and all men else, will the rather do, when they 'consider the occasion:' which certainly I gave not personally in the House; but a guilty conscience (it seems) would needs be meant.

> *The second* (request) *is, to entreat of you, that where you know there is one and the same God worshipped, one and*
> 508 *the same faith embraced, one and the same Spirit working love, and causing an unblameable conversation, without any offence to the State, in your brethren, who in all these concur with you; you will not suffer them (for ceremonies and things indifferent to you, but not to them, but burthens, which without offence to the State, or prejudice to the Churches, you may take off if you will) to be thrust out of the land, and cut off from their native country. For if you thus shall wound the consciences of your brethren, you will certainly offend and sin against Christ.*

In this second request I can easily agree with my Lord in some things, but must differ in other. 1. And first, I agree with all my heart, that I would have no pressure at all, much less 'cutting off from their native country,' put upon them who 'are known to worship the same God, to embrace one and the same faith, and one and the same Spirit working love.' But in this I must disagree, that the Separatists (for

they are the men of whom this Lord speaks thus, and says they are your brethren, and concur with you in all these) are not known to be such. For though He be one and the same God whom they worship, yet the worship is not one and the same; for my Lord says plainly, 'that our set forms are superstition,' and that he cannot join in communion with us, 'till our yokes of bondage and our other gross corruptions be removed.' And I must doubt they embrace not the same faith, till they admit the whole Creed, and will use the Lord's Prayer, which few of them will. As for 'the Spirit that works by love,' I much fear He is a great stranger to many of these men; for I have many ways found their malice to be fierce, and yet endless. And therefore I wonder my Lord should have the boldness to tell my Lords in Parliament, that they know all these things of these men, and that they are their brethren, and concur with them in all these forenamed things, whom, in the meantime, their Lordships do and cannot but know different from them, nay, separating from them in the very worship of God.

2. Next, I agree with my Lord again, that I would have no pressure put upon those men, 'in whom the Spirit of love causes an unblameable conversation, without any offence to the State.' But in this I must disagree, that the Separatists from the Church of England are such manner of men; for the private conversation of very many of them (whom I could name were it fit) is far from being unblameable[1].

And the public conversation of all, or most of them, is full of 'offence to the State;' unless my Lord think the State is or ought to be of their humour. For how can their conversation be without great offence, very great, to this or any State Christian, who shall have and maintain private conventicles and meetings, in a different way of religion, from that which is established by the State? nay, which shall not only differ from, but openly and slanderously oppose, that which is so 509
established? Besides, no well-governed State will allow of private meetings, especially under pretence of religion, (which carry far,) without their privity and allowance; for if this be permitted, there lies a way open to all conspiracies against

[1] Here is a void space left, but never filled up.—H. W.

the State whatsoever, and they shall all be satisfied under the pretence of religion.

3. The third thing in which I agree with my Lord is, that I would not that 'for ceremonies and things indifferent, these men should be thrust out of the land, and cut off from their native country.' No, God forbid! if anything will reclaim them. But then I must disagree with my Lord in this, that these men (whether such as my Lord describes them or no) 'are thrust out of the land,' or 'cut off from their native country, for ceremonies or things indifferent.' For, first, they are not all ceremonies, for which they separate from the Church; for they pretend certain 'gross corruptions in the very worship of God,' (as my Lord a little before delivers.) Secondly, be the cause what it will, none of them have been banished, or 'thrust out of the land,' or 'cut off from their native country' (as is here spoken to move hatred against the government). But 'tis true, they have thrust themselves out, and cut themselves off, and run a-madding to New England, scared away, as they say, by certain gross corruptions not to be endured in this Church. Nor, after they have gone a-madding enough, is their return denied to any. And I know some that went out like fools, and are come back so like ——, that you cannot know the one from the other.

4. In this passage 'tis said by my Lord, 'that these ceremonies and things indifferent unto you,' (speaking to the Lords in Parliament,) 'are not so to them, but burthens.' In this passage I can agree with my Lord in nothing. For, first, my Lord but a very little before tells 'of yokes of bondage and gross corruptions.' And are they so soon become but 'ceremonies and things indifferent?' If they be more than 'ceremonies and things indifferent,' then my Lord delivers not the whole truth; and if they be but 'ceremonies and things indifferent,' then his Lordship and all other Separatists ought rather to yield to the Church in such things, than for such things to separate from it; and certainly so they would, 'if the Spirit that worketh by love' did work in them. Yea, but my Lord says they are such things as 'though they be indifferent to others, yet to them they are not, but burthens.' And it may be, they make them so; for in their own nature they are nothing less; and of great use they are to preserve

the substance and the body of religion. But this I find; let anything in the world be enjoined by the Church authority, and it is a burthen presently. And so you see all along this speech, how earnest my Lord is in behalf of himself and these Separatists, against all 'injunctions of set forms and yokes of bondage.' This is an excellent way of religion, to settle temporal obedience.

5. And I can as little agree with that which follows; namely, 'that the Lords may, without any offence to the State, or prejudice to the Churches, take away, if they will, these things indifferent to them, but burthens to these brethren.' For, first, suppose them to be but 'ceremonies and things indifferent,' yet can they not be taken away 'without offence 510
to the State, or prejudice to the Churches,' who, to please a few unruly Separatists, must make an alteration in that part of religion, which hath continued with great happiness to this Church ever since the Reformation. Secondly, I will not dispute it here, what power a lay assembly (and such a Parliament is) hath to determine matters of religion, primely and originally by and of themselves, before the Church hath first agreed upon them. Then, indeed, they may confirm or refuse. And this course was held in the Reformation. But originally to take this power over religion into lay hands, is that which hath not been thus assumed, since Christ to these unhappy days: and I pray God this chair of religion do not prove *cathedra pestilentiæ*, as the Vulgar reads it in Psal. i. 1, to the infecting of this whole nation with schism and heresy, and in the end bring all to confusion.

I meddle not here with the King's power. For he may be present in Convocation when he pleases, and take or leave any canons as he pleases, which are for the peace and well ordering of the Church; as well as in Parliament, take or leave any laws made ready for him, for the good and quiet of his people. But if it come to be matter of faith, though in his absolute power he may do what he will, and answer God for it after; yet he cannot commit the ordering of that to any lay assembly, Parliament, or other, for them to determine that, which God hath intrusted into the hands of His priests. Though, if he will do this, the clergy must do their duty, to inform him, and help that dangerous error if they can: but

if they cannot, they must suffer an unjust violence, how far soever it proceed; but they may not break the duty of their allegiance.

'Tis true Constantius the emperor, a great patron of the Arrians, was by them interested in their cause, and meddled in *decernendo*[m], in determining, and that beforehand, what the prelates should do; and sometimes in commanding the orthodox prelates to communicate with the Arrians. This they refused to do, as being against the Canons of the Council of Nice.

And then his answer was, 'Yea, but that which I will shall go for canon[n].' But then we must know withal, that Athanasius reckoned him for this, as that Antichrist which Daniel prophesied of[o].

Hosius also, the famous confessor of those times, condemned in him that kind of meddling in and with religion[p]. And so doth St. Hilary of Poictiers[q]. Valentinian also, the younger, took upon him to judge of religion, at the like persuasion of Auxentius the Arrian; but he likewise was sharply reproved for it by St. Ambrose[r]. In like manner, Maximus the tyrant took upon him to judge in matters of religion, as
511 in the case of Priscillian and his associates. But this also was checked by St. Martin, Bishop of Tours[s]: where it is again to be observed, that though these emperors were too busy in

[m] ['Ερημοῖ τὰς ἐκκλησίας παραλύων τοὺς κανόνας, καὶ τὰ ἴδια κρατεῖν βιαζόμενος.—S.] Athan. in Epist. ad solit. vitam agentes. [al. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos.] Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 862. [§ 77, Op., t. i. p. 390. D. Ed. Bened.]

[n] 'Αλλ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν ἔλεγε νομιζέσθω.—Epist. ad solit. vitam agentes. [Ibid. § 33. p. 363. E.]

[o] Τίς γὰρ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἐξάρχοντα τῶν νομιζομένων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ προκαθήμενον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κρίσεων, οὐκ ἀκολούθως [ἂν] εἴποι τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰρημένον βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (cap. ix. 27); [S.] Athanas. in Epist. ad solit. vitam agentes. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 862. [§ 77. ibid. p. 390. D.]

[p] [Μὴ τίθει σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, μηδὲ σὺ περὶ τούτων παρακελεύου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παρ' ἡμῶν μάνθανε ταῦτα.] —In Epistola ad Constantium, quæ extat apud Athana. Ibid. p. 829. [§ 44, p. 371. A. B.]

[q] ["Christianum te loqueris; sed quam non sis ipse testaris; nec professioni tuæ gesta conveniunt. Substravisti enim voluntati tuæ orientales episcopos, neque solum voluntati tuæ, sed et violentiæ."] St. Hilary cont. Constantium, Edit. Basil. p. 272, [§ 26. col. 1256. D. Paris. 1693,] et passim alibi.

[r] "Quando audiisti clementissime imperator in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse? . . . Quis est qui abnuat in causa fidei, in causa inquam fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare? . . . Pater tuus . . . baptizatus in Christo, inhabilem se ponderi tanti putabat esse judicii," &c.—S. Amb. lib. v. Epist. xxxii. [(xxi. Ben. Op., tom. ii. coll. 860. E., 861. A.)]

[s] "Novum et inauditum nefas esse dicens, ut causam Ecclesiæ judex sæculi judicaret."—Sulp. Sever. lib. ii. Hist. Sacræ. [cap. 50. Op., p. 289. Lips. 1709.]

venturing upon the determination of points of faith, yet no one of them went so far, as to take power from the synods, and give it to the senate. And the orthodox and understanding emperors did neither the one nor the other. For Valentinian the elder left this great Church-work to be done by Churchmen[t]. And though the power to call Councils was in the emperor, and though the emperors were sometimes personally present in the Councils, and sometimes by their deputies, both to see order kept, and to inform themselves, yet the decisive voices were in the clergy only. And this will plainly appear in the instructions given by the Emperor Theodosius to Candidianus, whom he sent to supply his place in the Council of Ephesus; which were, 'That he should not meddle with matters of faith, if any came to be debated[u].' And gives this reason for it: 'Because it is unlawful for any but bishops to mingle himself with them in those consultations.' And Basilius the emperor, long after this, in the eighth General Council, held at Constantinople, *an.* 870[x], affirms it of the laity in general, 'that it is no way lawful for them to meddle with these things. But that it is proper for the patriarchs, bishops, and priests, which have the office of government in the Church, to inquire into these things[y].' And more of this argument might easily be added, were that needful, or I among my books, and my thoughts at liberty. And yet this crosses not the supremacy which the King of England hath in causes ecclesiastical: as it is acknowledged both by the Church and law. For that reaches not to the giving of him power to determine points of faith, either in Parliament or out; or to the acknowledgment of any such

[t] "Pater tuus, Deo favente, vir maturioris ævi, dicebat, non est meum judicare inter episcopos."—St. Amb. lib. v. Epist. xxxii. [xxi. Ben. Op., tom. ii. col. 861. A.]

[u] "Ut cum quæstionibus et controversiis quæ circa fidei dogmata incidunt, nihil quicquam commune habeat. Nefas est enim, qui sanctissimorum episcoporum catalogo ascriptus non est, illum ecclesiasticis negotiis et consultationibus sese immiscere."—Bin. tom. i. Conc. par. ii. p. 166. Ed. Colon. ['Εντέταλται τοίνυν Κανδιδιανὸς, ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης τῶν δομεστίκων, ἀχρὶ τῆς ἁγίας ὑμῶν διαβῆναι συνόδου· καὶ μηδὲν μὲν ταῖς περὶ τῶν δογμάτων γινομέναις ζητήσεσι κοινωνῆσαι. ἀθέμιτον γὰρ, τὸν μὴ τῷ καταλόγου τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων τυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς σκέμμασιν ἐπιμίγνυσθαι. —Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. iii. coll. 442. E., 443. A.]

[x] *l.* 869.

[y] "Quod nullo modo iis liceat de ecclesiasticis causis sermonem movere. . . . Hoc enim quærere et investigare, patriarcharum, pontificum et sacerdotum est, qui regiminis officium sortiti sunt. . . . Nos autem oportet cum timore et fide sincera hos adire," &c.—Bin. tom. iii. Concil. par. ii. 682. [Conc. Labb. et Coss. tom. viii. col. 1154. C.D.]

power residing in him; or to give him power to make Liturgies, and public forms of prayer; or to preach or administer Sacraments; or to do anything which is merely spiritual. But in all things which are of a mixed cognisance, such as are all those which are properly called ecclesiastical, and belong to the bishops' external jurisdiction; the supremacy there, and in all things of like nature, is the King's. And if at any time the emperor or his deputy sit judge in a point of faith, it is not because he hath any right to judge it, or that the Church hath not right; but merely in case of contumacy, where the heretic is wilful, and will not submit to the Church's power.

And this the heretics sometimes did; and then the bishops
512 were forced to appeal thither also; but not for any resolution in the point of faith, but for aid and assistance to the just power of the Church[z].

I cannot but remember a very prudent speech uttered in the beginning of the late preceding Parliament, and by that Lord who now made this. The occasion was, a Lord offered to deliver a message from the King before he was formally brought into the House and his patent showed. This Lord, who thinks Church-ceremonies may so easily be altered, stood up and said: 'He would not be against the delivery of the message; he knew not how urgent it might be; but desired withal that it might be entered, that this was yielded unto by special leave of the House. For that,' saith he, 'though this be but a ceremony, yet the honour and safety of the privileges of this great House is preserved by nothing more than by keeping the ancient rights and ceremonies thereof entire.' And this, I think, was very wisely spoken, and with great judgment. And could my Lord see this in the Parliament, and can he not see it in the Church? Are ancient ceremonies the chief props of Parliamentary rights, and have they no use in religion, to keep up her dignity; yea, perhaps, and truth too? The House of Parliament is, I confess, a great and honourable House; but the whole Church of Christ is greater. And it will not well beseem a Parliament to maintain their own ceremonies, and to kick down the cere-

[z] [Cassiod.] Hist. Trip. lib. v. 35, in the case of heretics. [p. 80. Francof. ad Mæn. 1588.]

monies of the national Church, which, under God, made all their members Christians. Most sure I am they cannot do it without offence both to State and Church, and making both a scorn to neighbouring nations.

Now, in the close of all, my Lord tells his fellow-peers, and all others in them, 'that if they shall thus wound the consciences of their brethren,' (the Separatists,) 'they will certainly offend and sin against Christ.' Soft and fair. But what shall these Lords do, if to humour the 'consciences of those brethren,' (some weak, and many wilful, and the cunning misleading the simple,) they shall disgrace and weaken, and perhaps overthrow, the religion they profess? Shall they not then both wound their own consciences, and most certainly sin against Christ? Yes, out of all doubt, they shall do both. Now, where it comes to the wounding of consciences, no question can be made but that every man ought first to look to his own; to his brethren's after. A man must not do that which shall justly wound his brother's conscience, though he be his brother in a separation, and stand never so much aloof from him. But he must not wound his own to preserve his brother from a wound, especially such a one as happily may cure him, and by a timely pinch make him sensible of the ill condition in which he is.

As for these men, God of His mercy give them that light of His truth which they want, and forgive them the boasting of that light which they presume they have. And give them true repentance, and in that sense a wounded conscience, for their breaking the peace of this Church.

And forgive them all their sins, by which they still go on 513
with more and more violence to distract this Church.

And God of His infinite goodness preserve this Church at all times, and especially at this time, while the waves of this sea of separation rage so horribly. And as for this Lord, God forgive him, and I do, and I hope this Church will. Amen.

In Turri Lond.
Dec. 3, 1641.

S. S. Trinitati sit laus et gloria in æternum.

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

SPEECH

OF

The Right HONOURABLE

WILLIAM

Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, *&c.*

SPOKEN IN

PARLIAMENT,

Upon the BILL about

BISHOPS POWER in CIVIL AFFAIRS,

AND

COURTS of JUDICATURE, *Anno* 1641.

By the Moſt Reverend

WILLIAM LAUD Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*,

Then Priſoner in the *TOWER*.

Non appoſui ultimam manum,

W. CANT.

[*This Answer is reprinted from the second volume of Laud's Works, Lond.* 1690, *the pages of which are noted in the margin.*]

ANSWER TO THE LORD SAY'S SPEECH

AGAINST

THE BISHOPS[a].

THIS speech is said to have done the Bishops, their calling, and their present cause a great deal of harm among the gentry, and divers sober-minded men: and therefore I did much wonder that so many learned bishops, present in the House to hear it, should not, (some of them,) being free and among their books, so soon as it was printed, give it answer, and stop the venom which it spits from poisoning, so many at least, as it's said to have done; especially that Bishop[b] who stands named in the margin, and against whom in particular the speech was in part directed, should (as I conceive) to vindicate himself, as well as the cause, have taken this task upon him. But since I see all men silent, and the speech go away in triumph; as if it were unanswerable truth, though the Bill be now passed, and the Bishops with their votes cast out of the House, and from all civil employment, yet I thought it fit, if not necessary, to call this speech to an account in every passage, and with all due respect approve what is just, and give the rest such an answer as it deserves. And though you may think this answer comes too late, as indeed it doth to remedy the present evil, yet I have thought fit to go on with these my endeavours, that if these

[a] [The speech is entitled, "A Speech of the Right Honourable William Lord Vicount Say and Seale, one of his Majesties most honourable privie councell, spoken in Parliament, upon the Bill against the Bishops." The volume is entitled, "Two Speeches in Parliament of the Right Honourable Lord Vicount Say and Seale. Lond. 1641."]

[b] [The Bishop of Lincoln. See just below.]

miserable distracted times have an end (which I have no hope to live to see), the errors of this speech may appear, and the Bishops perhaps recover their ancient rights. If not (as I confess 'tis very hard in England), that yet the world may see how unjustly they suffered, and with what misguided zeal this Lord hath fallen upon the Church, as indeed he hath done in all kinds. And I pray God something fall not therefore upon him and his. The speech then begins thus:—

My Lords, 4

I shall not need to begin as high as Adam in answer to what hath been drawn down from thence by a bishop[c] *concerning this question, for that which is pertinent to it will only be what concerns bishops, as they are ministers of the Gospel: what was before, being of another nature, can give no rule to this.*—[Speech, p. 1.]

Whether this reverend bishop, now Lord Archbishop of York, did begin his speech as high as Adam, I cannot tell, nor what proof he made after such beginning; for I was committed long before this speech was made: but if he did bring it down from Adam, I think there may be good reason for it; for it will appear, for the two thousand years before the Law, and for two thousand years more under the Law of Moses, that the priests, especially the high and chief priests, did meddle in all the great temporal affairs which fell out in their times.

And first for the time before the Law, 'tis manifest, and received by all men, that the *primogenitus*[d], the firstborn, was priest, and the firstborn in the prime and leading families were as the chief-priests in their several generations: and 'tis more than absurd to think, that all these prime men in their several families, first, and tribes after, being priests,

[c] The Bishop of Lincoln.

[d] "Sacerdotium erat ante legem, apud colentes Deum, secundum humanam determinationem, qui hanc dignitatem primogenitis attribuebant."—[S.] Tho. [Aquin. Sum. Theol.] i. 2. q. 103, à 1 ad 3.

"Ante tempus veteris legis non erant determinati ministri divini cultus, sed dicitur, quod primogeniti erant sacerdotes, qui duplicem portionem accipiebant."—[S.] Tho. [Aquin. Sum. Theol.] ii. 2. q. 87, à 1 ad 3.

And it is irrefragably manifest by the Lord's commands to Moses, that he should take the Levites instead of the firstborn, Numb. iii. 45. Why instead of the firstborn, if the firstborn did not perform the public service of the Lord before that time?

should be estranged from all their civil and temporal affairs, and leave them in the hands of younger and weaker men. And as before the Law there is no express text for this their forbearance to help to manage civil affairs, so neither can there any sufficient reason be given why they should abstain. Neither did they. For instance, Abraham was a priest, and a great one, for he was a patriarch, Heb. vii. 4. And his priesthood appears in that he was the first minister of the sacrament of circumcision, Gen. xvii. 23; and yet he managed his family, and trained up his servants in that which is most opposite to the priestly function, even for war. Nay, took them, and went in person against five kings, and redeemed his kinsman Lot by the sword, Gen. xiv. 14, 16. And Melchisedeck, who is expressly called the priest of the high God, was king of Salem also [e]: a king and a priest too, so both capable by one person. And as he received tithes as a priest, so no doubt can be made but he ordered and governed civil affairs as a king. Before these, Noah was a priest, and offered sacrifice, Gen. viii. 20, and yet all the great care and trouble of building the ark, and managing the preservation of the whole world, was committed to him by God Himself, and undertook by him, Gen. vi.

Under the Law the case comes under fuller and clearer proof. And in the first entrance, Moses himself was *sacerdos sacerdotum,* the man that consecrated Aaron, Exod. xl. 13 [f], and after reckoned with Aaron among the priests of God, Psal. xcix. 6, and yet the whole princely jurisdiction resided in him all his days. But God commanded him to settle the priesthood upon Aaron, to teach the world that few men's abilities were fit for the height of both those places, since Moses himself was ordered to ordain Aaron, and divide the burden. After this division the high priest did meddle in civil affairs, even the greatest, as well as Moses continued his care of the synagogue. In the numbering of the people for war, a thing of sole imperial cognisance, if any, Aaron was joined in commission with Moses by God Himself, to number them by their armies; and they did it, Numb. i. 3, 17, 44. In the ordering of the standards and ensigns of the children of Israel, in their removes from place to place, God's own

[e] Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1. [f] Levit. viii. 1.

command came alike to Moses and Aaron, Numb. ii. 1, 2; the silver trumpets to call the assemblies of the people together did belong to Moses, the people had nothing to do with them; nor might they tumultuously assemble, but orderly as the sound of the trumpets directed them; but the priests the sons of Aaron were to sound them, Numb. x. 8, 9, 11 [g]. And this duty lay upon them as well when they went to war, as when they sacrificed. In the survey of the Land of Promise, Aaron was interessed as well as Moses: and this appears plainly, first, in that when the spies (all save Joshua and Caleb) had brought up an evil report upon the land, the people fall into a murmuring, and were as mad against Aaron as against Moses, Numb. xiv. 2, 5. Secondly, because when the Land of Promise came to be divided among the tribes, no spiritual business was it, and yet in the commission which Moses gave for the solemn division of the land, both to Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasses on the one side of Jordan, and on the other side to the other tribes, and to all the princes of the several tribes of Israel, Eleazar the priest was first and principal, Numb. xxxii. 2, 28, and xxxiv. 17, even before Joshua himself: and that not only here during Moses his life, but even after, at the actual division of the land to every tribe, though Joshua was then the leader of the people, Josh. xix. 51. In the great murmuring of the people at Kadesh, for want of water, which was like enough to break out into an insurrection, the commission which God Himself gave out to gather the assembly together, and to satisfy the people with water out of the rock, (a harder thing for Moses to do when he looks upon the people, than for God when he looks upon the rock,) went jointly to Moses and Aaron, Numb. xx., and they performed it accordingly.

Thus far it went, and in all these great particulars in Aaron's lifetime; as if God would give a pattern in the first high priest under the Law, what his successors in some cases might, and in some must do in great and civil affairs. And not so only, but to instruct the successors of Moses also what value they should put upon Aaron and his successors, if they will follow the way which God Himself prescribed, and which hath been taken up and followed in all well-governed

[g] [Compare Bp. Andrewes's Sermon on Numb. x. 1—4, vol. v. p. 141.]

kingdoms, as well Christian as heathen, till this very time that this ignorant boisterous faction hath laboured to bear sway, as a learned countryman of ours hath observed [h]. And therefore though God set the pattern in Aaron, yet He continued it further, to show (as I conceive) that His will was it
6 should continue. For no sooner was Aaron dead but his son Eleazar succeeded in all those great civil employments, as well as in the priesthood. For when the people of Israel were come into the plain of Moab near Jericho, and were ready to enter into the Land of Promise, God Himself joined Eleazar with Moses for the numbering of all the people that were found fit for war, which they were to expect at their entrance into Canaan, Numb. xxvi. 1, 3. In the difficult point of inheritance for the daughters of Zelophehad, when they came and demanded right of Moses, their demand was made to him and Eleazar, and the princes of the congregation, Numb. xxvii. 2, which they would not have done, had not Eleazar had a vote in that judicature with Moses and the princes, Josh. xvii. 4. And no less than God Himself commanded Moses to declare Joshua to be his successor in the presence of the congregation; and orders, further, that Joshua shall stand before Eleazar the priest, and that Eleazar shall ask 'counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord,' Numb. xxvii. 18, 19, 23. Now I would fain know of this Lord whether Eleazar might give Joshua the counsel which he asked of God for him? If he might not, why did God appoint him to ask it for Joshua? If he might, then he might give counsel in temporal affairs, for so runs the text about the war to be had with the Canaanites: 'At Eleazar's word they should go out, and at his word they should come in, both Joshua and all the children of Israel.'

Phineas the son of Eleazar, but priest too, though not high priest till after his father's death, was employed by Moses in the war against the Midianites, Numb. xxxi. 6, and the trumpets put into his hands. After the victory over them, the captains and the spoil were brought to Moses, Eleazar, and the chief fathers of the congregation, to divide

[h] "They would have clergymen not admitted, or very sparingly, to matters of state, contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths and of our own till these late years"—Geo. Cranmer, Epist. to Mr. Hooker, p. 13. [See Keble's Hooker, vol. ii. p. 764.]

them, v. 12, 26; and an express law ordained, that if there be a 'matter too hard for them in judgment,' (I pray mark it, 'tis 'between blood and blood, between plea and plea, between stroke and stroke;' these are no ecclesiastical matters, I trow,) 'that they should go unto the priests the Levites, and to the judges that shall be in those days,' Deut. xvii. 8, 9, and he that will not 'hearken unto the priest and judge shall die,' v. 12. Was the priest here excluded from all temporal affairs? Nay, was he excluded from any, when his judgment was required 'between blood and blood?' Nay, the Geneva note adds here, 'that the judge was to give sentence as the priests counsel him by the law of God[1];' which gives the priest a greater power than the judge, since he was to follow the priest's direction; and Dr. Raynolds tells us very learnedly, that this law was made to establish the highest court of judgment among that people, in which all harder causes both ecclesiastical and civil should be determined without further appeal[2]. When the people made war, and came nigh unto the battle, the priest was to approach and speak unto them; and when he had done, the officers were to speak to them likewise; which must needs imply that the priests which were present were not strangers to some at least of the counsels of the war, Deut. xx. 2, 5: and the whole law, the judicial as well as the rest, was delivered by Moses, after he had written it, unto the priests the sons of Levi, and unto all the 'elders of Israel,' Deut. xxxi. 9. So was the priest trusted with the custody and in the discussing of the law, and (as is before mentioned) Eleazar had his hand 7
in distributing the land of Canaan to the several tribes, as well as Joshua, and the other elders of Israel, Josh. xiv. 1.

Nay, though this were not ordinary and usual, yet Eli was so far trusted with, and employed in, temporal affairs, as that being high priest, he was also 'judge over Israel' forty years, 1 Sam. iv. 18; and after him Samuel, a Levite, judged Israel, and no man better. Yea, and after the captivity of Babylon also, for well near five hundred years, the priesthood had the greatest stroke in the government; as under the Maccabees, and they did all that belonged unto them very worthily, and

[1] Annot. in Deut. xvii. 9.
[2] Confer. with Hart, c. vi. divis. 2. p. 203. [Lond. 1598.]

it pleased God to make that family very victorious. After Samuel, when that people had kings to govern them, in that great and most unnatural conspiracy of Absalom against his father David, in that great distress, Hushai was ordered by David to return and mix himself with the counsels of Absalom, and to impart all things to Zadoc and Abiathar the priests, that by them and their sons, David might come to know what was useful or necessary for him to do, 1 Sam. xv. 27, 32, 35; and Hushai's making no scruple nor reply to this, makes it clear that Zadoc and Abiathar were formerly trusted with David's counsels, and that Hushai had observed them to be prudent and secret. And when David was old, he called a kind of parliament for the settling his son Solomon in the kingdom. To that great assembly he gathered together all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the Levites, 1 Chron. xxiii. 1, 2; so far was he from turning their 'votes out of the House' of that great consultation, that six thousand of them were by the wisdom of that senate made officers and judges throughout the kingdom, v. 4; and this was done on both sides of Jordan in all businesses of the Lord, and in the service of the king, 1 Chron. xxvi. 30, 32. In the beginning of Solomon's reign, Abiathar the high priest was in all the great counsels of that state, but falling into the treason of Adonijah, he was deprived by Solomon, and Zadok made high priest in his room, 1 Kings ii. 27, 35. And when Jehosaphat repaired the decays of that state, he set the priests and the Levites in their right places again, according to that law in Deut. xvii. 8, 9, and restored to them that power in judicature which was by God's appointment settled in them, 2 Chron. xix. 8. And that he had relation to that law is manifest, because he pitches almost upon the same words, ver. 10, as Dr. Raynolds hath observed before me[k]. And Jehoiada the high priest was the preserver of Joash, the right heir of the crown, against the usurpations of Athaliah; and when he had settled him in his kingdom, though not without force of arms, and they also ordered by Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxiii. 8, he was inward in his counsels, and was ruled by him in his marriage, 2 Chron. xxiv. 2; and he died with this testimony, that this young king 'did that which was

[k] Conf. with Hart, c. vi. divis. 2. p. 203. [Lond. 1598.]

right in the sight of the Lord, all the days wherein Jehoiada instructed him,' 2 Kings xii. But after his death you may read what befell Joash, 2 Chron. xxiv. In all the conduct of this people out of Egypt, in which many temporal businesses did occur, Aaron was joined with Moses in and through all. 'Thou leddest thy people like sheep,' saith the prophet, Psal. lxxvii., 'by' or 'in the hand of Moses and Aaron.' The prophet David was a great shepherd himself, and knew very 8
well what belonged to leading the people; and you see he is so far from separating Aaron from Moses in the great work of leading the people, that though they be two persons, and have two distinct powers, yet in regard the one is subordinate and subservient to the other, they are reputed to have but one hand in this great work. And therefore in the original, and in all the translations which render it, 'tis said *in manu*, not *in manibus*, 'in the hand,' not 'in the hands' of Moses and Aaron[l]. So necessary did God in His wisdom think it, that Aaron should be near about Moses in the government of His people. And as the priests and Levites were great men in the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, so were two of them ever in all the lesser Sanhedrims in the several cities of every tribe; for so Josephus witnesses expressly, that two of them were ever allotted to each magistracy[m]. Jeroboam's sin it was, and a great one, to make the lowest of the people priests, (1 Kings xii. 13,) and I pray God it be not the sin of this age to make the priests the lowest of the people.

So by this I think it appears, that nothing of like antiquity can well be more clear than that four thousand years before and under the Law, the priests, especially the chief priests, did meddle in, and help manage the greatest temporal affairs. And this, as this honourable person cannot but know, so I presume he was willing warily to avoid; for he tells you he shall not need to begin so high. Not need? And why so? Why, it is because (saith he) the question is, only what concerns bishops, as they are ministers of the Gospel, and that which

[l] [Compare Bp. Andrewes's second Sermon in Lent, vol. ii. p. 16.]

[m] ['Αρχέσθωσαν δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτά, οἱ καλὸν τὴν ἀρέτην καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προησκηκότες· ἑκάστῃ δὲ ἀρχῇ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδόσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευϊτῶν φυλῆς.]—"Oppidatim præsint septem viri probatæ virtutis et justitiæ cultores: singulis magistratibus attribuantur duo ministri de tribu Levitica."—Joseph. lib. iv. Antiq. c. 8. [§ 14. Op., tom. i. p. 233. Amst. 1726.]

was before being of another nature, can give no rule to this.' No man doubts but this question in Parliament belongs only to bishops as they are ministers of the Gospel, nay more particularly than so, as they are ministers of the Gospel in the Church of England only; for either this must be said, or else granted it must be by this honourable Lord, that the Parliament of England takes upon them to limit episcopacy through all the Christian world, and to teach all states therein what they are to do with their bishops. And this were as bold a part for the English Parliament to do, as it is for a private Englishman to censure the Parliament. And truly, for my own part, I cannot tell how to excuse the Parliament in this. For though in the Act now passed [n], there be nothing enacted but that which concerns bishops and such as are in holy orders here, because their power stretches no further than this kingdom, yet their aim and their judgment is general. And this appears by the preface of that Act [o], which runs thus: 'Whereas bishops, and other persons in holy orders, ought not to be entangled with secular jurisdiction,' &c. 'Ought not:' therefore in their judgment 'tis *malum per se*, a thing in itself unlawful for any man in holy orders to meddle in, or help manage temporal affairs; for though their words be, 'ought not to be entangled,' (which, as that word 'entangled' bears sense in English, and stands for an absolute hindering of them from the works of their own calling, I grant as well as they,) yet the Act proceeds generally to divest them of all power and jurisdiction in civil affairs, whether they be 'entangled' with them or not.

9 But be it so, that this question belongs to bishops only as they are ministers of the Gospel, yet why may not the ancient usage before the Law, and the law of God Himself, give a rule to this? For sure, if they can give no rule in this, then can they give no rule to anything else under the Gospel, that is not simply moral in itself, as well as none to prelates, and their assisting in temporal affairs; which opinion how many things it will disjoint both in Church and State is not hard to see. First, then, I shall endeavour to make it appear, that the practice of pious men before the Law, and the precept of the Law, can give a rule to many things under the Gospel;

[n] Feb. 15, 164½. [o] [16 Car. I. cap. xxvii.]

and then I will examine how, and how far those things may be said to be of another nature, which is the reason given why they can give no rule in this.

For the first, that they can give a rule, I hope it will appear very plainly; for in things that are typical, the type must prefigure the antitype, and give a kind of rule to make the antitype known: therefore in typical things no question is or can be made, but that the things which were under the Law can give a rule to us Christians. Though this bold proposition runs universally, without excepting things typical or any other. Besides, the priests had a hand in all temporal affairs, and in matters which were no way typical, but merely belonging to order and government, as appears by the proofs before made. And therefore the Jews may be precedents for Christians, which could not possibly be if they could give us no rule. Nor is this any new doctrine; for that ancient Commentary under the name of St. Ambrose [p], tells us expressly, that that which is mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 30, is a custom of the synagogue which he would have us to follow. And as this doctrine is not new, so neither is it refused by later writers, and some of them as learned almost as this Lord; for that which was ordered, 1 Chron. xxiii. 30, that they should 'stand every morning and evening to thank and praise the Lord,' is precedent enough to presume that the like is not against the law of God. And Calvin speaks it out expressly. 'In regard,' saith he, 'that God Himself instituted that they should offer sacrifice morning and evening, *inde colligitur*, it is thence collected plainly, that the Church cannot want a certain discipline [q].' So here the Jews' discipline gives an express rule to us. And it is very learnedly and truly observed by a late writer of ours, 'That there is no such light to the true meaning of Scripture as the practice of matters contained in it under the synagogue, and

[p] "Traditio synagogæ est quam nos vult sectari." S. Ambros. in 1 Cor. xiv. 30. [leg. 31.] [S. Amb. Op., tom. ii. Append. col. 159. These Commentaries were certainly not written by S. Ambrose. Dom Pitra in the Spicilegium Solesmense, vol. i., makes it probable that the Commentaries on Rom. and Corinth., as printed at the end of S. Ambrose, were written by S. Hilary of Poictiers, the remainder of his Commentary being found, partly in Rhabanus Maurus, (under the name of S. Ambrose,) and partly printed for the first time in Spicileg. Solesm. vol. i. pp. 49—159.]

[q] ["Primum, quod statas horas Deus veteri populo esse voluit; inde colligimus non posse carere Ecclesiam certa disciplina."]—Calv. in Act. iii. 1. [leg. 3. p. 25. Op., tom. vi. Amst. 1667.]

in the Church afterwards [r].' Now what light can we possibly receive from the synagogue, if those things which were before can give no rule to us? Besides, for aught I know of this Lord's religion, he may brand all the Old Testament as deeply as the Manichees did of old, or go very near it, if it can give no rule, and so be of no use to Christians. St. Augustine was of another mind through all his books against Faustus the Manichee [s]. And St. Ambrose most expressly, and very frequently recommended this, *tanquam regulam*, as a rule to the people [t]. And in this very case of Episcopacy, Clemens Romanus tells us, 'there is a kind of parallel between bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in the one, and high priests, priests, and Levites in the other Church [u].' And St. Jerome speaks it out, that 'such as Aaron and his sons, and the tribe of Levi were in the temple, the same are bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the Church of Christ [v].' And this they might justly challenge to themselves, and make it a rule.

But 'tis time to proceed to other particulars. In the case of tithes we find that they were due *jure divino*, by divine right, to the priests under the Law, and some were paid before the Law, no man doubts; but many will not grant that there is any divine right, commanding or ordering them to be paid to the priests under the Gospel. Yet this is undeniable, that tithes have been paid to the ministers under the Gospel, in all or most parts of Christendom, for many hundreds of years together; and God be thanked the payment continues yet in some places. What was it then, if not 'divine right,' that gave the rule to Christians for this kind of payment, but the practice before the Law, and the precept under it? Shall we say here, as this Lord doth, that what was before can give no rule to this? Now God forbid. The whole Christian world thought otherwise.

[r] Her. Thorndike, Epistle to the Reader before his Tract of Religious Assemblies. [Works, vol. i. p. 101. Oxf. 1844.]

[s] S. Aug. contra Faustum. [See especially book vi. Op., tom. viii. coll. 339, seq.]

[t] "Vetera Scripta legis et prophetarum, tanquam regulam diligentissime commendavit Ambrosius in popularibus sermonibus." S. Aug. lib. vi. Confess. c. 4. [Op., tom. i. col. 214. B.]

[u] [Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται.]—Clem. Ep. ad Corinth. pp. 52, 53. [§ 40. apud Cotel. Patres Apost. tom. i. p. 170.]

[v] "Quod Aaron et filii ejus, atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri atque diaconi vendicant in Ecclesia." — S. Hier. Ep. [cxlvi.] ad Evagr. [al. Evang. § 2. Op., tom. i. col. 1083. D. E. Venet. 1766.]

And whatsoever becomes of the controversy about tithes, yet this is certain, that the ministers of the Gospel ought to have a liberal and free maintenance. Men, whom they serve in and for Christ, must not open their mouths too often to preach, and muzzle them whom they should feed. And the rule for this is given by the Law, for it is written in the Law of Moses, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? or saith He it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes no doubt this is written,' 1 Cor. ix. 9. And yet how many of these oxen are poorly shuted, and in a manner muzzled, is evident enough. How comes this to pass? How? Why surely, the Apostle St. Paul was utterly deceived here, ask my Lord else; for he proves this point of their maintenance, because 'tis so written in the Law of Moses, whereas that Law which 'was before can give no rule to this.'

Again; 'The Lord Himself hath ordained,' so saith St. Paul, v. 14, 'that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.' Not starve by the Gospel, but live upon it; live plentifully and decently. But by what rule did the Lord Himself proceed in this? If His will had been His rule, no rule so straight, it could not but have been just. But St. Paul tells us there, v. 13, that God Himself proceeded by another rule. 'Do ye not know,' saith he, 'that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait on the altar are partakers with the altar?' Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύριος διέταξε, 'even so hath the Lord ordained.' Just so: that as the priests and Levites under the Law did wait on the altar and live by it, so must they who preach the Gospel, by the Gospel. Just so: why then, how did the priest under the Law live? 'Tis set down at large, Deut. xviii. 1, Numb. x. 9; and a very full portion they had, so full as that they might have no inheritance amongst their brethren, 'the Lord's portion:' which was made theirs was 11
so great, yet οὕτω, 'so' the Lord ordained for the ministers of the Gospel. Press this a little further and 'twill come to the quick. The priests and Levites under the Law, besides their partaking with the altar, had the tithes of all duly paid them. Will not οὕτω reach to this too? If so, then 'tis clear in the text, that 'the Lord Himself ordained'

payment of tithes to the ministers of the Gospel. For He ordained that the ministers of the Gospel should live of the Gospel, οὕτω, 'just as' the priests under the Law did of the altar. I will not be peremptory in this sense of the text, yet I would have it well considered. And howsoever, that a free and plentiful certain maintenance is the ordinance of the Lord Himself, is by this text as clear as the sun. Now this Lord should do well to tell St. Paul, that either he mistook the Lord's ordinance, or if he did not, that then the Lord Himself was mistaken in so ordaining for the ministers of the Gospel, 'because what was before can give no rule to this.'

Further yet, you may see the vanity, the nothing of this bold assertion in other particulars beside the case of tithing. For if neither the state of man before the Law, nor the Law itself, can give any rule in things of this kind, to us that live under the Gospel, then there is nothing in God's Law that can give a rule to us, but that a man may 'remove his neighbour's landmark,' he may 'lead the blind out of the way,' he may 'smite his neighbour,' so it be 'secretly,' he may marry in many degrees of consanguinity, and what may he not? For all these, and many things more, are prohibited only in the Law, Deut. xxvii., Levit. xviii.: but that going before can give no rule to these. Now, the Apostle tells us, 1 Cor. x. 6, 11, 'that those things were our examples, and written for our admonition.' And he speaks of things before and under the Law. And more generally, Rom. xv. 4, 'Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning.' Now, learn well and certainly we cannot, but by rule; and therefore most manifest it is, that those things which were before can give us rules, whatsoever is here said to the contrary.

Two things there are which work much with me, why this Lord should say that the things which were before and under the Law can give no rule in this: and if not in this, then not in things like to this: The one is the power which kings have in their several dominions over the external government and polity of the Church. The Apostle's rule goes in the general only, 'Let every soul be subject,' Rom. xiii. 1. But the rule drawn down to particulars is from the commended practice of the kings of Judah under the Law. Now if these can give us no rule, then we have none at all brought down

to particulars, wherein that power consists. And here this Lord being a known Separatist from the Church of England, (as appears most manifest y by another speech of his Lordship's in Parliament, and printed with this,) separates, I doubt, from her doctrine too, and will not (could he speak out with safety) allow kings any power at all in Church affairs, more than to be the executioners to see the orders of their assemblies executed, in such things as they need the civil sword. And therefore he doth wisely in his generation, to say, 'that 12 the things which were before can give no rule in this.'

The other is, that there is of late a name of scorn fastened upon the brethren of the separation, and they are commonly called Roundheads, from their fashion of cutting close and rounding of their hair: a fashion used in Paganism in the times of their mournings and sad occurrences, as these seem to do, putting on in outward show at least a sour look and a more severe carriage than other men[w]. This fashion of

[w] It is evident the Grecians did wear long hair, and therefore Homer calls them *καρηκομοωντας Αχαιους, capite comatos Achivos*, lib. ii. Iliad. And Eustathius, commenting upon that place, saith, they wear it long at other times, but cut it in the time of sorrow. [p. 165, Romæ, 1542.] And Achilles and his company cut off their hair, and cast it upon the dead body of Patroclus to cover it. Homer, lib. xxiii. Il. And at the funeral of Achilles the Grecians are said to shed warm tears (*κειροντό τε χαίτας*) and to have cut their hair. Homer, lib. xxiv. Od.

That the Romans wore their hair long, is evident by Varro, who saith that barbers were not known in Italy before the year 454 post u. c. About that time Ticinius Menas brought them in. Varro, lib. ii. de Re Rust. cap. ult. [fol. 235. a. apud Script. de Re Rustica, Bonon. 1504.]

And that they did cut their hair at funerals is plain in Andreas Tiraquel. "Romani in aliis luctibus quam funerum capillum barbamque promittebant."—Annot. in Alex. ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 7. [p. 307. Francof. 1594.] But then they cut them.

And when this "rounding" went close, indeed it came somewhat near baldness; which the Jews were likewise forbidden to make upon themselves for the dead, Deut. xiv. 1, and Jerem. xvi. 6.

And as this rounding of the head was sometimes a sign of superstitious sorrowing, so was it (with some difference) used as an effeminate and luxurious fashion. And therefore Ganymedes were said *περικείρεσθαι, circumtondere*. Dio Chrysost. Orat. 2. de Regno. [p. 20. Lut. 1604.] And harlots.

After which manner they say harlots were cut, *εἶναι δὲ περιτρόχαλον*. And that it was a kind of rounding the head, Hesychius in Lexico, verbo *σκαφίον*, [tom. ii. col. 1204. Lugd. Bat. 1766.] Which kind of rounding the hair Tertullian mentions, lib. de Cultu Fœminarum, cap. 8. ["Propriasque præstigias formæ et hic sexus sibi agnoscit, barbam acrius cædere, intervellere, circum radere, capillum disponere."—Tert. de Cult. Fœm. lib. ii. cap. 8. Op., p. 157. C.] and lib. de Pallio, cap. 4, he objects the use of it to his Carthaginians. [The whole chapter is occupied with arguments against the practice.]

And in some places, this "rounding" of the head was a mark of servitude and vassalage, as among the ancient French, whore the King only and the heir apparent had *jus capilitii*, in token of his regality, and the rest were *circumtonsi*. (Selden, Præfat. to his Titles of Honour, ex Cedreno.) [This was in the Preface to the first edition of the Titles of Honour. See

rounding the head God Himself forbids His people to practise, the more to withdraw from the superstitions of the Gentiles: 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads,' Lev. xix. 27. This express text of Scripture troubled the Brownists and the rest extremely; and therefore this Lord, being a great favourer of theirs, if not one himself, hath thought upon this way to ease their minds and his own. For 'tis no matter for this text, nor for their resembling heathen idolaters; they may round their heads safely, since those things 'which were before can give no rule in this.' And I do not doubt but that if this world go on, the dear sisters of these rattleheads will no longer keep silence in their churches or conventicles, since the Apostle surely is deceived, where he saith that 'women are not permitted to speak in the churches, because they are to be under obedience, as also saith the Law,' 1 Cor. xiv. For the Law, and those things 'which were before, can give no rule in this;' and therefore they 'shall not need to go as high as Adam' to answer this. They shall not need in this, nor we in that of Episcopacy, 'go so high as Adam.' But yet we may if we will, for so high the Apostle goes in this place.

And I thank this Lord for that liberty (if he means so well), that though we 'need not go so high,' yet we may if we list. And this is most certain, that any State Christian may receive all or as much of the judicial law of Moses as they please, and find fit for them; and as much of the ceremonial as detracts not from Christ come in the flesh. And since all law is a rule, this could not be done if those laws, being before, could be no rule to us.

This is proof enough, as I conceive, that these things which were before can give a rule to us now under the Gospel. My Lord thinks not so, for this reason, 'because they are of
13 another nature.' Secondly, therefore, the reason comes to be examined. Wherein I shall weigh two things: first, whether the Law of Moses and the Gospel of Christ are things 'of another nature,' and how far? and, secondly, whether this be universally true, that among things of another nature one cannot give a rule to another?

Works, vol. iii. p. 94. Lond. 1726.] But whether our Roundheads do it for superstition, or for luxury, or out of any base and servile condition, I cannot tell; though I think there need be little question but that many of them are guilty of all three, their hypocrisy being not a robe large enough to hide all of them; and some of their conventicles have of late heard ill.

1. For the first, I shall easily acknowledge a great deal of difference between the Law and the Gospel. They differ in the strictness of the covenant made under either: they differ in the sacraments and sacramentals used in either: they differ in the extent and continuance of either: they differ in the way and power of justifying a sinner; and perhaps in more things than these. And in these things in which they thus differ, and *qua*, as they so differ, the Law can give no rule to Christians; but whether these differences do make the Law and the Gospel things of quite 'another nature,' (which are the words here used,) I cannot but doubt a little. First, because more or less strictness doth not vary the covenant in nature, though it doth in grace; for *magis et minus non variant speciem*[x], more or less in anything does not make a specifical difference, and therefore not in nature. And use of different sacraments doth not make things to be 'of another nature,' where *res sacramenti*, the substance of the sacrament, is one and the same. And so 'tis here; for one and the same Christ is the substance of circumcision and the paschal lamb, as well as of Baptism and the Eucharist. For our fathers under the Law 'did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ,' 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. And much less can extent or continuance vary nature. Not extent; for fire contained in a chimney and spread miserably over a city, is one and the same in nature. Not continuance; for then a father and his son should not be of the same nature, if the one live longer than the other. And as for the way and power of justification, they difference the Law and the Gospel, not so much in their nature as in their relation to Christ, who alone is our justification, 1 Cor. i. 30, and was theirs also who lived under the Law, for both they and we were and are justified by the same faith in the same Christ.

And this seems to me very plain in Scripture: 'For to this day,' saith the Apostle, 'the vail remains upon the Jews in the reading of the Old Testament, which vail is done away

[x] And so Aristotle pursues it. "Imperare et parere, non differunt secundum magis et minus, quia differunt specie." [Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, εἴδει διαφέρει, τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, οὐδέν.]—Arist. lib. ii. Polit. cap. 8. [p. 28. Oxon. 1810.]

in Christ, but we all with open face behold as in a glass the glory of the Lord,' 2 Cor. iii. 14, 18. So one and the same Christ is in the Old Testament as well as in the New. Not so plainly; but there, though under a vail. Now a vail on and a vail off, a dimmer and a clearer sight in and by the one than by the other, do in no case make the things 'of another nature.'

Again; we find it expressly written, Gal. iii. 24, that 'the Law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by faith.' 'Our schoolmaster;' therefore it must needs be able to give rules unto us, or else it can never teach us. And the rules it gives are very good too, or else they can never 'bring us unto Christ, that we may be justified by faith;' which to do, St. Paul here tells us, is the
14 end of the Law's instruction. And this instruction it could not so fully give, if this schoolmaster were so 'of another nature as that it could not give us a rule in this.'

Besides, the type and the antitype, the shadow and the substance, howsoever they may be 'of another nature,' if you look upon their entity, yet in their relative nature, as type and antitype, shadow and substance, they are of the same nature, and have mutual dependence either upon other, and give rules mutually either to other, and a proof one of another. For a man may take the measure of the body by the shadow, and of the shadow by the body. And so it is between the Law and the Gospel; the sacrifices in the one, and Christ in the other. 'For the Law had but the shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things themselves, and therefore with those sacrifices could make nothing perfect,' Heb. x. 1. But 'Christ is the body' itself, Col. ii. 17. And 'when He came into the world, He saith, Sacrifice and burnt-offering Thou wouldest not have, but a body hast Thou given me,' Heb. x. 4. How shall this appear? How? Why, by the very rules given in the Law. For so the prophet tells us in the person of Christ: 'In the volume of the book it is written of Me,' Psal. xl. 7. Nay, so says Christ Himself, St. John v. 46, 'Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me.' And to bring all home close to the present business; Christ, as God, of another nature quite from Melchisedek, yet in relation to the priesthood, as

type and antitype, not so; for Christ was man also, and the one gave a kind of rule to the other: For Christ was 'made a Priest after the order of Melchisedek,' κατὰ τὴν τάξιν: or as Mont. reads in the margin, *secundum morem*, according to the form, manner, or rule of Melchisedek's priesthood. And as Melchisedek and Christ are type and antitype in their priesthood, so the priesthood of Aaron under the Law was but a shadow of the priesthood of Christ under the Gospel[y]. And therefore the priesthood which is now, ought in all privileges to exceed that under the Law, inasmuch as the antitype and the body is of more worth than the type and the shadow. I say, in all privileges which are not appropriated by God Himself to the priesthood of the Law.

2. Secondly, it may be considered too, whether this be universally true; that among things which are of another nature, one cannot give a rule to another. For my own part I doubt there is not truth in the rule, but instead of truth a great deal of danger. And surely, if this be generally true, that 'that which was before (being of another nature) can give no rule to this;' that is, if that which was both before and under the Law concerning priesthood can give no rule, none at all, to the ministry under the Gospel, then can it give no rule in anything else: because the Law is as much 'of another nature,' in regard of other things, as of this. Nay, this very thing, the priesthood, makes the Law to be 'of another nature' more than anything else. And so the Apostle plainly, Heb. vii. 12: 'For the priesthood being changed, [there is] made of necessity a change also of the law.' But be this change, this other nature, what it will, if the Law can give no rule at all in this, (which again is directly contrary to the Apostle, 1 Cor. ix. 9, 13,) then can it give no rule in anything else pertaining to the Gospel. For the reason if it be good, holds alike, 'tis of another nature.

Nay, yet further, if this reason be true, universally true, (as 'tis here given,) then it reaches to and through the whole Law. No part of it can give any rule to men or things under the Gospel. For if no rule to things, then none to men, who must do or leave undone; and if so, then the moral law ca

[y] "For those priests served but to the example, and to the shadow, &c. But now hath He obtained a more excellent ministry," Heb. viii. 5, 6.

give no rule to men under the Gospel, more than the ceremonial or the judicial law. For the whole Law was before the Gospel, and here said, without any distinction, to be 'of another nature,' and so unable to give a rule. And, for aught I know, this zealous Lord may be of this opinion. For this lewd doctrine hath been somewhat common of late among his favourites, that 'moral honesty is an enemy to the grace of Christ;' that 'harlots and debauched persons are nearer to the kingdom of God than they which labour to show themselves moral men,' and the like. As if they went to teach the people to live lewdly, and to 'do evil that good may come' thereof, 'whose damnation,' the Apostle tells us, 'is just,' Rom. iii. 8. Whereas Christ 'came not to take away the law, but to fulfil' it for us, Matt. v. 17, and in some measure to enable us to keep it also. And in the Gospel, when the scribe told our Saviour, that to 'love God with all the heart, and his neighbour as himself,' (upon which commandments hang the whole law, S. Matt. xxii. 40,) 'was more than all burnt sacrifices,' our Saviour did not tell him that 'harlots were nearer the kingdom of God than he,' or that this law, 'being of another nature, could give him no rule' for his life. But, quite contrary, He told him for his comfort, and the comfort of obedience, that he was 'not far from the kingdom of God,' S. Mar. xii. 34. And though this be bad enough, and will prove a fruitful mother of all libertinism and profaneness, yet there is a greater danger behind. For if the grace of Christ under the Gospel be a discharge of the moral law, and disenable it to give a rule, as being 'of another nature,' what shall become of God the Lawgiver Himself in all kinds? For He is quite 'of another nature,' eminently and infinitely exceeding us, and whatsoever is or can be naturally in us; yea, or supernaturally either. And what now? Shall not God Himself being 'of another nature' give us any rule in this or anything else? I know this Lord will say, this is not his meaning. No, truly, I hope it is not. But then, this Lord, if he will needs be writing and printing, should so express himself as that he may not expose his words to such unsavoury consequences as (for aught I know) may justly be gathered from them. And let me tell him in the meantime, 'tis a dangerous thing to be so busy with the

law of God; and so without distinction, as he is, lest he intrench upon the Lawgiver before he be aware.

Howsoever, in this proposition of his, that 'that which is before, being of another nature, can give no rule to this,' leaves him at a loss which way soever to turn himself. For, since 'tis manifest by the Apostle in the places before cited[z], that the Law of Moses, which was before, doth give a rule to divers things under the Gospel, this Lord of the separation is at a loss every way. For if the Law and that which was 16
before be not 'of another nature' from this, then his reason is false, which says it 'can give no rule' because 'tis 'of another nature,' and so he is at a loss in that. And if it be of another nature, yet it appears by the Apostle's practice, that for all that it can give a rule in this. For that which can give the Apostle a rule, can give a rule to us: and so he is at a loss in the whole proposition. For, whether that which was before be or be not 'of another nature,' yet it can give a rule.

I have been long upon this passage, because I conceive the main controversy hangs and turns upon this hinge. And if any reader think it long or tedious, or be of this Lord's mind, that he need not go so high for proof, yet let him pardon me, who in this am quite of another judgment. And for the pardon, I shall gratify him by being as brief as possibly I can in all that follows. Thus then this Lord proceeds:—

> *The question which will lie before your Honours in passing this Bill, is not, Whether Episcopacy (I mean this hierarchical episcopacy which the world now holds forth to us) shall be taken away, root and branch; but, Whether those exuberant and superfluous branches, which draw away the sap from the tree, and divert it from the right and proper use, whereby it becomes unfruitful, shall be cut off, as they use to pluck up suckers from the root.* [p. 1.]

After this Lord had told us we need not go so high for the business, he comes now to state the present question; where he tells us what he himself means by Episcopacy, namely, 'hierarchical episcopacy,' such as is properly and now commonly so called in the world. And this his Lordship adds

[z] 1 Cor. ix. 9, 13, 14; Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. x. 6, 11.

because of that distinction made by Beza in his tract, *De Triplici Episcopatu, Divino scilicet, Humano et Satanico;* in which what part Beza plays I will forbear to speak, but leave him and his 'gall of bitterness' to the censure of the learned[a]. Sir Edw. Deering, in his printed Speeches[b], tells us that others in a milder language keep the same sense, and say there is *Episcopus, Pastor, Præses,* and *Princeps.* So in his account, *Episcopus, Princeps,* and *Satanicus,* is all one in milder terms. But the truth is, that in the most learned and flourishing ages of the Church, the Bishops were, and were called *Principes,* chief and prime, and prince, if you will, in Church affairs. For so Optatus calls them, the chief and princes; and so likewise did divers others of the Fathers, even the best learned and most devout[c]. And this title is given to diocesan or hierarchical Bishops, which doubtless these Fathers would neither have given nor taken, had *Episcopus, Princeps,* and *Satanicus* been all one. Nor would Calvin have taught us that the primitive Church had in every province among their Bishops one Archbishop, and
17 that in the Council of Nice Patriarchs were appointed which should be in order and dignity above Bishops[d], had he thought either such Bishops or Archbishops to have been 'satanical:' and had Beza lived in those times, he would have been taught another lesson. And the truth is, Beza, when he wrote that

[a] [Beza's tract was answered by Dr. Hadrian Saravia in his "Examen Tractatus de Episcopatuum triplici genere."]

[b] [A Collection of Speeches in matter of Religion,] sect. 16, p. 122, [p. 72. Lond. 1642.]

[c] ["Apices et principes omnium." —Optat. lib. [i.] adv. Parm. [p. 15. Paris. 1679.]

"Princeps Ecclesiæ."—S. Hilar. lib. viii. De Trin. Prin. [Op., col. 947. B. Paris. 1693.]

Greg. Nazianz. ascribit ἀρχην, principatum, ac regimen animarum Episcopo.'— Orat. xvii. et xx. [Ἄρχομεν γὰρ αὐτοι, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχήν.—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xvii. Op., tom. i. p. 271. B. Ἄρχοντος δὲ καὶ προστάτου κακίαν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχην, τὸ μὴ πολὺ τῶν πολλῶν προέχειν.—Orat. xx. ibid. p. 343. C. Paris, 1630.]

"Quid aliud est Episcopus quam is qui omni principatu et potestate superior est? in materia et gradu religionis."—[Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος; ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάντων κρατῶν.]—Ignat. Ep. [interp.] ad Trall. [Cot. Pat. Ap. tom. ii. p. 63.]

"Principes Ecclesiæ fiunt," &c.— Opus imperf. in S. Matth. Hom. 35. [Apud S. Chrysost. Op., tom. vi. Append. p. cliii.]

"Principes futuros Ecclesiæ Episcopos nominavit."—S. Hier. in Esai. vi. 60. [lx. 17, 18. Op., tom. iv. col. 728. E.]

[d] "Quod autem singulæ provinciæ unum habebant inter Episcopos Archiepiscopum, quod item in Nicena Synodo constituti sunt Patriarchæ, qui essent ordine et dignitate Archiepiscopis superiores, id ad disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat."—Calv. 4. Inst. [cap.] iv. [§] 4. [Op., tom. ix. p. 286.]

tract, had in that argument either little learning or no honesty. But for this Lord, whether he means by 'hierarchical episcopacy' the same which Beza, I will not determine. He uses a proper word and a civil, and I will not purpose to force him into a worse meaning than he hath, or make him a worse enemy to the Church (if worse he may be) than he is already. Though I cannot but doubt he is bathed in the same tub.

Having told us what he means by Episcopacy, he states the business thus: That 'the question is not whether this hierarchical episcopacy shall be taken away, root and branch.' So then, I hope this Lord will leave a hierarchy (such as it shall be) in the Church. We shall not have it all laid level. We shall not have that curse of 'root and branch[e]' (for less it is not) laid upon us: or, at least, not yet. But what shall follow in time, when this bill hath used its edge, I know not. Well, if not root and branch taken away, what then? What? why, 'tis but 'whether those exuberant and superfluous branches, which draw away the sap from the tree, and divert it from the right and proper use, whereby it becomes unfruitful, shall be cut off, as they use to pluck up suckers from the root.' This Lord seems to be a good husbandman; but what he will prove in the orchard or garden of the Lord, I know not: for most true it is that suckers are to be plucked from the root; and as true, that in the prime and great Vine there are some branches which bear no fruit, and our Saviour Himself tells us, that they which are such 'are to be taken away,' St. Joh. xv. 2. And therefore I can easily believe it, that in Episcopacy, which is a far lower vine under and in the service of Christ, and especially in the husbanding of it, there may be some such branches as this Lord speaks of, which draw sap and divert it, and make the vine less fruitful; and no doubt but such branches are to be cut off. So far I agree, and God forbid but I should. But then, there are divers other questions to be made and answered before this sharp Lord fall to cutting. As, first, What branches they be which are 'exuberant and superfluous' (as this Lord is pleased to call them)? What time is fittest to cut them off? Whether they be not such as with pruning may be made

[e] Job xviii. 16.

fruitful? If not, then how near to the body they are to be cut off? Whether this Lord may not be mistaken in the branches which he thinks 'divert the sap?' Whether a company of laymen, without any order or ordinance from Christ, without any example from the days of Christ, may, without the Church, take upon them to prune and order this vine? For, whatever this Lord thinks in the over-abundance of his own sense, the Lord hath appointed husbandmen to order and prune this vine, and all the branches of it, in His Church, without his usurpation of their office: and while he uses a bill (which is too boisterous a weapon for a vine) instead of a pruning-hook, the Church itself, which is the vine which bears Episcopacy, may bleed to death in this kingdom before
18 men be aware of it. And I am in great fear, if things go on as they are projected, that religion is upon taking its leave of this kingdom. But this Lord hath not quite done stating the question, for he tells us next that—

> *The question will be no more but this, Whether Bishops shall be reduced to what they were in their first advancement over the Presbyters, (which, although it were but a human device for the remedy of schism, yet were they in those times least offensive,) or continue still with the addition of such things as their own ambition, and the ignorance and superstition of succeeding times, did add thereunto, and which are now continued for several political ends; things heterogeneal, and inconsistent with their calling and function as they are ministers of the Gospel, and thereupon such as ever have been, and ever will be, hurtful to themselves, and make them hurtful to others, in the times and places where they are continued.* [pp. 1, 2.]

Here my Lord states the question again. He did it before under the metaphor of a tree and the branches. Here, that men of 'narrow comprehensions[f]' may not mistake him, he lays it down in plain terms, and tells us the question is no more but this, 'Whether Bishops shall be reduced to what they were in their first advancement over the Presbyters?' And you may be sure they shall be reduced, if they

[f] [See above, p. 87.]

once fall into the hands of this zealous Lord. Reduced, out of doubt, every way, if he may have his will, saving to that which they were in the original, which his Lordship calls 'their first advancement over the presbyters.' For my own part, if it be thought fit to reduce the Christian Church to her first beginnings, give us the same power, and use us with the same reverence for our works' sake, as then our predecessors were used, and reduce us, in God's name, when you will. But this Lord's zeal burns quite another way. He tells us, indeed, that 'the question is no more but whether Bishops shall be reduced to what they were in their first advancement over the presbyters;' but he means nothing less than their reducement thither: and this is manifest out of his own next words. For there he says, their first advancement was 'but a human device for avoiding of schism.' 'But a human device?' Why, first, our Saviour Himself chose twelve Apostles out of the whole number of His disciples, and made them bishops, and advanced over the presbyters and all other believing Christians, and gave them the name of Bishops as well as of Apostles; as appears, since that name was given even to Judas also, as well as to the other Apostles, and to the other Apostles as well as to Judas, since Matthias was chosen by God Himself, both into the bishopric and apostleship of Judas, Acts i. 20, 24, 25. Now that Christ Himself did ordain the Apostles over the ordinary disciples, presbyters or others, is evident also in the very text; for He chose them out of His disciples, S. Luke vi.[g] And to what end was this choosing out, if after this choice they remained no more than they were before? Nay, He chose them out with a special ordination to a higher function, as appears S. Mark iii., where 'tis said, 'He ordained twelve that they should be with Him;' that is, in a higher and nearer relation than the rest were. Nay, more than so, the word there used by S. Mark is ἐποίησεν, 'He made' them; 19
He made them somewhat which before that making they were not, that is, Apostles and Bishops. Had they been such before, it could not have been said that 'He made' them then. And our last translation renders it very well, 'He ordained them:' so belike this making was a new ordination

[g] S. Luke vi. 13, ἐκλεξάμενος.

of them. And this appears further by the choice of Matthias into the apostleship of Judas: for Matthias was one of the seventy when he was chosen[h]; and then this choice needed not, if the LXX. had been before of equal place and calling with the Apostles. For, as S. Jerome speaks, he that is preferred, is preferred *de minori ad majus*, from a less and a lower to a greater and a higher degree[i]. Now, it is *traditio universalis*, the constant and universal tradition of the whole Church of Christ, which is of greatest authority next to Scripture itself, that Bishops are successors of the Apostles, and Presbyters made in resemblance of the LXX. disciples[k]. And so the institution of Christ Himself (for so, by this Lord's leave, I shall ever take Episcopacy to be) is made 'but a human device to avoid schism.' But there hath been so much written of late to prove Episcopacy no human device, that I will not trouble the reader with any more of it here. Only we are thus far beholding to this Lord, that he thinks Bishops were 'in those times least offensive;' so, belike, in the Apostles' times they were offensive, though less. And this makes me doubt he thinks as much of the Apostles themselves, since they were so ambitious as to take on them superiority over their brethren, which this great Lord of the Separation (for so he is) cannot endure, as being antichristian, and therefore certainly (if he may have his will)

[h] Euseb. lib. i. Hist. c. 12, lib. ii. c. 1.

[i] ["Non dico de Episcopis, non de inferiori gradu."]—S. Hier. Epist. lxix. ad Ocean. [§ 2. Op., tom. i. col. 412. D.]

[k] "Apud nos Apostolorum locum tenent Episcopi: apud eos (i. e. Montani sectatores) Episcopus tertius est."—S. Hier. Ep. [xli. (al. liv.) § 3,] ad Marcell. adv. Montan. [Op., tom. i. col. 189. C.]

"Patres missi sunt Apostoli, pro Apostolis filii nati sunt, ibi constituti sunt Episcopi."—S. Aug. in Psal. xliv. [§ 32. Op., tom. iv. col. 564. C.]

"Sicut autem duodecim Apostolos formam Episcoporum [exhibere simul et] præmonstrare, nemo est qui dubitet, sic et hos LXXII. figuram Presbyterorum, i. e. secundi ordinis sacerdotium gessisse sciendum est."—Beda in Luc. x. [Op., tom. v. col. 328. Colon. Agr. 1612.]

"Apostoli cognoverunt contentionem de Nomine Episcopatûs oboriturum, et ideo constituerunt prædictos, et cum consensu universæ Ecclesiæ." Clem. Ep. i. ad Corinth. p. 57. [Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπὶ νομὴν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, . . . τούτους οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας. Cotel. Patr. Apost. tom. i. p. 173.]

But I am prevented here by a chaplain of mine, Mr. Jer. Taylor, in his book entituled, 'Episcopacy Asserted,' § 10. [Works; vol. v. pp. 40—42. Lond. 1849.]

will reduce the Bishops further yet, till they be of his marring, and not of Christ's making.

The other part of the question stated by this Lord is, 'Or whether the Bishops shall continue still with the addition of such things as their own ambition, and the ignorance and superstition of succeeding times, did add unto them.' I would my Lord had been pleased to tell us what those things are, which he says are thus added unto them. I should much the better have seen what his Lordship aims at, and been able to come up the closer to him. Now I must be forced to answer him in general. That there are many things of honour and profit, which emperors and great kings have conferred upon bishops to the better settlement of their calling, and the great advancement of Christianity; and for which bishops in all times and places, in which they have lived, have been both thankful and very serviceable. And I could give many instances in this kingdom of such services done by them, as this Lord and all his posterity will never equal. But 'what things their own ambition or the ignorance and superstition of succeeding times have added to them,' I may know when this busy Lord is at leisure to tell me. In the meantime I doubt the piety and devotion of these times is here miscalled 'ignorance and superstition,' while the knowledge of these times, in too many, is a running headlong into sacrilege, as the best way to cure superstition.

But these things, whatever they be, his Lordship tells us, 'are now continued for several politic ends.' Yea, and with his Lordship's favour, for several and great religious ends too. But if they were continued for politic ends only, so the policies be good and befitting Christians, I know no reason why they may not be continued. For, as for that which is here given by this Lord, 'tis either weak or false. He says these things are 'heterogeneal to their function;' that's weak. For, 'tis not possible for any priest, that is not cloistered, to live so in the world, as to meddle with nothing that is 'heterogeneal to their function.' And he says further, that these things are 'inconsistent with their function;' and that's false. For if these things were simply 'inconsistent' with priesthood, God Himself would never have made Eli both priest and judge in Israel: nor should six of each tribe have

been of the Sanhedrim, and so by consequence six of the tribe of Levi; and so the high priest might be always one, and a chief in that great court, which had cognisance of all things in that government[1]: and their function, as they are ministers of the Gospel, is no more inconsistent with these things than the Levitical priesthood was. For beside their sacrificing, they were to read and expound the Law, as well as we the Gospel. For so it is expressly set down, Deut. xxxiii. 10, 'they' (that is, the tribe of Levi) 'shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy laws.' So that meddling with temporal affairs was as great a distraction to them from their calling, as from ours; and as 'inconsistent' with it, and so as hurtful to their consciences and their credits. And would God put all this upon them, which this Lord thinks so unlawful for us, if it were so indeed? But this Lord goes yet further, and tells us, that these things are 'such as have ever been, and will ever be, hurtful to themselves, and make them hurtful to others in the times and places where they are continued.' Good God! what fools we poor bishops are, as were also our predecessors for many hundred years together, that neither they nor we could see and discern what was and is 'hurtful to ourselves,' nor what then did, or yet doth, 'make us hurtful to others, in times and places where they are continued to us!' And surely, if my Lord means by this our meddling in civil affairs, when our Prince calls us to it (as I believe he doth), I doubt his Lordship is much deceived; for certainly, if herein the Bishops do their duties, as very many of them in several kingdoms have plentifully done, they cannot hurt themselves by it; and to others, and the very public itself, it hath occasioned much good both in Church and State. But now my Lord will not only tell us what these things are, but he will prove it also that they are hurtful to us.

And these things alone (says my Lord) *this Bill takes away; that is, their offices and places in courts of judicature, and their employment by obligation of office in civil affairs. I shall insist upon this to show, first, how these things*

[1] Bertram de Polit. Jud. cap. vi. [p. 35. Genev. 1580.]

hurt themselves; and, secondly, how they have made, and ever will make them hurtful to others. [p. 2.]

These things then, you see, which are so hurtful and dan- 21
gerous to Bishops themselves, and make them as hurtful to others, are their 'offices,' and 'places in courts of judicature,' and their 'employment by obligation of office in civil affairs.' Where, first, for 'offices;' I know no bishop since the Reformation that hath been troubled with any, but only Dr. Juxon, when Bishop of London, was Lord High Treasurer of England for about five years[m]. And he was made when the King's affairs were in a great strait; and, to my knowledge, he carried so, that if he might have been left to himself, the King might have been preserved from most of those difficulties into which he after fell for want of money. As all kings shall be hazarded, more or less, in some time or other of their reign, and much the more if their purses be empty, and they forced to seek aid from their subjects. And this, as 'tis every where true, yet 'tis most true in England.

As for 'places in courts of judicature,' the Bishops of England have ever sat all of them in Parliament, the highest court, ever since Parliaments were in England. And whatsoever is now thought of them, they have in their several generations done great services there: and, as I conceive, it is not only fit, but necessary they should have votes in that great court; howsoever the late Act hath shut them out; and that Act must in time be repealed[n], or it shall undoubtedly be worse for this kingdom than yet it is. The Bishops sat in no other courts but the Star-Chamber and the High-Commission. And of these the High-Commission was most proper for them to sit, and see sin punished: for no causes were handled there but ecclesiastical, and those such as were very heinous, either for the crime itself, or the persons which committed it, being too great or too wilful to be ruled by the inferior jurisdictions. As for the Star-Chamber, there were ordinarily but two bishops present, and it was fit some should be there: for that court was a mixed court of law, equity, honour, and conscience, and was composed of persons accordingly, from the very original of that court. For there

[m] [He held the office from March 9, 163⅝, to May 17, 1641.]

[n] [It was repealed by 13 Car. II. cap. ii.]

were to be there two judges to take care of the laws, and two bishops to look to the conscience, and the rest men of great offices or birth, or both, to preserve the honour, and all of them together to maintain the equity of the court. So here were but two bishops employed, and those only twice a week in term time. As for the Council-table, that was never accounted a court, yet as matters civil were heard and often ended there, so were some ecclesiastical too. But the Bishops were little honoured with this trouble since the Reformation: for many times no bishop was of the Council-table, and usually not above two. Once in King James's time I knew three, and once four, and that was the highest [o], and but for a short time. And certainly the fewer the better, if this Lord can prove (that which he says he will insist upon) that those things are 'hurtful to themselves, and make them hurtful to others.' And to do this he proceeds:—

They themselves are hurt thereby in their conscience and in their credits. In their conscience, by seeking and admit-
22 *ting things which are inconsistent with that function and office which God hath set them apart unto.* [p. 2.]

His Lordship begins with this, 'that the Bishops are hereby hurt both in their consciences and their credits.' Two great hurts indeed, if by these things they be wounded in their consciences towards God, and in their credits before men. But I am willing to hope these are not real, but imaginary hurts, and that this Lord shall not be able to prove it otherwise: yet I see he is resolved to labour it as much as he can. And, first, he would prove that these things, and not the ambitious seeking of them only, but the very admitting of them, though offered, or in a manner laid upon some of them by the supreme power, are hurtful to their consciences, because they 'are inconsistent with the function to which God hath set them apart.' But I have proved already that they are not inconsistent with that function, and so there's an end of this argument. For Bishops, without neglect of their calling, may spend those few hours required of them, in

[o] [Archbishop Abbot, Bishops Montagu (of Winchester) and Andrewes, were Privy Councillors at one time.]

giving their assistance in and to the forenamed civil affairs. And 'tis well known that S. Augustin did both in great perfection, so high up in the primitive Church, and in that great and learned age: for he complains that he had nor forenoon nor afternoon free, he was so held to it, *occupationibus hominum*, by the businesses which men brought to him; and he desires that he may ease himself in part upon him that was at his desire designed his successor; to which the people expressed their great liking, by their acclamation [p]. And these businesses he despatched with that great dexterity to most men's content, that men did not only bring their secular causes before him, but were very desirous to have him determine them [q]. And S. Ambrose was in greater employment for secular affairs than S. Augustin was, for he was Bishop and Governor of Milan both at once; and was so full of this employment, that S. Augustin, being then upon the point of his conversion, complains he could not find him at so much leisure as he would [r]. And this, besides many bishops and clergymen of great note, who have been employed in great embassies, and great offices under emperors and kings, and discharged them with great fidelity and advantage to the public, and without detriment to the Church [s]. And surely they would never have taken this burden upon them, had their conscience been hurt by it, or had it been inconsistent with their function, or absolutely against the ancient canons of the Church, of which they were so conscientious and strict observers. My Lord goes on to another argument and tells us:—

[p] S. Aug. Ep. cx. [ccxiii. Ben. § 5. Op., tom. ii. col. 1198. B.]

[q] "Et homines quidam causas suas sæculares apud nos finire cupientes," &c.—S. Aug. Epist. cxlvii. [xxxiii. Ben. § 5. Op., tom. ii. col. 94. A.] and [S.] Amb. lib. v. Epist. xxxiii. [(Epist. lxxxii. Ben.) Op., tom. ii. col. 1100.]

[r] "Non enim quærere ab eo poteram quod volebam sicut volebam, secludentibus me ab ejus aure et ore catervis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat."—S. Aug. lib. vi. Confess. cap. 3. [Op., tom. i. col. 212. B.C.]

[s] Similiter Sozomen. refert de Epiphanio, lib. vi. Hist. cap. 3. [leg. 32. Ὡς ἐν δμίλῳ γὰρ καὶ πόλει μεγάλῃ καὶ παραλίῳ ἱερώμενος, καὶ μεθ' ὅσης ἀρετῆς εἶχε πολιτικοῖς ἐμβαλὼν πράγμασιν, ἀστικοῖς καὶ ξένοις παντοδαποῖς γνώριμος ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐγένετο.]

Et de Jacobo quodam, Theod. lib. ii. Hist. cap. 30. [Theodoret speaks of the defence of Nisibis against Sapor by James, the Bishop of the place.]

Et de Chrysostomo, Socrat. lib. vii. Hist. c. 8. [Socrates in this passage speaks of Maruthas being sent as ambassador to the King of Persia, and does not make any mention of S. Chrysostom.]

Et Constantinus communicabat cum Episcopis consilia de expeditione sua contra Persas. Euseb. lib. i. de Vita Constant. cap. 35. [lib. i. cap. 42.]

They are separated unto a special work, and men must take heed how they misemploy things dedicated and set apart
23 *to the service of God. They are called to preach the Gospel, and set apart to the work of the ministry; and the Apostle saith, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' showing that this requireth the whole man: and all is too little. Therefore for them to seek or take other offices, which shall require and tie them to employ their time and studies in the affairs of this world, will draw a guilt upon them, as being inconsistent with that which God doth call them, and set them apart unto.* [p. 2.]

This is my Lord's next argument. And truly I like the beginning of it very well, and I pray God this Lord may be mindful of it when time may serve; for surely men ought to take heed how they misemploy things dedicated and set apart to the service of God. And therefore, as ministers must not misemploy their persons or their times, which are dedicated to God and His service; no more must laymen take away and misemploy the Church revenues devoutly given, dedicated, and set apart to maintain and hold up the service of God, and to refresh Christ in his poor members upon earth. And if ever a scambling time come for the Church-lands (as these times hereafter must), I hope his Lordship will remember this argument of his, and help to hold back the violent from committing more sacrilege, whereas too much lies heavy on the kingdom already.

The rest of the argument will abide some examination. First, then, most true it is, that Bishops are 'called to preach the Gospel, and set apart to that work,' but whether they be so set apart, as that, what necessity soever requires it, they may do nothing else but study and preach, is no great question; for certainly, they may in times of persecution labour many ways for their preservation, and in times of want for their sustenance, and at all times (if they be called to it) give their best counsel and advice for the public safety of the State as well as their own.

Nor doth that of the Apostle, 2 Cor. ii. 16, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' hinder this at all; for though this great calling and charge 'requires the whole man,' though all

that the ablest man can do in it be 'too little' (all things simply and exactly considered), yet he that saith here, 'none are sufficient for these things,' (for so much the question implieth,) saith also in the very next chapter, that God hath made him and others 'able ministers of the New Testament,' 2 Cor. iii. 6, and if able, then doubtless sufficient. And the Greek word is the same, ἱκανος, 'sufficient,' in the one place, and ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς, 'made us sufficient,' in the other. Besides, it may be the sense of the places will bear it, that no man is sufficient for the dignity of the office, which brings with it the 'savour of life or death' to all men, and yet that many men are made sufficient by God's grace to perform this office; that is, to bring both the one and the other. But howsoever, be the office as high it is, and be the men never so sufficient, yet the function is such as cannot be daily performed by the priest for the preaching part, nor attended by the people for their other necessary employments of life, which made the wisdom of God Himself command a Sabbath under the Law, and the Church to settle the Lord's-day, and other holy-days 24
under the Gospel, for the public service and worship of God, and the instruction of the people. I say, in regard of this, a bishop or a priest who shall be judged fit for that public service, may give counsel in any civil affairs, and take upon him (if not seek) any office temporal that may help and assist him in his calling, and give him credit and countenance to do the more good among his people, but not to the desertion of his spiritual work. And this Lord is much deceived if he thinks all offices do require and tie them to employ their time and studies in the affairs of this world. If they be such offices as do, I grant with him, that to take them (unless it be upon some urgent necessity) may 'draw a guilt upon them:' but if they be such as clergymen may easily execute in their empty hours, without any great hindrance to their calling, and perhaps with great advantage to it, then, out of doubt, it can draw no guilt upon them which take them. And this Lord in this passage is very cunning: for, instead of speaking of Bishops having anything to do in civil affairs, he speaks of nothing but taking of offices. Now a clergyman may many ways have to do in temporal affairs, without taking any set office upon him, which shall not tie up his time or his studies

to the affairs of this world, as it seems this Lord would persuade the world all do.

Now, that a bishop or other clergyman may lawfully meddle with some temporal affairs, (always provided that he 'entangle[t]' not himself with them; for that indeed no man doth that wars for Christ as he ought, 2 Tim. ii. 4,) is, I think, very evident, not only by that which the priests did, and might do under the Law, but also by that which was done after Christ, in the Apostles' time, and by some of them. To study and practise physic is as much inconsistent with the function of a minister of the Gospel, as to sit, consult, and give counsel in civil affairs: but St. Luke, though an Evangelist, continued his profession, as appears, Coloss. iv. 14, where St. Paul says thus: 'Luke the beloved physician greets you;' where St. Paul would never have called him a 'physician' had he left off that calling to attend the Gospel only. And S. Paul himself, when he might have lived on the Gospel by the Lord's own ordinance, 1 Cor. ix., would never have betaken himself to live by 'making of tents,' Acts xviii., only for a convenience (as I conceive), that he might work the more upon the people while he charged them not, if in so doing he had found it a hindrance to his preaching the Gospel. And this Lord and others, who would not have ministers meddle with civil affairs, are content, not only to the disgrace of the ministry, but even of religion itself, to hear felt-makers, and ironmongers, and gardeners, and brewers, clerks, and coachmen preach God knows what stuff, and countenance them in this sacrilegious presumption. Nay, and are never troubled that these men have all their time taken up in the affairs of the world, but rather say their gifts are the greater, that they are able to do both. Out of doubt they hope that their coachmen-preachers shall hurry them to heaven in some fiery chariot; and I myself in time might be brought to believe it too, did I not see Phaeton setting the Christian world on fire, but no Elias there. Nor yet will S. Paul's example any whit advantage them: for he was no ignorant tradesman, but a learned Pharisee brought up under Gamaliel, Acts xxii. And it was the custom of their doc-

[t] Ἐμπλέκεται; implicatur.

tors, (as it is at this day in Turkey, and many other places in the East,) to breed up their scholars to a trade as well as to the knowledge of their law; both that they might know the better how to spend their empty hours honestly, and be able to get their living should necessity overtake them. Now let these bold men show under what Gamaliel they were bred, and how they profited under him; or that they have S. Paul's revelation as well as his trade, and then I'll say more to them. But this Lord is very full in this theme, and falls upon another argument.

> *In this respect* (saith he) *our Saviour hath expressly prohibited it, telling His Apostles that they should not 'lord it over their brethren,' nor exercise jurisdiction over them, as was used in civil governments among the heathen. They were called Gracious Lords, and exercised jurisdiction, as lords, over others; and sure they might lawfully do so. But to the ministers of the Gospel our Saviour gives this rule: It shall not be so done to you; if you strive for greatness, he shall be greatest that is the greatest servant to the rest. Therefore in another place he saith, 'He that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back to the things of this world, is not fit for the kingdom of God;' that is, the preaching of the Gospel, as it is usually called.* [p. 2.]

This argument will be somewhat indeed, if it proves such as this Lord says it is. For he says that our Saviour hath expressly prohibited it: and if it be so, there's an end of the controversy. No question but it is utterly unlawful if our Saviour prohibited it. But where is it that He hath done so? Where? Why, 'tis where He tells His Apostles, that they should not 'lord it over their brethren.' Not lord it over their brethren? That's true. Nor exercise jurisdiction over them? That's false, if the proposition be general; for then there can be no order, no government among Churchmen. And if it be particular, no such jurisdiction as was used in civil government among the heathen, then 'tis fit to weigh this place through and throughout. Well then! the mother

of Zebedee's children desired of Christ for her two sons, that 'the one might sit at His right hand, and the other at His left hand in His kingdom,' S. Matth. xx. 21. Where, first, it appears plainly, that this was not only a piece of feminine ambition, for her sons made the suit as well as she; so S. Mark, x. 35, tells us: and they came with her when she made it; so S. Matth. xx. 20. And little doubt need be made but that they set their mother on to move it, as may appear partly by our Saviour, who says nothing to the mother, but first puts a question to the sons, which they answer, and then gives His answer to them, ver. 22, 23; which, I conceive, He would not have done, had not they been in the business: and partly, because the other ten disdained [u] at the two brethren for this,
26 ver. 24. Secondly, if it were here meant by them, 'to sit at His right hand and at His left in His kingdom in heaven,' as may be thought not altogether improbable by the question Christ put to them about His baptism and His cup, both preparatory to that kingdom: and if it be so (and so some think it is), then this text is applied by this Lord to no purpose, if it meddles nothing with temporal offices and employments, but relates to the kingdom of heaven. But if they meant by this sitting at His right hand and at His left the honourable places about Him in His earthly kingdom, which the Apostles sometimes fancied He should here have, as some think, because of the other part of Christ's answer, that 'the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, but it shall not be so amongst you,' ver. 25, 26; then the answer is clear, that Christ did not here forbid them the taking of such places upon them simply, but He forbids either an absolute independent power,—for so *κατακυριεύειν* signifies, which takes not away superiority over others, so they be subject to the prince and state,—or else the using of such places after the lordly and tyrannous manner of some heathens. And the Geneva divines, in their notes upon the Bible, tell us, that the meaning of Christ's answer to them in these words, 'To sit at My right hand and at My left is not Mine to give,' ver. 23, is, that God the Father had not given Him charge to bestow offices of honour here, but to be an

[u] Or were moved with indignation, *ἠγανάκτησαν*.

example of humility to all[x]. So Christ came not then to give such places; but here's no prohibition for the Apostles to take them at their hands, who would give them for the good of the Church. And howsoever, if this place must be understood of temporal honours and employments, then it follows, that though these two Apostles had not those seats, some other of them should. For Christ says plainly, that the sitting at His right hand and at His left 'shall be given to them for whom it is prepared by His Father.' So then it shall be given to some, and doubtless to some of the Apostles: strangers should not be preferred before them. And 'tis all one to our present business, which of the Apostles sat there, so some did, or were to do; and rather than yield this, his Lordship perhaps were better grant that this is to be understood of another kingdom, and that this text meddles with no temporal either offices or employments, but that by occasion of this our Saviour preaches humility to them, yet so as still to keep up authority and government in the Church, to which He applies it.

And for that other parallel place, 'Be yé not called Rabbi,' S. Matth. xxiii. 8, that cannot prejudice all jurisdiction in men in holy orders; as if to meddle with it were forbidden by Christ, or, as if it were Antichristian, as now 'tis made; since it is plain that Christ there forbids neither the title, nor the preeminence, nor the authority, but the vain-glorious affectation of it, ver. 5, 6; and that's a sin indeed, no man doubts. And it may be observed, too, if this Lord pleases, that this precept was given to the people too, as well as to the disciples, ver. 1; and then, for aught I know, this truth will come in as strongly to pull down temporal Lords, as Bishops; and what will his Lordship say to that?

As for that which is added by this Lord, 'If ye strive for greatness, he shall be greatest who is the greatest servant to the rest:' though the words differ somewhat from the text, 27
yet my Lord must be content to hear that there is a twofold greatness; the one in God's account, and that's greatness indeed; and so our Saviour means it here, that 'he is greatest who is the greatest servant to the rest,' (if this Lord will

[x] Annot. in St. Matth. xx. 23.

needs read it so:) the other is in man's account, when one man hath power and superiority over another; and which was that which the Apostles affected. In which case, though our Saviour's precept be, 'Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your servant;' that is, the more serviceable to you and the Church, the greater he is; yet these words, 'it shall not be so with you,' do not deny this authority or greatness which one may have over another in the Church of Christ for the necessary government thereof, though they neither do nor may domineer over their brethren. And therefore where St. Matthew reads it, he that will be μέγας, 'great,' and πρῶτος, 'first,' among you [y]; there St. Luke [z] hath it, ὁ μείζων, 'greater,' and ὁ ἡγούμενος, 'chief' or 'leader [a].' Nor doth he say so as St. Matthew does, he that would be so, but, 'he that is,' which argues clearly, that even in our Saviour's own account and institution too, there was then, and should be after His ascension, 'greater' and 'less,' such as were to lead, and such as were to be led. No parity, and yet no barbarous lording; but orderly and Christian governing in the Church. And this must needs be so, or else Christ left His Church in a worse condition than this Lord acknowledges the civil governments were among the heathen, which he says might lawfully govern so. For I hope he will not say that even the heathen might tyrannise.

If this be not sufficient, this Lord puts us in mind that our Saviour says in another place, that 'he which lays his hand to the plough, and looks back to the things of this world, is not fit for the kingdom of God; that is, the preaching of the Gospel, as 'tis usually called,' St. Luke ix. *ult.* Where, first, it may be doubted whether this laying of the 'hand to the plough' belong to the ministers of the Gospel only, or to others also; for if it belongs to others as well as to them (though perhaps not so much), then no Christian, though he be not a minister, may have to do with worldly affairs; and then we shall have a devout wise world quickly. Secondly, it may be doubted, too, whether this 'looking back' be any kind of meddling at all with worldly affairs, or such a meddling as

[y] St. Matth. xx. 26, 27.
[z] St. Luke xxii. 26.
[a] And St. Paul uses it for a bishop or governor, Heb. xiii. 1.

shall so entangle the husbandman that his plough stands still, or so bewitches him that he forsakes his 'plough,' that is, his calling, altogether. If it be no meddling at all, no man can live; if it be no meddling but that which entangles, then any minister may meddle with worldly affairs, so far and so long as he 'entangles' not himself with them: and so far as to entangle himself, no Christian may meddle, 'that will live godly in Christ Jesus.'

If this be not sufficient, this Lord will prove it e'er he hath done, for he goes on:—

> *To be thus withdrawn, by entangling themselves with the affairs of this life, by the necessity and duty of an office received from men, from the discharge of that office which God hath called them to, brings a woe upon them. 'Woe unto me,' saith the Apostle, 'if I preach not the Gospel.'* 28 *What doth he mean? If I preach not once a quarter, or once a year in the King's Chapel? No. He himself interprets it, 'Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season; rebuke, exhort, or instruct with all long-suffering and doctrine.' He that hath an office must attend on his office, especially this of the ministry.* [pp. 2, 3.]

I see my Lord will not mend his terms, though they mar the sense, and mislay the question. For no man says that which this Lord so often repeats; namely, that a Bishop or any other clergyman may 'entangle himself with the affairs of this life' (which yet may be with covetousness and voluptuous living, as much or more than with being called to council in civil affairs) 'by any office received from man, from the discharge of that office which God hath called them unto.' No! God forbid! this would 'bring a woe upon them' indeed. But since no man says it, this Lord fights here with his own shadow. For all that is said is this, that a Bishop being grown old and full of experience, if the King, or the State in which he lives, thinks him for his wisdom, experience, and fidelity, fit to be employed in civil councils or affairs, be it with an office or without, the Bishop may lawfully undertake this, so he be able to discharge it without

deserting the office which God and His Church have laid upon him. But if he takes it, and be not able to discharge both; or being able, doth loiter and not discharge them; either of these is *vitium hominis*, the fault of the person, but the thing is lawful.

As for the place of Scripture which his Lordship adds; I doubt his Lordship understands it not as the Apostle means it; for 'tis a text very much abused by ignorant zeal. For when he saith, 'Woe unto me if I preach not the Gospel,' 1 Cor. ix. 16, 'what doth he mean? if he preach not once a quarter?' No sure, that's too seldom. What then? if he preach not 'once a year in the King's Chapel?' No sure, much less. For in those days there was no king in Corinth, nor anywhere else, that was Christian, to have a chapel to preach in. So this Lord might have let this scorn alone, had it so pleased him. No; nor is it if a man prate not three or four times a week in one of his Lordship's Independent congregations, and then call it preaching. The Apostle knew no such schismatical conventicles. No sure, none of this. Why, but what is this preaching, then, the neglect whereof draws this 'woe' after it? This he tells you St. Paul interprets himself, 2 Tim. iv. 2, 'tis to 'preach the word.' 'Tis indeed, and neither schism nor sedition, which are the common themes of these times. 'Tis to be 'instant in preaching the word,' as God gives ability and opportunity; 'tis to be 'instant in season and out of season;' that is, to take God's opportunity rather than our own, and not preach out of season only, as some of this Lord's great favourites use to do; 'tis to 'rebuke, exhort, and instruct,' with knowledge and gravity, and not spend hours in idle and empty discourses. And all this is to be done 'with all long-suffering and doctrine;' and let the clergy but study hard, and provide that their doctrine be sound and good, and I will pass my word this
29 Lord and his friends shall take order they shall do it with all the 'long-suffering' that may be; and if they do not suffer enough, or not long enough, it shall not be his fault, so dearly doth he love that they should preach the word.

Nay, I must go further yet. To 'preach the word' in this manner, is not only to go up into the pulpit, and thence

deliver wholesome and pious instructions, and necessary and Christian reproof, though this be, as the commendable, so the ordinary way of public preaching, that most at once may hear. For he may be said to preach the Gospel that any ways declares 'Christ crucified,' and informs the understandings and consciences of men, for right belief and true obedience, be it privately or publicly; be it by word of mouth or by writing: and a man may be seasonably instant this way sometimes, when in the public way of preaching he cannot. And if this be not so, how is it said of the Apostles, Acts v. 42, that 'in the temple and in every house, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ?' Acts xx. 20, 'I have taught you publicly, and from house to house.' And I believe some Bishops, whom this Lord in this passage is pleased to jeer at, have preached more and to more purpose than any of his Lordship's Divinity-darlings. That which follows is true, that he which hath an office, 'must wait upon his office,' Rom. xii. 7, and 'especially this of the ministry;' of which office there the Apostle principally treats. But this again no man denies. And yet by his Lordship's good leave, no man is bound to starve by waiting upon his office. He must wait upon it, that's true; but he must provide necessaries too, that he may be able to wait. Next, this Lord tells us:—

> *The practice of the Apostles is answerable to the direction and doctrine of our Saviour. There never was, nor will be, men of so great abilities and gifts as they were endued withal, yet they thought it so inconsistent with their calling, to take places of judicature in civil matters and secular affairs and employment upon them, that they would not admit of the care and distraction that a business far more agreeable to their callings than these would cast upon them, and they give the reason of it in the sixth of the Acts, ver. 2, 'It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables.'* [p. 3.]

There is no doubt but that 'the practice of the Apostles was answerable to the direction and doctrine of our Saviour.' And as certainly true it is, that 'there never were, nor ever will be, men of so great abilities and gifts,' in supernatural

and heavenly things especially, 'as they were endued withal.' But how will this Lord prove that they thought it a thing absolutely 'inconsistent with their calling' to meddle with temporal or civil affairs. No one of them hath in any place of Scripture expressed so much. Against 'entangling' themselves with the world and the affairs of it, I confess they have, but no more. Yet this Lord proves it thus: 'They would not admit of the care and distraction that a business far more agreeable to their calling than these would cast upon them.' His Lordship means the Deacon's office. And therefore surely they would not take these. But this argument, by his Lordship's leave, is inconsequent. For if any offices or employments, how agreeable soever to their calling, bring with them such 'care and distraction' as shall in a manner quite take them off from preaching the Gospel, the Apostles did not, and their successors may not trouble themselves with them. When as yet the Apostles might, and their successors may take on them other employments, though in their nature less agreeable to their calling, if they be less distractive from it. Now the Deacon's office (as it was then) brought more trouble upon them for the poor and the widows, than any places of judicature or council do upon clergymen now. Which may appear by the very reason they have given, and here remembered, that 'it was no reason they should leave the word of God and serve tables.' For there it is not said, that they might not at all meddle with the ordering of those tables, but that it was not fit they should so meddle with them as καταλείψαντας—leaving the word of God to attend them. And this to do, no man says is lawful now. But his Lordship presses this argument yet further:—

And again, when they had appointed them to choose men fit for that business, they institute an office rather, for taking care of the poor, than they by it would be distracted from the principal work of their calling, and then show how they ought to apply themselves: 'But we,' say they, 'will give ourselves continually unto prayer, and to the ministry of the word.' Did the Apostles, men of extraordinary gifts, think it unreasonable for them to be hindered from giving themselves continually to preaching the word and

prayer, by taking care for the tables of poor widows; and can Bishops now think it reasonable or lawful for them to contend for sitting at Council-tables, to govern states, to turn statesmen instead of Churchmen, to sit in the highest courts of judicature, and to be employed in making laws for civil polities and government? [p. 3.]

It is true, indeed, that the Apostles appointed the disciples to choose men fit for that business, and that they did institute the office of Deacons, to take care of the poor, rather than they would be distracted from the principal work of their calling. But when was this done? When? Why, not till the disciples were multiplied; not till there arose contentions between 'the Greeks' and the Hebrews, that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration,' Acts vi. 1. Therefore, till the work grew so heavy, and the contentions so warm, the Apostles themselves did order those tables, and attend them too. Therefore, the work was not unlawful in itself for them, for then it had been sin in them to do it at all at any time. For that which is simply evil in, and of itself, is ever so; therefore the most that can be made of this example is, that it was lawful, very lawful and charitable too, for the Apostles to take care of those tables themselves; and they did it. For all the provision for the poor was brought and 'laid at the Apostles' feet,' Acts iv. 35, which doubtless would never have been done, had it been unlawful for the Apostles to order and to distribute it. But when they found the increasing burden too heavy for both the one work and the other, then, though both were lawful, yet it was more 31
expedient to leave the tables than the word of God, with which the world was then as little acquainted, as now 'tis full of; (and I pray God it be not full to a dangerous surfeit.)' Now this, as I conceive in humility, states the Bishops' business: for to me it seems out of question, that it is most lawful for Bishops to be conversant in all the courts, councils, and places of judicature, to which they have been called since the Reformation in the Church and State of England, till they find themselves, or be found unable to discharge the one duty and the other. And then, indeed, I grant no serving of tables, no nor Council-tables is to be preferred. But then

you must not measure preaching only by a formal going up into the pulpit: for a Bishop (and such occasions are often offered) may preach the Gospel more publicly and to far greater edification in a court of judicature, or at a Council-table, where great men are met together to draw things to an issue, than many preachers in their several charges can; and therefore to far more advancement of the Gospel, than any one of his Lordship's sect at a table's end in his Lordship's parlour, or in a pulpit in his Independent congregation, wheresoever it be. And when he hath said all that he can, or any man else, this shall be found true, that there is not the like necessity of preaching the Gospel lying upon every man in Holy Orders, now Christianity is spread and hath taken root, as lay upon the Apostles and apostolical men, when Christ and His religion were strangers to the whole world. And yet I speak not this to cast a damp or chillness upon any man's zeal or diligence in that work. No, God forbid! For, though I conceive there is not the same necessity, yet a great necessity there is still, and ever will be, to hold up both the verity and devotion which attend religion; and—*Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri.* So there may be as great virtue in the action, though perhaps not equal necessity of it.

Besides, Deacons were not laymen, but men in Holy Orders, though inferior to the Apostles; as appears by Stephen's undertaking the Libertines and Cyrenians in the cause of Christ; and Philip's preaching of Christ in Samaria, and baptizing[b]. And if they were of the Seventy (as Epiphanius thinks they were, Hær. [xx.])[c], then they were presbyters before they had this temporary office (if such it were) put upon them. Therefore, if to meddle with these things were simply unlawful in themselves, or for men in holy orders; or, if all meddling with them were such a distraction as must needs make them leave the preaching of the Gospel; then these Seventy might not discharge the office to which they were chosen. And if this be so, then this Lord must needs infer that the Apostles, and all which chose them, did sin in instituting such men to take care of the tables, and to

[b] Acts vi. 9; Acts viii. 5, 38; Acts vi. 6.

[c] [S. Epiph. Hær. xx. § 4. p. 50.]

distract them from preaching of the word, which they thought unfit for themselves to do. And yet, I hope, my Lord will not say this in his privatest conventicle. Nay, yet more; though this care was delivered over to the deacons in ordinary, yet Calvin tells us plainly, that in things of moment they could do nothing—*nec quicquam*—without the authority of the presbyters[d]. So they meddled still.

Next this Lord shows, since the Apostles did not think fit 32
to distract themselves with business about these tables, how they ought to apply themselves. And this he sets down in the Apostles' words, Acts vi. 4: 'But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and the ministry of the word.' And yet I hope this Lord doth not think the Apostles by this word 'continually,' meant to do nothing else but pray and preach; for if they did one of these two 'continually' without any intermission, then they could do nothing else; which is most apparently false. And, indeed, (which it seems this learned Lord considered not,) this word 'continually' is not in the text; for in the Greek the word is προσκαρτερήσομεν, 'we will be constant and instant in prayer and ministration of the word;' which may and ought to be done, though neither of them 'continually;' and which many of God's servants have done, and yet meddled some way or other with temporal or worldly affairs.

The argument is over: the rest of this passage is this Lord's rhetoric, which I shall answer as I repeat it. 'Did the Apostles,' saith his Lordship, 'men of extraordinary gifts, think it unreasonable for them to be hindered from giving themselves continually to preaching the word and prayer, by taking care of the tables of the poor widows?' No; sure they did not think it 'unreasonable;' that is this Lord's word, to make the present business of the Bishops more odious, as if it were against common reason. But there's no such word in the text. The word is, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν, 'it is not meet.' Now, many things may not be meet or comely, which yet are not altogether unreasonable; nay, which at some times, and upon some occasions, may be meet and comely enough; nay, perhaps necessary for the

[d] ["Sic mensis præfuisse diaconos, ut presbyteris tamen subessent, nec quicquam nisi ex eorum auctoritate agerent."]—Calv. in Acts xi. [30, p. 106.]

very Gospel itself, and therefore no way unreasonable; howsoever at this time unfit for the Apostles, and worthily refused by them.

Well, the rhetoric goes on. Did the Apostles thus, 'and can the Bishops now think it reasonable or lawful for them?' Yes; the times and circumstances being varied, and many things become fit which in some former times were not, they can think it both reasonable and lawful, nay, necessary for some of them. What? To contend for sitting at council-tables? No, God forbid: perhaps not to sue for sitting there, but certainly not to contend for it: but to sit there, being called unto it, and to give their best advice there, never unlawful, and ofttimes necessary. And here let me tell this Lord by the way, that the Bishop which he hath sufficiently hated, was so far from contending for this, that though he had that honour given him by his Majesty to sit there many years, yet I do here take it upon my Christianity and truth, that he did never move his Majesty, directly or indirectly, for that honour, and was surprised with it as altogether unlooked for, when his Majesty's resolution therein was made known unto him[c]. Nor ever did that Bishop take so much upon him as a justiceship of the peace, or meddle with any lay employment, save what the laws and customs of this realm laid upon him in the High-Commission and the Star-Chamber, while those courts were in being; and continued preaching till he was threescore and four, and then was taken off by writing of his book against Fisher the Jesuit, being then not able at those years to continue both.
33 And soon after the world knows what trouble befel him, and in time they will know why too, I hope. Besides, the care of government, which is another part of a Bishop's office, and a necessary one too, lay heavy upon him, in these factious and broken times especially. And whatsoever this Lord thinks of it, certainly, though preaching may be more necessary for the first planting of a Church, yet government is more noble and necessary too, where a Church is planted; as being that which must keep preaching and all things else in order. And preaching (as 'tis now used) hath as much need to be

[c] [Laud was appointed Privy Councillor April 29, 1627. See Diary at that date.]

kept in order as any, even the greatest extravagance that I know. Nor is this out of Christ's commission, *Pasce oves*, John xxi. 15, for the feeding of His sheep. For a shepherd must guide, govern, and defend his sheep in the pasture, as well as drive them to it. And he must see that their pasture be not tainted too, or else they will not thrive upon it. And then he may be answerable for the rot that falls among them.

The rhetoric goes further yet. 'To contend for sitting at council-tables to govern states.' No; but yet to assist them, being called by them. 'To have statesmen, instead of Churchmen.' No; but doing the duty of Churchmen, to mingle pious counsels with statesmen's wisdom. 'To sit in the highest courts of judicature.' And why not, in a kingdom where the laws and customs require it? 'Not to be employed in making laws for civil polities and government.' And I conceive there is great reason for this in the kingdom of England, and greater since the Reformation than before. Great reason, because the Bishops of England have been accounted, and truly been, grave and experienced men, and far fitter to have votes in Parliaments for the making of laws, than many young youths which are in either House. And because it is most fit, in the making of laws for a kingdom, that some divines should have vote and interest to see (as much as in them lies) that no law pass, which may perhaps, though unseen to others, intrench upon religion itself, or the Church. And I make no doubt but that these and the like considerations settled it so in England, where Bishops have had their votes in Parliaments, and in making laws, ever since there were Parliaments, yea, or anything that resembled them, in this kingdom. And for my part, were I able to give no reason at all why Bishops should have votes in Parliament, yet I should in all humility think that there was and is still some great reason for it, since the wisdom of the State hath successively in so many ages thought it fit. And as there is great reason they should have votes in making laws, so is there greater reason for it since the Reformation than before. For before that time clergymen were governed by the Church canons and constitutions, and the common laws of England had but little power over them. Then in

the year 1532 the clergy submitted, and an Act of Parliament was made upon it; so that ever since the clergy of England, from the highest to the lowest, are as much subject to the temporal laws as any other men, and therefore ought to have as free a vote and consent to the laws which bind them, as other subjects have. Yet so it is, that all clergymen are, and have long since been, excluded from being members of the House of Commons; and now the Bishops and their votes,
34 by this last Act, are cast out of the Lords' House. By which it is at this day come to pass, that by the justice of England, as now it stands, no clergyman hath a consent, by himself or his proxy, to those laws to which all of them are bound.

In the meantime, before I pass from this point, this Lord must give me leave to put him in mind of that which was openly spoken in both Houses: that the reason why there was such a clamour against the Bishops' votes was, 'because all or most of them voted for the King,' so that the potent faction could not carry what they pleased, especially in the Upper House. And when some saw they could not have their will to cast out their votes fairly, the rabble must come down again, and clamour against their votes; not without danger to some of their persons. And come they did in multitudes. But who procured their coming I know not, unless it were this Lord and his followers. And notwithstanding this is as clear as the sun, and was openly spoken in the House, that this was the true cause only why they were so angry with the Bishops' votes; yet this most godly and religious Lord pretends here a far better cause than this; namely, that they may, as they ought, carefully attend to the preaching of the word, and not be distracted from that great work by being troubled with these worldly affairs. And I make no doubt, but that the same zeal will carry the same men to the devout taking away the Bishops' and the Church lands, and perhaps the parsons' tithes too, and put them to such stipends as they shall think fit, that so they may preach the Gospel freely, and not be drawn away with these worldly affairs from the principal work of that function. Well! my Lord must give me leave here to prophesy a little: and 'tis but this, in short; Either the Bishops shall in few years

recover of this hoarseness, and have their honour and their votes in Parliament again; or, before many years be past, all baseness, barbarity, and confusion, will go near to possess both this Church and kingdom.

But this Lord hath yet somewhat more to say; namely, that

> *If they shall be thought fit to sit in such places, and will undertake such employments, they must not be there as ignorant men, but must be knowing in business of state, and understand the rules and laws of government; and thereby both their time and studies must be necessarily diverted from that which God hath called them unto. And this surely is much more unlawful for them to admit of, than that which the Apostles rejected as a distraction unreasonable for them to be interrupted by.* [p. 3.]

Why, but yet, 'if they shall be thought fit to sit in such places, and will undertake such employments,' what then? Why, then, 'they must not sit there as ignorant men,' but they must be knowing men, 'and understand the rules and laws of government.' This is most true; and if any man sit in those places as an ignorant, 'tis an ill choice that is made of him, and he doth not well that accepts them. But sure, if Bishops sit there as ignorants, they are much to be blamed. For if they spend their younger studies, before they meddle with divinity, as they may and ought, sure there is some great defect in them, if they be not as knowing men in the rules of government as most noblemen or others are, who spend all their younger time in hawking and hunting, and somewhat else. And this younger time of theirs, if Bishops have spent as they ought, they may, with a little care and observation, and without any great diversion of their time and studies from that which God hath called them unto, perform those places with great knowledge, and much happiness to the states in which they serve, as hath formerly in this, and doth at present in other neighbouring states, appear. And for aught this Lord knows, if some counsels had been followed, which some Bishops gave, neither the King, nor the State, nor the Church, had been in that ill condition in which they now are. Nor are these places 'more unlawful

for Bishops to admit of' in these times and conditions of the Church, 'than that which the Apostles rejected as a distraction,' but not as an 'unreasonable' one, in those times and beginnings of Christianity, as is proved before. But the zeal of this Lord burns still; and as it hath fired him already out of the Church, and made him a Separatist; so it would now fire the Bishops out of the State, and make them members of Antichrist. His Lordship goes on, therefore, and as before he told us the practice of the Apostles was answerable to the doctrine of Christ, so here he tells us again;—

> *The doctrine of the Apostles is agreeable to their practice herein. For St. Paul, when he instructeth Timothy for the work of the ministry, presseth this argument from the example of a good soldier: 'No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of the world.'* [p. 4.]

'The doctrine of the Apostles is agreeable indeed to their practice herein,' and in all things else; and I would to God with all my heart this Lord's opinions were agreeable to either their practice or their doctrine; and then, I am sure, he would be a better soldier for Christ than this poor Church hath cause to believe he is. But his Lordship says that 'Paul, when he instructs Timothy for the work of the ministry, presseth this argument from the example of a good soldier: That no man that warreth, ἐμπλέκεται, entangles himself with the affairs of the world[f].' The word ἐμπλέκω signifies *involvere et permiscere se*, to involve and, as it were, thoroughly to mingle himself with that which he undertakes; to be so busied, *ut extricare se non possit*, that he cannot untwist himself out of the employment. And I easily grant that no good Christian, much less any good Bishop, may so entangle himself with the world, as either to desert his calling, or to be so distracted from it, as not to do his duty in it. But this bars not all meddling with it. For the Geneva note upon that place says plainly, he may not entangle himself; no, not so much as with his household and other ordinary affairs[g]. But then if he shall not meddle with, or take care of these at all, he may beg or starve, unless he have better means than the competency which this devout age

[f] 2 Tim. ii. 4. [g] Annot. ibid.

thinks sufficient for the ministry. Nay, which is more, he may by so doing fall under that heavy sentence of the Apostle, 36
1 Tim. v. 8, 'That if he provide not for his own, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than are infidels.' Nay, which is yet more, if all meddling with temporal affairs, all care of the world, be an 'entanglement,' the clergy must needs be in a perplexity, whatsoever they do. For if they meddle with any worldly business, and entangle themselves, they do that they ought not, 2 Tim. ii. 4. And if they do not meddle with worldly affairs, and so do not provide for their own,—and provide they cannot without some meddling,—then, for fear of this Lord's sour divinity, that all meddling with is 'entangling' in them, they are 'worse than infidels.' Now a perplexity which shall wrap a man up in sin, which way soever he sets himself to action, is so contrary to divine justice, as that no law or scripture of God can command it, nor any right reason of man approve it.

But examining this text further, I find two things more observable. The one, that the 'soldier' here, whose example is the ground of this argument, is not bound under pain of any sin, not to busy himself with the affairs of this life; but he doth it not (saith the text) to the end 'he may please him whose soldier he is.' So then, if any man, the better to please God, forbears this employment, and his conscience and love to his calling be his motives so to do, he does well. But if another man, who hath no scruple in himself, and finds he can do both without an 'entanglement' by the one to the prejudice of the other, and thereupon be so employed, (for aught I know) he doth not sin. The other is, perhaps this Lord may find that St. Paul here in this place instructs Timothy, not so much for the work of the ministry, (as here he affirms,) as for the general work of Christianity. For, ver. 1, he exhorts to constancy and perseverance, that he 'be strong in the grace which is in Jesus Christ.' And then this argument falls upon other Christians as well as upon ministers, though not so much. And then I hope this Lord, who is so careful for our spiritual warfare, will take some care of his own also; if the great care which he takes at this present for the militia of the kingdom entangles him not. But his Lordship is now come to conclude this point;—

I conclude; That which by the commandment of our Saviour, by the practice and doctrine of the Apostles, and I may add, by the Canons of ancient Councils grounded thereupon, is prohibited to ministers of the Gospel, and showed to be such a distraction unto them from their calling and function, as will bring a woe upon them, and is not reasonable for them to admit of; if they shall notwithstanding entangle themselves withal, and enter into, it will bring a guilt upon their souls, and hurt them in respect of their consciences. [p. 4.]

His Lordship is now come (so he tells us) to conclude this point; and in this conclusion he artificially sums up, and briefly, all his arguments. I shall as briefly touch at my answers before given, and stay upon nothing, unless I find somewhat new. This done, I shall wait upon him (for that's his desire clergymen should) to the next point.

37 And truly, I find nothing new in the folding up this conclusion, but that he says he may add that ministers are prohibited from meddling with worldly affairs, 'by the Canons of ancient Councils grounded upon the Apostles' doctrine.' The Church is much beholding to this Lord that he will vouchsafe to name her ancient Councils: he doth not use to commit this fault often; and yet lest he should sin too much in this kind, he doth but tell you that he may add these, but he adds them not. It may be he doubts, that if he should name those Canons, some sufficient answer might be given them, and yet the truth remain firm, that it is not only lawful, but fit and expedient in some times and cases, for Bishops to intermeddle with, and give counsel in temporal affairs; and though this Lord names none, yet I will produce and examine such Canons and ancient Councils as I find, and see what they say in this business.

The first I meet withal is—but here I find myself met with, and prevented too, by a book entituled, 'Episcopacy asserted,' made by a Chaplain of mine, Mr. Jer. Taylor, who hath learnedly looked into and answered such Canons of Councils as are most quick upon Bishops or other clergymen for meddling much in temporal affairs[h]. And therefore

[h] Episcopacy asserted, § 49. [Works, vol. v. pp. 207—218.]

thither I refer the reader, being not willing to trouble him with saying over another man's lesson; only I shall examine such Councils (if any I find) which my Chaplain hath not met with, or omitted. And the last that I meet with is the Council of Sardis[i]; which, though the last, is as high up in the Church as about the year 347. And there was a Canon to restrain prelates from their frequent resorts to the court: yet there are many cases left at large in which they are permitted to use their own judgment and freedom. So that Canon seems to bring along with it rather counsel than command. And howsoever, they are well left to their liberty (as I conceive it), because to frequent the court, as overloving the place, is one thing; and to go thither, though often, when good cause calls for them (be that cause spiritual or temporal), is far from an offence. For if it be spiritual, they must go; that's their office and duty directly: and I see no reason why the physicians should be forbid to visit the places of greatest sickness. This I am sure of, Constantine the Great commanded the personal attendance of Bishops and other clergymen in his court[j]. And if it be temporal, they may go: that's their duty by consequence, especially, if they be called. For as their exemplary piety may move much, so do I not yet know any designs of state which are made the worse by religion; or any counsels of Princes hurt by being communicated with Bishops, in whom doth, or should, reside the care of religion and religious conversation. But perchance I have known some counsels miscarry for want of this.

The next is the first Council at Carthage, and there the prohibition runs thus: 'They which are of the Clergy, *non accedant ad actus seu administrationem, vel procurationem domorum*[k];' which forbids (as I conceive it) this only, that they should not be stewards of the houses or bailiffs of the lands of great persons. And this may be both in regard of

[i] Conc. Sardicens. edit. Lat. apud Binn. tom. i. par. 1. p. 431. [Εἰ τοίνυν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, πᾶσι τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ἐπικρίνατε μηδένα ἐπίσκοπον χρῆναι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον παραγίνεσθαι, παρεκτὸς τούτων, οὓς ἂν ὁ εὐλαβέστατος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γράμμασι μετακάλοιτο . . . ἀπεκρίναντο ἅπαντες· Ὁριζέσθω καὶ τοῦτο.—Conc. Sard. Can. vii.—Conc. tom. ii. col. 633. B. C.]

[j] [Ἐπήγετο δ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὅποι ποτε στέλλοιτο πορείαν.]—Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. i. c. 35. [lib. i. cap. 45. p. 522.]

[k] Conc. Carthag. I. Can. vi. [Conc. tom. i. col. 616. A.]

the great trouble belonging to such places, and the hazard of scandal which might arise, in case there should happen any
38 failure in such great accounts. And in the Code of the African Councils it is thus read: *Non sint conductores et procuratores, nec ullo turpi et inhonesto negotio, victum quærant*[1]: which I think is the truer reading. And then this Council doth not forbid all meddling in secular affairs, but such as by their dishonest gain draw scandal upon the Church: and there is great reason such should be forbidden them.

A third I meet withal, and that is the Council of Eliberis, about the year of our Lord 306, where the Canon seems to be very strict against clergymen's going to markets and fairs *negotiandi causa*, to make profit by negotiation; but require them to send their son, their friend, or their servant to do such business for them[m]. And yet this prohibition, as strict as it seems, is not absolute, nor binding, further than that they shall not pursue those matters of gain out of their own provinces; but if they will and think fit, they might for all this Canon negotiate, either for their necessary maintenance or improvement of their fortunes, so that they wandered not abroad out of their own province where they serve.

In the meantime when all these, or any other Councils, are duly weighed, and their meaning right taken, this will be the result of all; that neither Bishop nor other clergyman might or may, by the Canons of Holy Church, ambitiously seek, or voluntarily of himself assume any secular engagement. And as they might not ambitiously seek great temporal employments, so might they not undertake any low or base ones for sordid and covetous ends. Nor might they relinquish their own charge to spend their strength in the assistance of a foreign one. But though they might not seek or voluntarily assume secular employment, yet they might

[1] [Ὁμοίως ἤρεσεν, ἵνα ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἐκλήπτορες μὴ γίνωνται, ἢ προκουράτωρες, μηδὲ ἔκ τινος αἰσχροῦ ἢ ἀτίμου πράγματος τροφὴν πορίζωνται.] — Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric. Can. xvi. [Conc. tom. ii. col. 1058. B.]

[m] Episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi de locis suis negotiandi causa non discedant, nec circumeuntes provincias quæstuosas nundinas sectentur. Sane ad victum suum [*leg.* sibi] conquirendum, aut filium, aut libertum, aut mercenarium, aut amicum, aut quemlibet mittant: et si voluerint negotiari, intra provinciam negotientur."— Conc. Eliberit. Can. xviii. [Conc. tom. i. col. 972. E.]

do any lawful thing imposed on them by their superiors [n]. And so might the Bishop (who had no superior in his province), if the Prince required his service; or that he thought it necessary for the present state of the Church in which he lived: for if he might transmit his power to those of the inferior clergy [o], no doubt but he might deal himself in such civil affairs as are agreeable to the dignity of his place and calling: and generally the Bishop, or any other clergyman, may and might by the ancient Canons of the Church be employed in any action of piety, though that action be attended with secular care and trouble. And this is without any strain at all collected out of that great and famous Council of Chalcedon, one of the four first General Councils, approved of highly throughout all Christendom, and with great reverence acknowledged in the laws of this kingdom. And therefore after the Canon of that Council had laid it down in general terms, that neither bishop, clerk, nor monk should farm grounds, or *immiscere se*, mix himself as it were, with such temporal affairs, it adds some exceptions of like nature to those by me expressed, especially the last of them [p]. And some of these will expound the canon of any Council 39 which I have yet seen, that speaks most against clergymen embarking themselves in secular business. And therefore though this Lord would not, yet I have laid before you whatsoever is come to my knowledge out of the 'ancient Councils;' where by this last cited and great Council, his Lordship may see, that Bishops should meddle with and order some temporal affairs, as persons in that kind fitter to be trusted than other

[n] "Ωρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, μήδενα τοῦ λοιποῦ, μὴ ἐπίσκοπον, μὴ κληρικόν, μὴ μονάζοντα, ἢ μισθοῦσθαι κτήματα, ἢ πράγματα, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν ἑαυτὸν κοσμικαῖς διοικήσεσι· πλὴν εἰ μή που ἐκ νομῶν καλοῖτο εἰς ἀφηλίκων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτροπὴν, ἢ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιτρέψοι φροντίζειν πραγμάτων, ἢ ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν ἀπρονοήτων, καὶ τῶν προσώπων τῶν μάλιστα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δεομένων βοηθείας, διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου.]—"Aut negotiis sæcularibus se immiscere, præter pupillorum si forte leges imponant inexcusabilem curam, aut civitatis episcopus ecclesiasticarum rerum solicitudinem habere præcipiat, aut orphanorum et viduarum, eorum qui sine ulla defensione sunt, ac personarum quæ maximè indigent ecclesiastico adjutorio, et propter timorem Domini causa deposcat."—Conc. Chalced. Act. xv. Can. iii. [Conc. tom. iv. coll. 755. E., 758. A. The Latin version is that of Dionysius Exiguus. See ibid. col. 773. C.]

[o] ["Ωστε συναγὼν εἰπὲ, ὅτι πάντες οἱ τῷ κανόνι περιεχόμενοι, κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν οὐ μόνον ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικὰ ἐνεργήσουσιν ἀποκριματίστως, κ.τ.λ.]—Balsamon. in Concil. Chalcedon. c. iii. p. 27. [Beveregii Pand. Can. tom. i. p. 114. C.]

[p] [See note [n].]

men of what rank or condition soever; and therefore excepts from its own general Canon the cases of orphans and widows, and the estates of such persons as most need ecclesiastical help, or where any cause in the fear of God requires it. In which cases the widows and the fatherless have had much cause to bless God, when they have been referred to the conscience, trust, and care of Bishops. But this were in a manner to make them masters of the wards or guardians to them, which I know this Lord will not like by any means. It would come too near his office [q]; and then he would cry out indeed, that this was a greater distraction of them from their function to which God had called them, than that of the attending poor 'widows' tables' was to the Apostles: and yet he sees what some Canons of ancient Councils have decreed in this case. Besides, we cannot have a better or a clearer evidence of the true meaning of the ancient Canons, than from the practice of the ancient Fathers of the Church, who were strict and conscientious observers of the Canons, and yet (as is before proved) meddled in many, and some the greatest civil affairs, being employed as ambassadors from great emperors and kings: and Balsamon observes, that whensoever it shall please the Prince to call any Bishops to such employments, they neither are to be restrained by the aforesaid Canons, nor censured by them [r].

I conclude this point then, that Bishops are not prohibited to meddle with civil public affairs, either by Christ's command or by the Apostles' either doctrine or practice, (though all their practice doth not give an absolute rule for all future obedience, as their doctrine doth;) and I may add, not by Canons of ancient Councils (rightly understood); nor are all of them such distractions 'as will bring a woe' upon Bishops or other clergymen, though they meddle with them. I rather believe some things will be in a woful case if they meddle not. And in some cases there's all the reason in the world they should be not only permitted, but some of them

[q] [See above, p. 95.]

[r] [Λέγουσι δέ τινες, χώραν ταῦτα ἔχειν, ὅταν δίχα προστάξεως βασιλικῆς ἐνεργῇ τις ἱερώμενος δουλείαν δημοσιακήν· εἰ γὰρ κατ' οἰκονομίαν βασιλικὴν τοιαύτην τινὰ δουλείαν ἀναδέξεταί τις, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥηθέντων κανόνων οὐ κωλυθήσεται, οὐδὲ βλαβήσεται. καὶ προστιθέασιν, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔτε νόμοις οὔτε κανόσιν ὑπόκειται.] —Balsam. in Conc. Carthag. prima, Can. xvi. pp. 328, 329. [Beveregii Pand. Can. tom. i. p. 538. F.]

commanded to meddle; to the end that in all consultations, especially the greatest, in Parliament, and at Council-table, it might be their care to see that religion were kept upright in all; and that nothing by practice or otherwise pass, *cum detrimento religionis et Ecclesiæ*, 'with detriment to religion or the Church,' always provided that they do not so entangle themselves in any of these affairs, as shall much prejudice their function; and this done, I know no guilt that this meddling can bring upon their souls, or hurt their consciences. Butthis Lord having (as he thinks) concluded the contrary, proceeds now to the next point, and says, that—

> *In the next place, this meddling in temporal affairs doth blemish them, and strike them in their credit; so far from truth is that position which they desire to possess the world withal, that unless they may have those outward trappings, or worldly pomp added to the ministry, that calling will grow into contempt and be despised.* [p. 4.]

Good God! How pious this Lord is, and what a careful friend over the Church! First, he takes care the Bishops' consciences may not be hurt, and now he is as jealous over their credits. But I doubt he is jealous over them amiss. For he is of opinion, that meddling in civil affairs strikes them in their credit; and he thinks further, that the position with which they would possess the world in this case is far from truth. Let's examine this position then, what it is, and what it works. The position is (as this Lord reports it), 'that unless they may have these outward trappings, or worldly pomp added to the ministry, their calling will grow into contempt.' First, there was never any age in any kingdom Christian, in which the Bishops were ridden with so much scorn and contempt as they are at this day in England; and this makes this Lord, though he be a very ordinary horseman for any good service, please himself with 'trappings.' Secondly, for the 'worldly pomp' which he means and expresses, the train of that hath been long since cut short enough in England; and he that will not look upon the Bishops with an evil eye must needs acknowledge it. Well, but what then doth this position work? Why, [if] they may not have these 'trappings,' there will follow 'contempt upon

their calling;' so he makes the Bishops say. Is this Lord of that opinion too? No sure; for he says—

> *The truth is, these things cast contempt upon them in the eyes of men. They gain them cap and courtesy, but they have cast them out of the consciences of men; and the reason is this, everything is esteemed as it is eminent in its own proper excellency; the eye in seeing, not in hearing; the ear in hearing, not in speaking. The one would be rather monstrous than comely; the other is ever acceptable, being proper. So is it with them: their proper excellency is spiritual, the denial of the world, with the pomps, and preferments, and employments thereof. This they should teach and practise.* [p. 4.]

Well then, the question is, Whether the honour of Bishops and their employments in temporal affairs, as they are at this day moderated, in the Church and State of England, bring contempt upon them and their calling, as this Lord says; or help to keep off contempt, as he says the Bishops would possess the world? First, I am clear of opinion that Solomon was almost as wise as this Lord thinks himself, and yet he says plainly, Eccles. ix. 16, that though wisdom in itself be far better than folly, yet 'the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words not heard.' And we see in daily experience, that a poor minister's words are as much slighted in the pulpit as a poor man's in the gate. And therefore these things which this Lord calls 'trappings,' are many times very necessary to keep off that 'contempt' and despite which the boisterous multitude, when their sins are reproved, are apt to cast upon them. And whatsoever this Lord thinks, 'tis a great credit and support to the rest of the clergy, and
41 being well used, a great advantage to their calling, that the Bishops and other eminent men of the clergy should have moderate plenty for means, and enjoy honour and external reputation; and though it be well known that the Church considered in abstract, in and by itself only, is not promoted nor advanced by such employments, yet as she is considered in her peregrination and warfare, she gains by them great both strength and encouragement.

Secondly, that which this Lord adds, that those things

'gain the Bishops cap and courtesy, but have cast them out of the consciences of men.' 'Tis well that these things gain them that. For the age is grown so churlish to that calling, that I believe they would have very little of either, were it not for these things; as will too soon appear now this last Act of Parliament hath taken away their 'trappings.' As for that which follows next, that these things 'have cast them out of the consciences of men,' that's not so: for in other kingdoms that are Christian, and some Reformed as well as other, they have more employment in civil affairs than with us, and yet are in high esteem in the 'consciences of men.' But the truth is, schism and separation have so torn men from clergy and Church, from God and Christ and all, that they have not only cast Bishops, but religion too, out of their consciences; and their consciences are thrown after, God knows whither.

Now for the reason which this Lord gives, he is quite wide in that also. For everything is not 'esteemed as it is eminent in its own proper excellency' (as he says it is): indeed it ought to be so, but so it is not. For in the place before cited, Eccles. ix. 16, 'Wisdom is better than folly,' and is most eminent in its own proper excellency, but is it always esteemed so? No sure; for 'the poor man's wisdom is despised.' There, however it ought to be esteemed for its proper excellency, yet if it be found in a poor subject, 'tis despised and accounted as mean and vile as he is that hath it. And as for the illustration which his Lordship makes of this his proposition, 'tis merely fallacious. For arguments drawn from natural things, which ever work constantly the same way, to moral things, which depend upon voluntary and mutable agents, will seldom or never universally follow. And therefore, though it be true, that 'the eye is esteemed for seeing, not hearing; and the ear for hearing, not speaking; and should it be otherwise it would be rather monstrous than comely;' that's true, because they are agents determined *ad unum*, to that one operation, and cannot possibly do the other; but then, by his Lordship's leave, so it is not with Bishops; for though their 'proper excellency' be indeed spiritual, yet they may meddle with other things so long as they can observe the Apostle's rule, 1 Cor. vii. 31, and 'use this

world as if they used it not;' that is, use it so long and so far as may help their service of God, and cast it off when it shall hinder them. But this Lord thinks all use of these things, and employments in them, to be unlawful for our calling. And therefore he adds,—

> *That when they, contrary hereunto, seek after a worldly excellency, like the great men of the world; and to rule and domineer as they do, contrary to our Saviour's pre-*
> 42 *cept,* Vos autem non sic: *'But it shall not be so amongst you:' instead of honour and esteem, they have brought upon themselves, in the hearts of the people, that contempt and odium which they now lie under; and that justly and necessarily, because the world sees that they prefer a worldly excellency, and run after it, and contend for it, before their own; which being spiritual is far more excellent, and which being proper to the ministry, is that alone which will put a value and esteem upon them that are of that calling.* [pp. 4, 5.]

All this which follows is but matter of ampliation, to help aggravate the business, and to make Bishops so hateful to other men, as they are to himself. For I hope no Bishops of this Church do seek after 'worldly excellency' contrary to their function; at least I know none that do: and they are far from being 'like the great men of the world.' As to 'ruling,' 'tis proper enough to them, so far as authority is given; but 'domineer' they do not. This comes from this Lord's spleen, not from their practice: and by that time his Lordship hath sat a while longer in the State, men will find other manner of domineering from him, than they found from the Bishops. Nor do they, in their meddling with civil affairs in such sort as is now practised in England, go contrary to our Saviour's precept, *Vos autem non sic,* 'It shall not be so amongst you,' as I have proved before.

Most true indeed it is, that the poor Bishops of this Church do now, 'instead of honour and esteem, lie under contempt and odium in the hearts of the people.' Of some, not of all; no, nor either of the greater or the better part, for all the noise that hath been raised against them; and this Lord is much deceived to say they have brought it upon themselves. For

it is but part of the dirt which this Lord and his fellow sectaries have most unchristian-like cast upon them: and this only to wrest their votes out of Parliament, that now they are gone, they may the better compass their ends against Church and State, which God preserve against their malice and hypocrisy. But this Lord says further, 'that the Bishops have brought this contempt upon themselves justly and necessarily.' Now God forbid that it should be either; and his Lordship proves it but by saying the same thing over again, namely, 'because the world sees that they prefer a worldly excellency, and run after it, and contend for it, before their own.' And surely if they do this, they are much to blame; but I believe the world sees it not, unless it be such of the world as look upon them with this Lord's eyes, and that when they are at the worst too. And I verily persuade myself, and I think upon very good grounds, that the present Bishops of this kingdom, all or the most of them, are as far from any just tax in this or any other kind, as they have been in any former times since the Reformation. 'Tis true, that their own calling 'being spiritual, is far more excellent;' and I shall the better believe it, when I see this Lord and the rest value it so. For I have told his Lordship already, that everything which is more excellent in itself, is not always so esteemed by others: and though this excellency be never so proper, yet by his good leave, it is not that alone which will put a value and esteem upon them and their calling. There must be some outward helps to encourage, and countenance, and reward them too, or else flesh and blood are so dull, that 43
little will be done. And suppose this religious Lord, and some few like himself, would value and esteem them for their spiritual calling only, yet what are these to so many as would contemn them? And yet to speak the truth freely, I do not see this Lord, nor any of that feather, put a value upon that calling for the spiritual excellency only; for then all ministers that do their duty should be valued and esteemed by them, the calling being alike spiritual and alike excellent in all: whereas the world sees they neither care for nor countenance any ministers, but such as separate with them from the Church of England, or are so near to it, as that they are ready to step into an Independent congregation, so soon as by the artifice

of this Lord and others, it may be made ready to receive them. Now this Lord having thus belaboured these two points, that Bishops by meddling in civil affairs do hurt themselves in their consciences and in their credits; he proceeds to instruct us further. And thus:—

> *As these things hurt themselves in their consciences and credit, so have they, and, if they be continued, still will make them hurtful to others. The reason is, because they break out of their own orb and move irregularly. There is a curse upon their leaving their own place.* [p. 5.]

My Lord is now come to his second general part of his Speech, and means to prove it if he can, that Bishops by any kind of meddling in civil affairs do not only 'hurt themselves in conscience and in credit, but also, if they continue in them, they will make them hurtful to others also.' And that he may seem to say nothing without a reason, his Lordship tells us 'the reason of this is, because they break out of their own orb and move irregularly.' But I conceive this reason weak enough. For first (as is before proved) these 'stars' (to follow my Lord in his metaphor) are not so fixed to their 'orb' of preaching the Gospel, but that they may do other things also at other times, so this be not neglected. And therefore it will not follow, that all their motions out of this orb are 'irregular.' Secondly, when they do thus move, they are not violently to break out of their orb, but to sit still till authority find cause to call any of them a little aside, to attend civil affairs, that they may proceed never the worse, and the Gospel the better. As for that 'curse' which this Lord speaks of, which follows 'upon their leaving of their own place;' I know of none, nor any leaving of their own place. This I am sure of, whatever this Lord says, that many extraordinary blessings and successes have come both upon this kingdom and other nations, by counsels given by clergymen; and I pray God his counsels, such as they have been, do not bring dishonour, and a 'curse' to boot, upon this Church and kingdom. But his Lordship goes on with his metaphor, and argues very strongly by similitudes; which hath but a similitude of argumentation.

The heavenly bodies while they keep within their own spheres give light and comfort to the world; but if they should break out and fall from their regular and proper motions, they would set the world on fire. So have these done. 44 *While they kept themselves to the work of the ministry alone, and gave themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word, according to the example of the Apostles, the world received the greatest benefits from them; they were the light and life thereof. But when their ambition cast them down like stars from heaven to earth, and they did grow once to be advanced above their brethren; I do appeal to all who have been versed in the ancient ecclesiastical history, or modern histories, whether they have not been the common incendiaries of the Christian world; never ceasing from contention one with another about the precedency of their Sees and Churches, excommunicating one another, drawing princes to be parties with them, and thereby casting them into bloody wars.* [p. 5.]

This argument is grounded upon *Si cœlum ruat*, 'If heaven falls we shall get store of larks.' But heaven cannot fall, and so 'tis here. 'The heavenly bodies while they keep within their own spheres, give light and comfort to the world; but if they should break out,' which is impossible, 'and fall from their regular motions,' which cannot possibly be, 'they would set the world on fire;' or perhaps drown it again (had not God promised the contrary), according as the irregular motion bended. 'So have these done.' Nay, not so, with this Lord's leave. For first, clergymen are not so fixed to their 'orbs' as those heavenly bodies are, but in themselves are free and voluntary agents, which those bodies are not. And secondly, they may and ought, as occasion is offered them, do many things in public civil affairs, which may much advantage the Gospel of Christ, and they will never 'fire the world' by such attendance upon them; and they may and ought 'give themselves to prayer and to the ministry of the word' notwithstanding this: and they may be the same 'benefits' to the world of 'light and life' as before. Yea, and I make no doubt, but that when this Lord and his followers will be as liberal and devout as the primitive Christians were,

who 'sold their land, and brought the money, and laid it at the Apostles' feet,' Acts iv. 37, to make a stock for their and the Church's wants, the Bishops will be well content to follow the Apostles' example, as far and as well as they can. But if the Bishops may meddle with no temporal affairs, 'according to the example of the Apostles;' how came the Apostles to meddle with the receiving first, and after with the layings out of all this money? For, say it was to be employed on charitable actions, yet some diversion more or less it must needs be to the preaching of the Gospel. But since the example and practice of the Apostles is so often pressed by this Lord, I would willingly his Lordship should tell me (if he will make their practice a rule general and binding) why now among Christians all should not be common, as the Apostles and other believers had it; and that no man might say that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, Acts iv. 32; and then where is the property of the subject? And then why do we not go up and down and preach at large, according to the examples of the Apostles, and endure neither division of parishes nor parish churches? And why do we not receive the communion after supper, as 'tis well known Christ and His Apostles did? Indeed, if any Bishops or other clergymen should become 'falling stars' from heaven to earth; especially if their sin should be so like the devil's as to cast themselves down by their own ambition: that, as it makes the fall heavy to them, so yet I must say to this Lord, that both fall and fault is the person's; the episcopal office is not the cause of it, as is here charged by him. Nor did they become 'falling stars' so soon as they did once grow to be advanced above their brethren, as this Lord insinuates it. For among the Apostles themselves there was a chief in order, S. Luke xxii. 26, and some were advanced to dignity and power above their brethren, even in the Apostles' days; whom yet, I presume, this Lord will not be so ill advised as to call 'fallen stars.'

As for the appeal which he makes 'to all them who have been versed in ancient or modern ecclesiastical histories;' that's no great matter. For in all histories you shall find great men of all sorts doing what in honour and duty should not be done; and 'ambition' hath been the cause of very

much of this, and 'ambition' sticks so close to human nature, as that it follows it into all professions and estates of men: and I would to God clergymen had been freer from this fault than histories testify they have. But this hath been but the fault of some; many reverend bishops in all ages have been clear of it, and 'tis a personal corruption in whomsoever it is, and cannot justly be charged upon the calling, as this Lord lays it. Neither have the worst of them (some popes of Rome excepted) been the 'common incendiaries of the Christian world.' But 'incendiaries' is grown a great word of late with this Lord; and some of the poor Bishops of England have been made 'incendiaries' too by him and his party. But might it please God to 'show some token upon us for good, that they which hate us may see it, and be ashamed,' Psalm lxxxvi. 17, there would be a full discovery who have been the 'incendiaries' indeed in these troubles of England; and then I make no question but it will appear that this Lord flames as high and as dangerously as any man living. But, 'Behold,' (saith God,) 'all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks; walk in the light of your own fire, and in the sparks which yourselves have kindled. This shall ye have of my hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow,' Isai. l. 11.

Next I pray be pleased to consider, how unworthily, and fallaciously withal, this Lord manages this proof. For all this discourse tends to prove it unlawful for Bishops to intermeddle in secular affairs; that so to do is hurtful to themselves in conscience and in credit, and to others also by this their irregular motion. And this he proves by their 'never ceasing from contention one with another, either about the precedency of their Sees or Churches.' They have indeed some, and sometimes, contended too eagerly for their Sees and Churches; but neither all, nor any that I know with a never-ceasing, but the Bishop of Rome for his supremacy. And say this were so, yet these contentions were about their own proper places, not about civil affairs, which now should lie before his Lordship in proof; and therefore was no irregular motion of theirs in regard of the object, but only in regard of the manner. Nor were they out of their orb for this, though faulty enough. The like is to be said for

that which follows, their 'excommunicating one another' 46 upon these quarrels. As for their 'drawing of princes to be parties with them, thereby casting them into bloody wars;' this hath seldom happened, and whenever it hath happened, some Church business or other hath unhappily set it on, not their meddling in temporal affairs. But whatever caused it, the crime of such misleading of princes is very odious, and as hateful to me, as it can be to his Lordship. But the persons must bear their own faults, and not the calling; and, sure I am, this Lord would think me very wild, if I should charge the ancient barons' wars in England, upon his Lordship and the honourable barons now living. But howsoever by this 'tis plain, that this Lord would not only have the Bishops turned out of all civil employments, but out of their ecclesiastical jurisdictions also. They must have no power nor superiority there neither; their Sees must be laid as level as parity can make them. For all these mischiefs came on (saith he) as soon as they were once advanced above their brethren.

And one thing more I shall take occasion to say. Here's great clamour made against the Bishops, and their meddling in civil affairs; but what if the Presbytery do as much or more? Do they sin too by breaking out of their orb, and neglecting the work of the ministry? No, by no means: only the Bishops are faulty. For do you think that Calvin would have taken on him the umpirage and composing of so many civil causes as he did order between neighbours, if so great sin had accompanied it? For he dealt in civil causes, and had power to inflict civil punishments in his consistory[s]. For he committed divers to prison for dancing, and those not mean ones neither; and he arbitrated divers causes[t]; and in a great controversy between the Senate of Geneva and a gentleman, he tells one Frumentius, who laboured for a reconciliation, that the Church of Geneva was not so destitute, but that *fratres mei* (saith he) *huic provinciæ subeundæ pares futuri essent*[u], some of his brethren might have been fit for that work. Belike he took it ill, that in

[s] "Omnes in carcerem conjecti sunt," &c.—Calvin. Epist. ad Farellum. [p. 64. Genev. 1575.]

[t] Calvin. Epist. ad Viretum, fol. 373. Edit. 1575.

[u] Calvin. Epist. ad Farellum, fol. 384. [Aug. 21, 1547.]

such a business, though merely civil, he and his fellow-ministers should be left out. And for matters in the commonwealth he had so great power in the Senate, and with the people, that all things were carried as he pleased. And himself brags of it, that the Senate was his and the people his [v]. And to increase his strength, and make it more formidable, he brought in fifty or more of the French, his countrymen and friends, and by his solicitation made them free denizens of the city; of which and the troubles thence arising he gave an account to Bullinger [x], *anno* 1555.

Or can you think that Beza would have taken upon him so much secular employment, had he thought it unlawful so to do? For whereas in the form of the civil government of that city, out of the two hundred prime men there was a perpetual Senate chosen of sixty, as Bodin tells us [y]; my worthy predecessor, Archbishop Bancroft [z], assures me, Beza was one of these threescore. And yet what a crying sin is it grown in a Bishop to be honoured with a seat at the Council-table! Besides this, when Geneva sent a solemn embassy to Henry IV. of France, about the raising of a fort 47
which was built near their city by the Duke of Savoy, Beza would needs go along to commend that spiritual cause unto the king [a]; and how far he dealt, and laid grounds for others to deal in all such civil causes, as were but *in ordine ad spiritualia,* is manifest by himself [b]. And I am sure *læsus proximus* may reach into the cognisance of almost all civil causes. Or can any man imagine that so religious a man as Mr. Damport, the late parson of St. Stephen's in Coleman-street, would have done the like to no small hindrance to Westminster-Hall, had he thought that by this meddling he had hurt both his conscience and his credit, whereas (good man) he fled into New England to preserve both [c]? Or, if Mr. Alexander Henderson would have come along with the

[v] "Senatum esse nostrum."—Calvin. ad Farellum, fol. 72. [iv. Non. Jul. 1546.]
"Populum esse nostrum."—Calvin. ad Viretum, fol. 73. [May 28, 1547.]

[x] Calvin. Epist. ad Viret. [leg. Bulinger.] fol. 163. [Jun. 15, 1555.]

[y] Bodin, lib. ii. de Repub. c. 6. [p. 220. Lugd. 1586.]

[z] Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, c. 26. [p. 303. Lond. 1593.]

[a] Thuan. Hist. anno 1600. c. cxxv. [*i. e.* lib. cxxv. cap. ix. p. 42. Lond. 1733.]

[b] Beza de Excommun. p. 47. [p. 50. Genev. 1590.]

[c] [See Accounts of Province for 1633. Works, vol. v. p. 318, note [b].]

Scottish army into England, and been a commissioner (as he was) in that whole treaty, wherein many of their Acts of Parliament concerning the civil government of that kingdom were deliberated upon and confirmed, if he had thought his so doing inconsistent with his calling? Or that the Scots (being so religious as they then were, even to the taking up of arms against their King for religion) would have suffered him to take that place upon him, so contrary to the command of Christ and the practice of the Apostles, if it had been so indeed? Or, would they have suffered their preachers, which then attended their commissioners at London, not only to meddle with, but to preach so much temporal stuff as little belonged to the purity of the Gospel, had they been of this Lord's opinion? Surely, I cannot think it. But let the Bishops do but half so much, yea, though they be commanded to do that which these men assume to themselves, and 'tis a venture but it shall prove treason against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and an endeavouring to bring in an arbitrary government. Well! I'll tell you a tale. There's a minister at this day in London, of great note among the faction, well esteemed by this Lord and others of this outcry against the Bishops' votes in Parliament and their meddling in civil affairs; this man (I'll spare his name) being pressed by a friend of his, how he came to be so eager against the Church, of which, and her government, he had ever heretofore been an upholder, and had subscribed unto it, made this answer: 'Thou art a fool; thou knowest not what it is to be the head of a party.' This man is one of the great masters of the present Reformation; and do you not think it far more inconsistent with his ministerial function, to be in the head of a turbulent faction, (to say the least of them,) than for a Bishop to meddle in civil affairs? Yet such is the religion of our times. But 'tis no matter for all this; his Lordship hath yet more to say against the ambition of the Prelates. For,—

> *Their ambition and intermeddling with secular affairs and state business, hath been the cause of shedding more Christian blood than anything else in the Christian world; and this no man can deny that is versed in history.* [p. 5.]

This is the same over and over again; saving that the expression contains in it a vast untruth. For they that are 'versed in history' must needs say 'tis a loud one, that Bishops 48
meddling in temporal affairs' hath been the cause of shedding more Christian blood than anything else in the Christian world.' What a happiness hath this Lord, that his pale meagreness cannot blush at such thing as this! Yea, but he will prove it here at home in this kingdom. For, says he:—

> *We need not go out of our own kingdom for examples of their insolency and cruelty. When they had a dependency upon the Pope, and any footing thereby out of the land, there were never any that carried themselves with so much scorn and insolency towards the princes of this kingdom, as they have done. Two of them the Bishop that last spake hath named, but instances of many more may be given, whereof there would be no end.* [p. 5.]

'Tis true indeed 'we need not go out of our own kingdom for examples of their insolency and cruelty.' For in so many ages 'tis no wonder in any kingdom to find some bad examples, be it of insolency, cruelty, or what you will; especially in the midst of so much prosperity as accompanied clergymen in those times. But 'tis true too, that there are far more examples of their piety and charity, would this Lord be pleased to remember the one with the other. As for their bad examples, his Lordship gives a reason why not all, but some of them, 'carried themselves with so much scorn and insolency towards their princes,' even with almost as much as this Lord and his faction carry themselves at this day towards their mild and gracious King. And the reason is a true one; 'it was their dependency upon the Pope, and their footing which thereby they had to subsist out of the land;' which may, and I hope will be a sufficient warning to his Majesty and his successors, never to let in again a foreign supreme power into any of his dominions. For 'tis to have one state within, yet not dependent upon the other, which can never be with safety or quiet in any kingdom. And I would have the world consider a little with what insolency, and perhaps disallegiance this Lord and his round-head crew would use their Kings, if they had but half so strong

a foreign dependence as the Bishops then had, that dare use the most gracious of Kings as they do this present day. 'Two of these insolent ones,' (this Lord says,) 'the Bishop that last spake named.' Lincoln stands in the margin, by which it appears that Dr. John Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, and since Archbishop of York, was the man that named two; but because this Lord names them not, I know not who they are, and therefore can say nothing for or against them, but leave them to that Lord which censured them. As for that which follows, that the 'instances of many more may be given, whereof there would be no end;' this is a piece of this Lord's loud rhetoric, which can have no truth in it, especially relating, as it doth, to this kingdom only.

But whereas this Lord said immediately before, that 'their meddling in state business hath been the cause of shedding more Christian blood than anything else in the Christian world,' and in the very next words falls upon the proof of it in this kingdom: I must put him in mind that one Parlia-
49 ment in England, namely, that which most irreligiously and traitorously deposed Richard II., was the cause of the effusion of more Christian blood amongst us, than all the Bishops that ever were in this kingdom. For that base and unjust Parliament was the cause of all the civil wars, those bloody wars, which began in the heir's time after the usurpation of Henry IV., and ceased not till there were slain of the royal blood , and of nobles and the common people a numberless number. And I heartily beg it of God, that no disloyal Parliament may ever bring this kingdom into the like distress. For our neighbours are far stronger now than they were then, and what desolation it might bring upon us, God in heaven knows. So this Lord may see, if he will, what a Parliament itself, being misgoverned, may do. But will his Lordship think it reason to condemn all Parliaments, because this, and some few more, have done what they should not do, as he here deals by Bishops? Sure he would not. But having done with the Bishops' dependency on the Pope, he goes on and tells us further, that—

Although the Pope be cast off, yet now there is another inconvenience, no less prejudicial to the kingdom, by their sitting in this House; and that is, they have such an

absolute dependency upon the King, that they sit not there as free men. [p. 5.]

I am heartily sorry to see this Lord thus far transported. The Pope is indeed cast off from domineering over King, Church, and State. But I am sorry to hear it from this Lord, that this 'other inconvenience by Bishops sitting in the House of Parliament, is no less prejudicial to the kingdom.' Where, first, I observe that this Lord accounts the Pope's ruling in this kingdom, but a 'matter of inconvenience;' for so his words imply. For that must be one inconvenience, if the Bishops' voting be the other; and I am sure the laws both of this Church and State, make it far worse than an inconvenience. Had I said thus much, I had been a Papist out of question. Secondly; I'll appeal to any prudent and moderate Protestant in the Christian world, whether he can possibly think that the Bishops' having votes in the Parliaments of England can possibly be as great, or no less an inconvenience, than the Pope's supremacy here? And I believe this Lord, when he thinks better of it, will wish these words unsaid.

Well! but what then is this 'inconvenience' that is so great? Why, my Lord tells us, 'tis because they have such an 'absolute dependency upon the King that they sit not there as free men.' Where first, 'tis strange to me and my reason, that any dependency on the King, be it never so absolute, can be possibly so great an inconvenience to the King, as that upon an independent foreign power is; the King being sworn to the laws, but the Pope being free, and (as he challenges) not only independent from, but superior to, both King and laws. Secondly, I conceive the Bishops' dependency is no more absolute upon the King than is the dependence of other honourable members of that House, and that the Bishops sit there as absolute free men as any others, not excepting his Lordship. And of this belief I must be, till the contrary shall be proved; which his Lordship goes thus about to do:—

That which is requisite to freedom is, to be void of hopes and fears; he that can lay down these is a free man, and will be so in this House: but for the Bishops, as the case

stands with them, it is not likely they will lay aside their hopes; greater bishoprics being still in expectancy; and for their fears, they cannot lay them down, since their places and seats in Parliament are not invested in them by blood, and so hereditary; but by annexation of a barony to their office, and depending upon that office; so that they may be deprived of their office, and thereby of their places, at the King's pleasure. [pp. 5, 6.]

My Lord's philosophy is good enough; for to be 'void of hopes and fears' is very 'requisite to freedom,' and 'he that can lay these down, is a free man,' or may be if he will. But whether he will be so in that great House, I cannot so well tell. For though no man can be free that is full charged with hopes or fears; yet there are some other things which collaterally work upon men, and consequently take off their freedom, almost as much as hopes and fears can do. Such are consanguinity, affinity, especially if the wife bears any sway; private friendship, and above all, faction. And therefore though I cannot think that every man will be a free man in that House, that is 'void of hopes and fears,' yet I believe he may if he will. Now I conceive that in all these collateral stiflings of a man's freedom, the lay Lords are by far less free than the Bishops are.

Again, for the main bars of freedom, 'hopes' and 'fears,' into which all the rest do some way or other fall, I do not yet see, but that Bishops, even as the case stands with them, may be as free, and I hope are, in their voting as temporal Lords. For 'their hopes,' this Lord tells us, ''tis not likely they will lay them aside, greater bishoprics being still in expectancy.' Truly, I do not know why a deserving Bishop may not in due time hope for a better bishopric, and yet retain that freedom which becomes him in Parliament, as well as any nobleman may be noble and free in that great court, and yet have moderated hopes of being called to some great office, or to the Council-table, or some honourable and profitable embassage, or some knighthood of the Garter; of all, or some of which, there is still 'expectancy.' Lay your hand on your heart, my Lord, and examine yourself.

As for 'fears,' his Lordship tells us roundly the Bishops

'cannot lay them down.' Cannot? Are all the Bishops such poor spirits? But why can they not? Why, because their places in Parliament are not 'hereditary, but by annexation of a barony to their office, and depending upon it; so that they may be deprived of their office, and thereby of their place, at the King's pleasure.' First; I believe the Bishops gave their votes in Parliament as freely to their conscience and judgment as this Lord or any other. Secondly; if any of them for fear or any other motive have given their votes unworthily; I doubt not but many honourable Lords have at some time or other forgot themselves and borne the Bishops company: though in this I commend neither. Thirdly; I know some Bishops who had rather lose not their baronies only, but their bishoprics also, than vote so unworthily as this Lord would make the world believe they have done. 51
Lastly; it is true their seat in Parliament depends on their barony, their barony on their office; and if they be deprived of their office, both barony and seat in Parliament are gone. But I hope my Lord will not say we live under a tyrant; and then I will say Bishops are not deprivable of their office, and consequently not of the rest, at the King's pleasure. But this Lord proceeds into a further amplification: and to whet his inveterate malice against the King, says as follows: Nay,

> *They do not so much as sit here* dum bene se gesserint, *as the Judges now by your Lordships' petition to the King have their places granted them, but at will and pleasure; and therefore as they were all excluded by Edward the First, as long as he pleased, and laws made* excluso Clero, *so may they be by any King at his pleasure in like manner. They must needs therefore be in an absolute dependency upon the Crown, and thereby at devotion for their votes, which how prejudicial it hath been, and will be to this House, I need not say.* [p. 6.]

If I could wonder at anything which this Lord doth or says in such arguments as these, when his heart is up against the clergy, I should wonder at this. For if he will not suppose the King's government to be tyrannical, the Bishops have their places during life, and cannot justly be put out of

them, unless their miscarriage be such as shall merit a deprivation. And therefore, by this Lord's good leave, they have as good a tenure as the judges' is of a *quamdiu bene se gesserint.* And this they have without their Lordships' petition to the King, as his Lordship tells us was fain to be made for the judges, thereby galling the King for giving some patents to the judges during pleasure; which, as the case stood with them, whether he had reason to do or not, I will not dispute. So that manifest it is, that the Bishops do not hold their bishoprics at the King's 'will and pleasure,' and consequently neither their baronies nor their places in Parliament.

And I would have my Lord consider, whether all the noblemen that sit in that House, by blood and inheritance, be not in the same condition upon the matter with the Bishops. For as Bishops may commit crimes worthy deprivation, and so consequently lose their votes in Parliament; so are there some crimes also which noblemen may commit (God preserve them from them), which may consequently void all their rights in Parliament, yea, and taint their blood too.

And as for the Bishops' baronies, they are not at the King's will and pleasure neither: for they hold their baronies from the Crown indeed, but by so long prescription as will preserve them from any disseisure at will and pleasure of the King. So if they merit not deprivation by law and justice, their baronies are safe, and that by as good right, and far ancienter descent, than any the ancientest nobleman of England can plead for himself.

For Edward the First, he was a brave prince, and is of glorious memory, and respected the dutifulness of his clergy very royally. As for the Acts of Parliament made in his time, and the time of his royal successor Edward the Third,
52 I conceive nothing can be gathered out of the titles or prefaces of those Acts, against either the Bishops' presence at, or their voting to those laws, by any prohibition or exclusion of them, by those famous Kings. For though the Statute of Carlisle, 35 Edw. I., not printed, be recited in the statute 25 Edw. III. of Provisoes [d], and says, 'that by the assent of

[d] Et similiter in the statute of 27 Edw. III. and 38 Edw. III., both of Provisoes.

the earls, barons, and other nobles, and all the commonalty, at their instances and requests in the said full Parliament, it was ordained, &c.,' without any mention at all of the prelates; yet it is more than probable, that the prelates were summoned to, and present at these Parliaments. For first, it appears expressly by the Statute of the Staple, 27 Edw. III., made in the same Parliament with the Statute of Provisoes, that the prelates were assembled and present there: and I rather think that in all these Statutes of Provisoes, (being professedly made against the liberty and jurisdiction of the Pope, in those times challenged in this kingdom, to whose power the Bishops were then subject,) they voluntarily chose to be absent, rather than endanger themselves to the Pope, if they voted for such laws, or offend the King and the State, if they voted against them. But these laws were not made *excluso Clero*, and that 'as long as the King pleased,' (as this Lord affirms;) and this is very plain in the statute itself of 38 Edw. III. For in the last chapter of that statute, though the prelates be omitted in the preamble, yet there 'tis expressly said, 'that the king, the prelates, the dukes, earls and barons,' &c. So here was not exclusion of the Bishops by the King, but their own voluntary absence, which made those kind of laws pass without them.

As for the Parliament at Carlisle, I conceive the books are misprinted, and a common error risen by it. For that Parliament was held *anno* 35 Edw. I. and was the first of Provisoes; and as appears in the Records, the prelates were present. But in 25 Edw. I. the Parliament was summoned to London, and the Bishops called to it[e]. And there was another summons to Salisbury in the same roll[f], to which the prelates were not called. But this, I conceive, was a summons of the King's great Council only, and not of a Parliament, the Commons not being called any more than the Prelates: nor were there any other summons, 25 Edw. I., but these two. That which his Lordship infers upon this, is, that therefore the Bishops are 'in absolute dependency upon the Crown;' which is manifestly untrue, since they cannot be outed at will and pleasure, but for demerit only; and that may fall upon temporal Lords as well as Bishops. And there-

[e] Rotulo Clausar. 25 Edw. I. M. 6. Dorso. [f] M. 25 Dorso.

fore neither are they at devotion for their votes; and therefore, in true construction, no prejudice can come by them to that honourable House. And I pray God their casting out be not more prejudicial both to State and Church than I am willing to forespeak. After this his Lordship tells us what he hath done in this great argument, saying,—

> *I have now showed your Lordships how hurtful to themselves and others these things, which the Bill would take away, have been. I will only answer some objections which I have met withal, and then crave your pardon for troubling you so long.* [p. 6.]

53 His Lordship tells us he hath showed 'how hurtful these things are both to the Bishops and others,' which this Bill would hew down; and out of his zeal and love to the Church he hath gone further than any man in this argument; yet I conceive he hath not showed what he thinks he hath. 'Tis true, he hath strongly laboured it; but I hope it will appear he hath not mastered it. I shall now see how he answers such objections, as his Lordship says he hath met with. And the first objection is, his Lordship says,—

1. *That they have been very ancient.*
2. *That they are established by law.*
3. *That it may be an infringement of the House of Peers, for the House of Commons to send up a Bill to take away some of their Members. To these three the answer will be easy.* [p. 6.]

I know not how easy the answer will be; but these must needs be hard times for Bishops, if neither antiquity can fence them against novelty, nor law defend them against violence, nor fear of weakening the House of Peers preserve them against the eagerness of the House of Commons; and that in the very House of Peers itself. Let us see then and consider how easy the answer will be to these, and how sufficient also.

> *To the first. Antiquity is no good plea; for that which is by experience found hurtful, the longer it hath done hurt, the more cause there is now to remove it, that it may do*

no more. Besides, other irregularities are as ancient, which have been thought fit to be redressed; and this is not so ancient, but that it may truly be said, Non fuit sic ab initio. [p. 6.]

This answer may be easy enough; but sure 'tis not sufficient. Nor do I wonder that antiquity is no good plea in this Lord's account; for he is such an enemy to it, that he will have his very religion new. If anything be ancient, it smells of Antichrist. Yea, but if it be found hurtful, 'the longer it hath done hurt, the more cause to remove it.' That's true; if it be hurtful in and of itself; so is not this. If it does hurt constantly or frequently; else you must cast out the lay Lords' votes too, and his Lordship's with the rest. For out of all doubt their votes do hurt sometimes, and it may be more often and more dangerously than the Bishops' votes. And when this Lord shall be pleased to tell us what those 'other irregularities' are, which 'are as ancient' and yet 'redressed,' I will consider of them, and then either grant or deny. In the meantime, I think it hath been proved that it is no irregularity for a Bishop, that is called to it by supreme authority, to give counsel, or otherwise to meddle in civil affairs, so as it take him not quite off from his calling. And for his Lordship's close, that 'this is not so ancient, but that it may be truly said, *Non fuit sic ab initio;*' his Lordship is much deceived. For that speech of our Saviour's, St. Matthew xix. 8, is spoken of marriage, which was instituted in Paradise, and therefore *ab initio*, 'from the beginning,' must there be taken 'from the creation,' or from the institution of marriage soon after it. But I hope his Lordship 54
means it not so here, to put it off that Bishops had not votes in the Parliaments of England from the creation. For then no question but it may be truly said, *Non fuit sic ab initio.* But if his Lordship, or any other, will apply this speech to anything else, which hath not its beginning so high, he must then refer his words and meaning to that time, in which that thing he speaks of took its beginning; as is this particular to the beginning of Parliaments in this kingdom. And then, under favour of this Lord, the voting of Bishops in Parliament is so ancient that it cannot be truly said, *Non*

fuit sic ab initio. For so far as this kingdom hath any records to show, clergymen, both Bishops and Abbots, had free and full votes in Parliament; so full, as that in the first Parliament of which we have any certain records, which was in the forty and ninth year of Henry the Third, there was summoned by the King to vote in Parliament, one hundred and twenty Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, and but twenty-three Lay-Lords. Now there were but twenty-six Bishops in all, and the Lords being multiplied (to the unspeakable prejudice of the Crown) into above one hundred, besides many of their young sons, called by writ in their fathers' lifetime, have either found or made a troubled time, to cast the Bishops and their votes out of the House.

2. *To the objection for being established by law,* his Lordship says, *The law-makers have the same power and the same charge to alter old laws inconvenient, as to make new that are necessary.* [p. 6.]

The law-makers have indeed the same power in them, and the same charge upon them, that their predecessors in former times had; and there's no question but old laws may be abrogated and new ones made. But this Lord, who seems to be well versed in the rules and laws of Government, (which the poor Bishops understand not,) cannot but know that it's a dangerous thing to be often changing of the laws; especially such as have been ancient, and where the 'old' is not 'inconvenient,' nor the 'new necessary;' which is the true state of this business, whatever this Lord thinks.

3. *And for the third objection, the privileges of the House,* this Lord says, *it can be no breach of them. For either estate may propose to the other by way of Bill, what they conceive to be for public good, and they have power respectively of accepting or refusing.* [p. 7.]

This is an easy answer indeed, and very true. 'For either estate in Parliament may propose to the other by way of Bill, and they have power respectively of accepting or refusing;' and there is no breach of privilege in all this. But this easy answer comes not home. For how my Lord understands this objection, I know not; it seems as if it did reach

only to the external breach of some privilege, but I conceive they which made the objection meant much more. As namely, that by this Bill there was an aim in the Commons to weaken the Lords' House, and by making their votes fewer, to be the better able to work them to their own ends in future businesses. So the argument is of equal, if not 55
greater strength against the Lords yielding to the Bill to the infringement of their own strength, than to the Commons proposing it, and there is no doubt but that the Commons might propose their Bill without breach of privilege; but whether the Lords might grant it without impairing their own strength, I leave the future times, which shall see the success of this Act of Parliament, to judge of the wisdom of it, which I shall not presume to do. I thought his Lordship had now done, but he tells us,

> 4. *There are two other objections, which may seem to have more force; but they will receive satisfactory answers. The one is, that if they may remove Bishops, they may as well next time remove Barons and Earls.* [p. 7.]

This Lord confesses the two arguments following are of more force, but he says 'they will receive satisfactory answers.' And it may be so. But what answers soever they may receive, yet I doubt whether those which that Lord gives be such. For to this of taking away of Barons and Earls next, his Lordship answers two things. First he says,

> *The reason is not the same; the one sitting by an honour invested in their blood and hereditary, which though it be in the King alone to grant, yet being once granted he cannot take away; the other sitting by a barony depending upon an office, which may be taken away; for if they be deprived of their office, they sit not.* [p. 7.]

To this there have been enough said before, yet that it may fully appear this reason is not satisfactory, this Lord should do well to know, or rather to remember, for I think he knows it already, that though these great Lords have and hold their places in Parliament by blood and inheritance, and the Bishops by baronies depending upon their office; yet the King, which gives alone, can no more justly or lawfully

alien aways[s] their office without their demerit, and that in a legal way, than he can take away noblemen's honours. And therefore, for aught is yet said, their cases are not so much alike as his Lordship would have them seem. In this indeed they differ somewhat, that Bishops may be deprived upon more crimes, than those are for which Earls and Barons may lose their honours; but neither of them can be justly done by the King's will and pleasure only. But, secondly, for further answer, this Lord tells us,

> *The Bishops sitting there is not so essential. For laws have been, and may be made, they being all excluded; but it can never be showed that ever there were laws made by the King and them, the Lords and Earls excluded.* [p. 7.]

This reason is as little 'satisfactory' to me as the former. For certainly, according to law and prescription of hundreds of years, the Bishops sitting in that House is as 'essential' as the Lords. And this about the laws made without them, is built only upon some difficult emergent cases, from which they desired to be exempt and free themselves: not from
56 any constraint of the State; nor from any opinion of the King, Peers, or people, that it was fit to make laws without them. But to this we have given an answer before.

But this objection of taking away the Earls and Barons next, strikes (as I conceive) another way at the Lords' House, than either of those answers or reasons seem to meet with. And perhaps this Lord himself is willing to pass it by, if he does see it; and 'tis thus. The House of Commons sees and knows well enough, that should they bring up a Bill open, and with a bare edge to take away the votes from the Lords, it could not possibly be endured by either King or Peers. Therefore the Bill which may come to take them away next, and which may be meant in this objection, may be a Bill to make one House of both, and set them all together, under the pretence of greater unity, and more free and quick despatch of all business; all messages and conferences, and breach of correspondences, and differences, happening between the two Houses, while they are two, being by this means taken away. And this I am sure hath been

[s] [In the former edition it was printed 'alone away.']

much spoken of since this Parliament began, and may with far more ease be next compassed now the Bishops are thrust out; both because there are fewer in the Lords' House to help to cast out such a Bill, and because the Commons' House, which would willingly receive the Lords in among them, would never admit the Bishops into their House. So that both ways this is made far more easy to pass. And, should this happen, I would fain know of this Lord, wherein this objection would fail, that they might the next time remove the Barons and the Earls. Not remove them from making laws, (as his Lordship speaks of it,) but remove them into the House of Commons, where their votes shall be swallowed up among the many, and might be quite overmastered, though they should not all agree and vote one way. For then the meanest Commoner in that House would have his vote as great as the greatest Earl's. Whereas now in their own House being distinct, though all the House of Commons agree upon a Bill, or anything else; the Lords may, if they see reason, alter or reject it. So that if hereafter they be reduced to one House, I make no question but their votes are gone next after the Bishops'. And if his Lordship shall think this an impossible supposition; let him know, it is not half so impossible, as that which he made before, of the heavenly bodies breaking out of their own spheres. But we are now come to the last objection, the other of the two which his Lordship says are stronger. And,

5. *The other objection is this, That this Bill alters the foundation of this House; and innovations, which shake foundations, are dangerous.* [p. 7.]

And truly this objection seems to me very strong; but perhaps that is by reason of my weakness; for my Lord tells us before, that it is capable of a 'satisfactory answer;' and here his Lordship gives two for failing.

I answer, first, That if there should be an error in the foundation, when it shall be found, and the master-builders be met together, they may, nay they ought 57
rather to amend it, than to suffer it to run on still to the prejudice and danger of the whole structure. [p. 7.]

This answer, whatever this Lord thinks of it, is not 'satisfactory;' and the thing will be full of danger, whensoever it shall be put to trial. For foundations are seldom meddled withal but with great hazard, and a fundamental error in a kingdom is borne with more safety to the whole, than it can be taken away. And this happens partly because among the many subjects of a kingdom there are different judgments, and as different affections; whence it follows, that all men are not of opinion, that that which is called 'an error in the foundation,' is so indeed: nor do the affections of all men dislike it, nay perhaps the greater, perhaps the better part will approve it. In this case, if the 'master-builders' fall to mending of this somewhat boisterously, may they not rend all in pieces, to fall about their own ears and other men's? And partly, because the 'master-builders' which are to meet to repair the decays of the State, though in all ages they have the same authority to make laws, yet they have not in all ages the same skill and wisdom, for the making or the mending of them. Whence it follows, that even the 'master-builders' themselves may mistake, and call that the error, which is indeed a great part of the strength of the foundation: and so by tampering to mend that which is better already, endanger the shaking, if not the fall, of the whole structure, which they would labour to preserve. And I pray God posterity do not find it, that even the 'master-builders' which are now met, be not so deceived, and with as ill success, in casting the Bishops' votes out of the House, under the name of 'an error in the foundation.' But if this answer satisfy not, his Lordship may hope his next will. For,

Secondly, he says, *This is not fundamental to this House. For it hath stood without them, and done all that appertains to the power thereof without them, yea, they being wholly excluded: and that which hath been done for a time at the King's pleasure, may be done with as little danger for a longer time; and when it appears to be fit, and for public good, not only may, but ought to be done altogether by the supreme power.* [p. 7.]

It seems this Lord distrusts his former answer about mending 'fundamental errors' in a State, and therefore here he

denies that Bishops and their votes are 'fundamental' to the Lords' House. But I doubt his Lordship is mistaken in this. For that is 'fundamental' in any court, which in that court is first laid and settled, upon which all the future structure is raised. Now in the Lords' House of Parliament, the Bishops' votes were laid at the very first, as well as the votes of the Lords temporal. Nay, with a precedency both in place and number; and all the ordinances and powers of that great court have equally proceeded from the votes of the Bishops and the Lords; and therefore, for aught which yet appears to me, either the Lords' votes are not 'fundamental' to that House, or the Bishops' are.

But his Lordship proves they are not 'fundamental' to 58
that House, because that House hath stood without them. But weakly enough, God knows, like a house whose foundations are shaken upon one side; and because 'that House hath done all that appertains to the power of it without them.' It may be so. But I doubt whether it did all that appertains to the wisdom of it without them. For this relates[h] again to that Parliament under Edward the First, from which, his Lordship says, Bishops were excluded; and we know that Parliament is called *indoctum Parliamentum*, the unlearned Parliament: for all the lawyers were excluded from that Parliament as well as the clergymen. And therefore were this Lord indifferent, he might argue that lawyers' votes are not fundamental in the Commons' House,—which is true, though no way convenient,—rather than that Bishops' votes are 'not fundamental' in the Lords' House, which is utterly against all truth and convenience. But his Lordship's tooth is so sharp, and so black against that order, that he snaps at them upon all, and upon no occasion, and would envenom them had he power.

To make this seem the better, his Lordship ends this speech with a piece of philosophy, which I cannot approve neither. For he says, 'that which hath been done for a time at the King's pleasure, may be done with as little danger for a longer time.' For first, this proposition is unsound in itself: for many cases may happen, in which divers things may be done for a Prince's pleasure once, or for a time, and with no

[h] [In the former edition it was printed 'relation.']

great danger, which continued or often repeated, will be full of danger, and perhaps not endured by the subject. Secondly, I am confident, let the tables be but turned from a bishop to a layman, and this Lord shall eat his own proposition. For instance; in another Parliament, and in a time generally received to be as good as that of Edward the First, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and within my own memory, Mr. Peter Wentworth moved in the House of Commons to have an heir apparent declared for the better and securer peace of the kingdom in after times. The Queen, for her mere will and pleasure (for that which he did was no offence against law), took him either out of the House, or so soon as he came out of the House, clapped him up in the Tower, where he lay till his death. What will this Lord say to this? Will he say this was done once at the Prince's pleasure? Why then I return his proposition upon him, and tell him, that that which was done once at one Prince's pleasure, may be done oftener at other Prince's pleasure with as little danger. Or will this Lord say this was not done at the Queen's pleasure, but she might justly and legally do so? Then other princes of this realm having the same power residing in them, may do by other Parliament men as she did with this gentleman. And which soever of the two he shall say, King Charles had as good right, and with as little breach of Parliament privilege, to demand the six men which by his Attorney he had accused of treason, as that great Queen had to lay hold on Mr. Wentworth.

Since I had written this, the 'Observer' steps in and tells us, 'that a mere example (though of Queen Elizabeth) is no law; for some of her actions were retracted: and that yet without question Queen Elizabeth might do that which a Prince
59 less beloved could never have done[1].' 'Tis true, that 'a mere example is not a law,' and yet the Parliaments of England, even in that happy Queen's time, were not apt to bear examples against law; and if that she did were not against law, that's as much as I ask. For then neither is that against law which King Charles did upon a far higher accusation, than could be charged against Mr. Wentworth. 'Tis true

[1] Observations upon some of his Majesty's late Answers, [by Henry Parker,] p. 7. [Edit. 2.]

again, 'that Queen Elizabeth might do that which a prince less beloved could not have done;' that is, she might do that with safety, 'which a prince less beloved could not do,' that is, not do with safety. But whatsoever is lawful for one prince to do, is as lawful for another; though perhaps not so expedient, in regard of what will be well or ill taken by the people. But otherwise the people's affection to the prince can be no rule nor measure of the prince's justice to the people.

I will be bold to give him another instance. King Charles demanded ship-money all over the kingdom. Either he did this justly and legally for the defence of himself and the public; or he did it at his 'will and pleasure,' thinking that an honourable and fit way of defence. I am sure this Lord will not say he did it legally, for his vote concurred to the condemning of it in Parliament: and if he say he did it at his own 'will and pleasure,' then I would fain know of his Lordship, whether this which was done for a time at the King's pleasure, 'may be done with as little danger' to the liberty of the subject and the property of his goods, 'for a longer time,' and so be continued on the subject? And if he says it may, why did he vote against it as a thing dangerous? And if he says it may not, then he must condemn his own proposition. For he cannot but see, that that which is once done, or done for a short time, at a prince's 'will and pleasure,' cannot be often repeated or continued, but with far greater danger than it was once done. Though for the thing itself, if it were not legal, I am sorry it is not made so. For it would be, under God, the greatest honour and security that this nation ever had: whereas now the tugging which falls out between the King's power and the people's liberty, will in time (unless God's infinite mercy prevents it) do that in this kingdom, which I abhor to think on.

This Lord goes on yet and tells us, that 'that which hath been so done for a time, when it appears to be fit and for public good, not only may, but ought to be done altogether by the supreme power.' So then here this is his Lordship's doctrine, that that which was once done at a prince's will and pleasure, when it shall appear 'to be fit, and for the public good,' (as he supposeth here the taking away of

Bishops' votes to be,) it 'not only may, but ought to be done altogether by the supreme power,' as now that is done by Act of Parliament. 'Not only may, but ought'! Soft a little; his Lordship had the same phrase immediately before. Why but, first, every thing that is fit, ought not by and by to be made up into a law: for fitness may vary very often, which laws should not. Secondly, everything that is for the 'public good,' is not by and by to be made up into a law. For many things in times of difficulty and exigency may be 'for public good,' which in some other times may be hurtful, and therefore not to be generally bound within a law. And if his Lordship shall say, as here he doth, that they
60 'ought to be done altogether,' and be made up into a law 'by the supreme power,' but fitted only to such times; under his Lordship's favour, that ought not to be neither. For let such a law be made, and he that is once master of the times, will have the law ready to serve his turn and theirs, whether the times bear the like necessity or not.

And since everything that is 'fit, and is for public good,' ought not by and by, without more experience of it, to be made up into a law; then much less that which 'appears' so; yea, though it appear never so evidently; yea, and to the wisest Parliament that ever sat. 'Tis true, they 'may' make such a thing into a law, and 'tis fit for the most part so to do; but to say they 'ought' to do it, is more than I can believe. For no Parliament is or can be so wise as to be infallible, and no evidence can be so apparent unto them in those things of infinite variety for the public good, and in which is so much uncertainty, but that they may both piously and prudently forbear the making of some of them into a law if they please. But no man may forbear that which he 'ought' to do, when he ought to do it. And till that time comes, he ought not. This Lord hath now done, and so have I: and I shall end with my prayers to God, that this Act of Parliament now made to cast the Bishops and their votes out of the Parliament, how 'fit' soever it seems, and how much soever it 'appears' to this Lord 'to be for the public good,' do not turn to the decay of religion, and the great damage and detriment of King and Peers, of Church and State. *Amen.*

NOTES OF A SPEECH

AGAINST

PRYNNE AND SPARKES,

FEB. 15, 1633,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF HISTRIOMASTIX[a].

[Tanner MSS. No. ccxcix. p. 343, al. 133.]

BEFORE I came to this place, which indeed I never thought to have come unto, then I used injunctions concerning the licensing of books. Few have passed my way, but what did, my chaplains have set their hands to them, with their approbation and enumeration of the pages of the licensed copy. For Mr. Buckner, I have a great mind to spare him, but I cannot. Less I cannot censure him than 200*l.* and imprisonment[b]. I know him to be a modest and conformable man, but I find many things amiss in the passage of licensing this book. For Sparkes, he hath a wife and seven children; he hath been a refractory fellow, but since he hath been punished with authority is become more conformable. For his fault, I agree with my Lord Cottington[c]. For Mr. Prynne, I am heartily sorry for him; for indeed I hold him guilty of high treason by a statute of Edward the Third. I cannot tell whether it be yet repealed. As for the book, my Lord Richardson left out the latter part of the verse, *cui lumen ademptum*. I wonder at it, for I see no light of grace in it at all; no one page in the book but hath such scurrility, such scandal, that we may very well say, *Cui lumen ademptum*. It is a scandalous book against the State in an infamous manner. My Lord of Dorset hath sufficiently defended the

[a] [These Notes are unfortunately here inserted out of their proper order according to date. But their existence was not known to the Editor when the earlier part of this volume was printed.]

[b] [Thomas Buckner, the licenser, who had been Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, was sentenced to be severely admonished, to temporary imprisonment, and a fine of 50*l.*]

[c] [Sparkes, the printer, was fined 500*l.*, and sentenced to stand in the pillory.]

Queen[d]; yet I will add one thing: If all the malice of the world were infused into one eye, yet it could not see anything whereby to disparage her. But his intentions (you say) were good. I am sure that *ex abundantiâ cordis os loquitur*[e]. You say that he hath not vented himself positively, but relatively; and so where he maketh mention of these present times, I am sure that he compareth Antichristian London with Pagan Rome. So for plays, he saith that they are in the best acceptation altogether abominable; that those that see them are devils incarnate. Mr. Hern[f] said, that all this was but an omission of his duty: I say, that it was a most wilful commission of no less than treason. Another said, that he was like the astronomer, who looked up to heaven. Nay, he rather looked down to hell, and from thence fetched such bloody doctrine. Now, Rome may cease all those bloody plots. We have those amongst us will hold up their doctrine against kings and princes. Buchanan, in his Chronicle, reports of the King's grandmother, that she was mildly censured *ab iratis civibus*: the citizens were her censurers: she was a lady thrust into all sorts of extremities. What though princes were tyrants? Must therefore the subjects be discharged of their allegiance? The Church hath other manner of arms, (as my Lord Richardson observed,) *preces et lacrymæ*[g]. Yet all this is done in a sanctified revelation. Nay, they go further; not only to censure and kill kings and princes, but to allow rewards for them that shall do it. For this kind of doctrine, we have had maintainers of it as well in England as in Scotland; witness Perry and Coppinger. In the reign of Edward the 6th, there was one Poynet, Bishop of Rochester, afterwards unworthily translated to Winchester. He put out a book to that effect, called 'Political Instruction[h];' and

[d] [The Earl of Dorset's speech, and the other speeches here referred to, are to be found in Rushworth, vol. ii. pp. 231—241.]

[e] [Matth. xii. 34.]

[f] [One of Prynne's counsel. He afterwards defended Archbishop Laud at his trial.]

[g] [Vide S. Ambr. Serm. contr. Auxent. § 2; ad fin. Epist. xxi. Op., tom. ii. col. 864. B.; et Grat. Decret. Par. ii. Caus. xxiii. Quæst. viii. cap. iii. 'Non pila.']

[h] [The title of the book is, 'A Treatise of Political Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjects owe to Kings and other Civil Governors, &c.' It first appeared in 1556, after Poynet's death, and was reprinted in 1642. See Strype, Memorials, vol. iii. par. i. p. 535.]

this book was divers times daring for the press; but I still suppressed them. If that book were paralleled for mischief, I will forfeit my credit. You say, that Nero was killed, and that justly, for seeing a play; but it had been more probable that he was killed for killing his mother; and, as I take it, he was killed the selfsame day that he killed her. I speak not this to maintain plays: look into my life—I was never play-hunter; yet I have not forborne them for any hurt in themselves, but for fear of injury to one that should be weaker. I have observed at Court, some Puritans to be at a play because they would not be thought Puritans; and for better testimony that they have been there, have stood under the candlestick, and been dropped on by the candles, and so have carried away a remembrance of the place. If your Lordships, after pains taken in the managing of State affairs, grow weary, what is more fit than to take your recreations? But Mr. Prynne will not allow you to see a play—they are, in his opinion, *mala per se*. But I say, take away the scurf and rubbish which they are incident unto, they are things indifferent. In those primitive times of the first 300 years after Christ, they were full of idolatry; but when that was taken off which was *contra fidem*, then they fell into another strain almost as bad, that was *contra bonos mores*, and therein they were abusive; and if there be such things in them now, it is a scandal and not to be tolerated. I leave that care to my Lord Chamberlain, or to the Master of the Revels, whom it concerns to look into it; but I will look that there shall be no abuse of Scriptures in them. I had the King's players lately before me for the like abuse. But what of all this? Mr. Prynne saith, that they are altogether unlawful. He will be thought to be a *Doctor gentium;* he will take upon him to decide all controversies. There is not one true syllogism in all his book: either the proposition is false, or else, if he chance to make a true conclusion, then it is false by accident. For example, p. 9: 'That which hath birth from the devil is sin; but stage plays have their birth from the devil; therefore stage plays are sinful.' It is true, Mr. Prynne, that the Fathers discommended plays as sinful, —and good reason too: they did then make the tragedy real, ending in one another's lives, committed rapes and the

like, which was odious. Besides, Mr. Prynne, is the devil all evil? Then he was so in the creation. Take heed of that opinion,—that is perfect Manicheism. Well, but you will have all plays cried down for the abuse that is in them. The Pagans used them. Thus I will not only prove meat and drink to be unlawful, but Christian religion. That which is abused by any is unlawful; but the Christian religion hath been abused by forty heathen writers; therefore, Christian religion is unlawful. Thus, by your arguments *in totâ latitudine et genere*, this was never the opinion of any philosophy, but quite contradictory. But these things should have come within the censure of the Church. Your Lordships have laid so much upon him, that there is small hope to have him brought thither. I might add, in this place, the sentence of excommunication against him; but seeing he is to be immured, the Church will have so much charity as to afford him her prayers; more than he hath deserved at her hands. But why is Mr. Prynne thus angry at plays? Clemens Alexandrinus[i] quotes one Ezechielus, a Jew, to have written a play in the first 100 years after Christ, called the 'Tragedy of Moyses,' and (saith he) the Fathers commended him for it. So likewise, 300 years after Christ, Gregory Nazianzene, one who was never equalled for learning in the Greek Church, made a tragedy called 'Christus Patiens.' But these, you'll say, are ancient. I will come to the times of the Reformation: Nich. Causinus wrote a play, and all the nobles of Germany came to see it. Yes, but this was on the Jesuitical side. John Foxe, I think it was he which wrote 'Acts and Monuments of the Church,' set out a play called 'Christus Triumphans.' Buchanan, a better poet than a subject, wrote a play called 'Baptistes et Jephtha[k].' If plays had been *mala per se*, then Beza (one whom you will allow of) would not have written a play in French, his own language, called 'Abrahamus Sacrificans.' But you will say, It was done amongst his *juvenilia*. I would they had been burnt before the world had seen them[l].

[i] [S. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i.]

[k] [These were the titles of two of Buchanan's plays.]

[l] [Prynne, as is well known, was condemned to pay a fine of 5,000*l.*, to be expelled from Lincoln's Inn and the University of Oxford, to be twice placed in the pillory, to lose both his ears, to have his book burnt, and to be a prisoner for life.]

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

TO SIR WILLIAM HERRICK [a].

[Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. 163.]

To the Right Worshipful my very loving Friend, Sir William Herricke, Knight.

SIR,—I understand by Mr. Wrenn [b], that you have been very kind to the College, in moving Mr. Henshaw [c] to battlement all the inside of the house. I pray, let me be so much beholding to you to send me certain word how it stands, and (if it may be) this week. If I hear from you, you shall receive my answer, and a letter in it to Mr. Henshaw, to whom I think not fit to write till I hear the certainty. The gentleman, at your being at Oxford, spake unto me to send him word about Michaelmas an estimate of the charges, which I promised to do so soon as one side was done; but that is not yet finished, and myself have been out of town this three weeks; but I will send him a note so soon as I can. In the meantime, if you have prevailed with him to undertake the whole square within (as I am informed you have), we are bound to you both, and, for my own part,

[a] [Sir W. Herrick was sent by Queen Elizabeth as ambassador to the Porte, and on his return held an office in the Exchequer; was knighted by James I. April 1, 1605, and afterwards appointed Teller of the Exchequer. He married Joan, daughter of Richard and Mary May, of Mayfield-place, in Sussex. Mrs. May was the foundress of the Divinity Lectureship in St. John's College, Oxford, which was held by Laud, as he mentions in his Diary. Nichols's Leicestersh. vol. iii. pp. 150, 151, 163.]

[b] [Christopher Wren, younger brother of Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. He succeeded him in the Deanery of Windsor, and was the father of the celebrated Sir Christopher.]

[c] [Several persons of this name were members of the Merchant Tailors' Company, and thus interested in St. John's College.]

I shall rest very thankful to you for it, and will be ready to deserve it in my love for yours. I pray commend me to your good Lady; and let me receive your answer. So I leave you to the grace of God; and shall ever rest your very loving friend,

WILLIAM LAUD.

St. John's, Oct. 21, 1616.

LETTER II.

TO MILES SMITH, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 77.]

MY LORD,—My love and service remembered unto your Lordship: when I came to do my duty to his Majesty at Christmas, it seemed by the speech he uttered to me, that somebody had done the poor Church of Gloucester no very good office. For his Majesty was graciously pleased to tell me, he was informed, that there was scarce ever a Church in England so ill governed, and so much out of order; and withal required me in general, to reform and set in order what I there found amiss. Hereupon, at my being at Gloucester, I acquainted the Chapter with that which his Majesty had said to me, and required at my hands; and took as good order (as in so short a space I could), both for repair of some parts of the edifice of the Church, and for redress of other things amiss. Among the rest, not rashly and of myself, but by a Chapter Act [d], I removed the Communion-table from the middle of the quire to the upper end, the place appointed to it, both by the Injunctions of this Church [e], and by the practice of all the King's Majesty's Chapels, and all other Cathedral Churches in the kingdom which I have seen. This act, since my coming thence, (as I am by letters informed [f],) is very much traduced by some in the city, and a libel against it laid in the pulpit of St. Michael's [g], where Master Sub-Dean [h] preaches, to the great

[d] [See vol. iv. pp. 233, 234.]

[e] [Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, ad fin. Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 188.]

[f] [By Henry Aisgill and Elias Wrench, two of the Prebendaries, and probably by the Sub-Dean, and Robinson, the Chapter-Clerk. See Aisgill and Wrench's Letter, Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 76.]

[g] [This libel was a letter written by John White, the Bishop's Chaplain, to the Chancellor at Gloucester. See Prynne, ibid. pp. 75, 76.]

[h] [Thomas Prior.]

scandal of the Church and the laws established. Good my Lord, let me desire this favour at your Lordship's hands, that these things may be ordered, and that your Lordship will join to reform such tongues and pens, as know not how to submit to any law but their own. I must upon this of force have his gracious Majesty acquainted both with the thing itself, and the entertainment which it hath found among turbulent spirits. And I presume his Majesty will be well pleased to hear, that your Lordship, as in other things, so in this, is careful to preserve order, and peace after it, in the Church. Thus not doubting but your Lordship will be careful to rectify what is amiss, I for this time (being full of my business for Scotland[1]) humbly take my leave, and shall ever rest

Your Lordship's in all love and service,

WILLIAM LAUD.

Saint John's, Feb. 27, 1616.

LETTER III.

TO RICHARD NEILE, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 77, 78.]

My humble duty and service remembered unto your Lordship, &c. When I was at London at Christmas to do my duty unto his Majesty, he was pleased very graciously to tell me, that the Church of Gloucester (as his Majesty had been informed) was more, or as much out of order as any Church in England, and to require me to order such things as I there found amiss. Upon this admonition of his gracious Majesty to me, when I came to Gloucester, I passed with the consent of the Chapter two Acts; one for the repair of the edifice of the Church, which is extremely decayed in the fairest places; the other for the remove of the Communion-table, which stood almost in the midst of the quire. And I, with the general consent of all the Prebends present, after the Act made, removed it, and placed it, as it stands in his Majesty's Chapels, and all well-ordered Cathedral Churches,

[1] [Laud set out for Scotland with King James, March 14, 1616. See Diary.]

and thus much I signified to your Lordship from Gloucester. Since which time there hath been a letter, or libel, found in a pulpit of one of the churches in the city, against both me and that act, in which the author (as yet not known) wonders that the Prebends would not resist me, and complains that there was in none of them the spirit of Elias, &c. To prevent further stir in the city, some think it very fit, that the High Commission would take some speedy order about it, to send a Commission down or otherwise, as they in their wisdom think fit. The circumstances, because they are many, I will omit, and instead of them I have herein sent your Lordship a copy of the libelling letter as it was sent to me, and a copy of a letter sent to me subscribed by two of the Prebends, and a copy of so much of a letter as concerns this business sent by Master Pryor, now Sub-Dean, that so your Lordship may see the whole sum of the business. Upon the receipt of these letters I writ unto my Lord of Gloucester; but what course for redress of these things his Lordship will take, I know not. I beseech your Lordship let me have your lawful assistance, that so long as I do nothing, but that which is established and practised in our Church, I may not be brought into contempt at my first entrance upon that place by any turbulent spirits, and so disenabled to do that good service which I owe to the Church of God. And if it stand with your Lordship's liking, I will humbly desire that his gracious Majesty might know, what successes I have in beginning to reform what I have found amiss in that place. In the close of our Sub-Dean's letter, your Lordship shall see a strange monster, lately born in that city of Gloucester. I pray God the Puritans, which swarm in those parts, do not say it was one of God's judgments, for turning the Communion-table into an Altar. I would have waited upon your Lordship for all my business, and have brought these papers myself, but that I am unable at this time by sickness to come out of my chamber. Therefore I take my leave, and shall ever rest,

Your Lordship's in all love and duty,

WILLIAM LAUD.

St. John's College, upon March 3, 1616.

LETTER IV.

TO SIR ROBERT COTTON.

[Ellis's Orig. Letters, Series 2, vol. iii. Letter 263 [k].]

SIR,—After long deliberation, I am bold to impart a business unto you which troubles me. It is not long since I was President of St. John's College, in Oxon; and during the time I was in that place, Sir William Paddye (a worthy benefactor to that poor College[l]) importuned the lending of an ancient volume of Beda to you, which the Statutes of that house could not well bear; but that it was thought at that time unfit to distaste a man that had done so much good for the College, and intended much more. The cause which he alleged was, that you had use of it for some things that concerned your house and inheritance.

Upon my coming away from that headship, there began (as there uses in such societies) a faction about the choice of a new governor. The heat that was then struck is not yet quenched in the losing party; and out of an opinion that I had some hand in the business for him that obtained [m], they have been so angry with me, that they have not only been content to forget all the service I did that College, (which I can without vanity say was some,) but have picked all the occasions they could to detract from me.

That which they have most colour for against me, is the lending of this part of Beda out of the library; and though at that time when it was done, their consents were more forward than other honester men's, yet now they are over bold with my reputation, and charge all the guilt of the action upon me, and more too.

Sir, if it please you to think me worth the having, you have now an opportunity to bind me to you; and if it please you to let me have this book to send back to the College, and to take off that which troubles my own mind, and gives some unadvised men too much occasion to be bold with me, you shall in lieu of it have my continual service; and if any-

[k] [From MSS. Cotton. Julius C. III. fol. 152.]

[l] [See vol. iii. p. 136, note *.]

[m] [William Juxon, afterwards Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury.]

thing of worth in like kind come to my hands, in any place, where God shall send me to live, I will freely give it in recompence. This hath been the occasion which hath kept me from begging your acquaintance; and because I find that I suffer at the College every day more than other for it, (though the President and some of the Seniors, out of their due respect to Sir William Paddy, forbear,) I am very desirous to do two things at once; namely, to quit that business, and to make myself both known and a debtor to you, both at once. I will hope you will refuse me in neither. And so for this time I leave you to the grace of God, and shall be ready to show myself both to you and to your worth,

Your very loving Friend,

GUIL. MENEVEN.

Durham House, November 22, 1623.

LETTER V.

TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Cabala, p. 115. Lond. 1663[n].]

MY MOST GRACIOUS LORD,—I may not be absent, and not write. And since your Grace is pleased with the trouble, I must profess myself much content with the performance of the duty. I am not unmindful of the last business your Grace committed to me[o]; but I have as yet done the less in it, because I fell into a relapse of my infirmity; but, I thank God, I am once more free, if I can look better to myself, as I hope I shall.

My Lord, I must become an humble suitor to your Grace. I hear, by good hand, that my Lord of Canterbury intends shortly to renew the High Commission. Now I am to acquaint your Grace, that there is never a Bishop that lives about London left out of the Commission but myself, and many that live quite absent are in, and many inferiors to Bishops. The Commission is a place of great experience, for

[n] [From MSS. Harl. No. 7000. fol. 99.]

[o] [This appears to refer either to Mr. Crumpton's papers, or to the tract about Doctrinal Puritanism. See Diary, Dec. 21 and 23, 1624.]

any man that is a governor in the Church; and since, by his Majesty's gracious goodness, and your Grace's sole procurement, I am made a governor, I would be loth to be excluded from that which might give me experience, and so enable me to perform my duty. I am sure my Lord of Canterbury will leave me out, as hitherto he hath done, if his Majesty be not pleased to command that I shall be in. This I submit to your Grace, but humbly desire, even against my own ease and quiet, that I may not be deprived of that experience which is so necessary for my place*. I most humbly beseech your Grace to pardon this boldness, and to know, that in my daily prayers for your Grace's happiness, I shall ever rest

Your Grace's most devoted and affectionate Servant,

Nov. 18, 1624. GUIL. MENEVENSIS.

* [The Bishop was placed on the High Commission Jan. 21, 1624. See Rymer, Fœd. VII. iv. 171—181.]

LETTER VI.

TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Cabala, pp. 110, 111 p.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—We are bold to be suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor member of it, Mr. Montague, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the cause which we are bound to be tender of.

The cause, we conceive, (under correction of better judgment,) concerns the Church of England nearly; for that Church, when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, refused the apparent and dangerous errors, and would not be too busy with every particular school-point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unity amongst Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars disputed in schools.

Now, may it please your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late work of Mr. Montague q,

p [From MSS. Harl. No. 7000, fol. 90.]

q [See note on Diary, July 7, 1625.]

are, some of them, such as are expressly the resolved doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain. Some of them, such as are fit only for schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable and distract not the Church; and, therefore, to make any man subscribe to school-opinions may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. And to affright them from those opinions in which they have (as they are bound) subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in itself, so it may be the mother of greater danger.

May it please your Grace further to consider, that when the clergy submitted themselves in the time of Henry the Eighth, the submission was so made, that if any difference, doctrinal or other, fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be judges of it in a National Synod or Convocation; the King first giving leave, under his Broad Seal, to handle the points in difference.

But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither, indeed, can she, though she would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most gracious Majesty (if you shall think fit), what dangerous consequences may follow upon it. For, first, if any other judge be allowed in matter of doctrine, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, and the continual course and practice of the Church.

2. Secondly, if the Church be once brought down beneath herself, we cannot but fear what may be next struck at.

3. Thirdly, it will some way touch the honour of his Majesty's dear father, and our most dread Sovereign of glorious and ever blessed memory, King James, who saw and approved all the opinions of this book; and he in his rare wisdom and judgment would never have allowed them, if they had crossed with truth and the Church of England.

4. Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of civil government in the Commonwealth, or of preaching and external ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions, as some which are opposite and contrary to these delivered by Mr. Montague, are and shall be publicly taught and maintained.

5. Fifthly, we are certain, that all or most of the contrary opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and ready to be published, but then Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, upon notice given how little they agreed with the practice of piety and obedience to all government, caused them to be suppressed; and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the Synod of Dort. Now, this was a Synod of that nation, and can be of no authority in any other national Church till it be received there by public authority; and our hope is that the Church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign Synod, especially of such a Church as condemneth her discipline and manner of government, to say no more.

And, further, we are bold to commend to your Grace's wisdom this one particular. His Majesty (as we have been informed) hath already taken this business into his own care, and most worthily referred it in a right course to Church-consideration. And we well hoped that, without further trouble to the State, or breach of unity in the Church, it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered, we have little to say for Mr. Montague's person; only thus much we know, he is a very good scholar, and a right honest man; a man every way able to do God, his Majesty, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive great discouragement, and, which is far worse, we have some cause to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in defence of the Church of England against either home or foreign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in fortunes, reputation, or health, upon his book-occasion.

And this we most humbly submit to your Grace's judgment, and care of the Church's peace and welfare. So, recommending your Grace to the protection of Almighty God,

We shall ever rest at your Grace's service,

JO. ROFFENS. [BUCKERIDGE.]
JO. OXON. [HOWSON.]
GUIL. MENEVEN. [LAUD.]

2 August, 1625.

LETTER VII.

TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Cabala, p. 116 [r].]

MY MOST GRACIOUS LORD,—I am heartily glad to hear your Lordship is so well returned [s], and so happily as to meet so great joy. God hath, among many others His great blessings, (and I know your Grace so esteems them,) sent you now this extraordinary one, a son to inherit his father's honours, and the rest of God's blessings upon both. So soon as I came to an end of my journey, I met the happy news of God's blessing upon your Grace [t], and it seasoned all the hard journey I have had out of Wales through the snow. When I had rested myself a little at my friend's house in the forest, (Mr. Windebank, a servant of your Grace's, whom I made bold to make known to your Honour,) I came to Windsor, in hope to have been so happy as to meet your Grace at the great solemnity; but when I came, I found that which I suspected, that your Grace's greater joy would carry you further. Which journey, and the cause, and the end of it, I heartily wish, and pray, may be full of joy and all-contentment to your Grace. I made bold to trouble your Grace with a letter, or two, out of Wales, which I hope Mr. Windebank took the best care he could to see delivered. I have no means to do your Grace any service, but by my prayers; and they do daily attend, and shall ever, while I breathe to utter them. I hope, though I have missed this opportunity, yet I shall be so happy as to see and wait upon your Grace at London. In the meantime, and ever, I leave your Grace, and all your home-blessings, to the protection of the Almighty, and ever shall be found,

Your Grace's most devoted and affectionate Servant,

GUIL. MENEVEN.

Windsor, Decemb. 13, 1625.

[r] [From MSS. Harl. No. 7000, fol. 102.]

[s] [He had been absent in the Low Countries.]

[t] [See Diary, Nov. 24, 1625.]

LETTER VIII.

TO DR. AUBREY, CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. DAVID'S.

[Prynne's Hidden Works of Darkness, pp. 78, 79.]

AFTER my hearty commendations, &c. It will appear from the several copies under written from his royal Majesty to the Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and from my Lord's Grace to me, what care his Majesty hath for the preservation of true religion, settled and established in this kingdom. The terms of these letters are as followeth:

[Then follow, in Prynne, the letters of the King, and Archbishop Abbot. The Bishop's letter proceeds:]

These are therefore to will and require you, and every one of you, through the several Archdeaconries within my Diocese, that there be all possible care taken of such as are any way backward in points of religion, and more especially of known and professed Recusants; that they may be carefully presented, and proceedings had against them to excommunication, according to form and order of law; and that there be a true list and catalogue after every Easter yearly sent unto me, that, according to the order of these letters, I may be able to have it ready, and deliver it up to my Lord of Canterbury; and for the better effecting of this, I must and do further require, that the Register do write out several copies of these letters, and issue them into the several Archdeaconries, that none may plead ignorance of their duty in this behalf, as you must look to answer it further, if fault be found to rest upon you. Thus, not doubting of your religious care and duty to the Church and State, I leave you all to the grace of God, and rest

Your loving Friend and Brother,

Westmin. Jan. 14, 1625. GUIL. MENEVENSIS.

To the Right Worshipful, my very loving Friends, Dr. Aubrey, Chancellor of the Diocese of St. David's, and all his Surrogates and Deputies within the several Archdeaconries, these be delivered.

LETTER IX.

TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[MSS. Harl. 7000. Art. 104.]

To my most gracious Lord the Duke of Buckingham, these.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Upon your last letters, directed to the Bishop of Winchester, signifying his Majesty's pleasure, that, taking to him the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's, or some of them, he and they should take into consideration the business concerning Mr. Montague's late book, and deliver their opinions touching the same, for the preservation of the truth, and the peace of the Church of England, together with the safety of Mr. Montague's person[u]; we have met and considered, and for our particulars do think that Mr. Montague, in his book, hath not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which in our opinions is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto. And for the preservation of the peace of the Church we in humility do conceive that his Majesty shall do most graciously to prohibit all parties, members of the Church of England, any further controverting of these questions by public preaching or writing, or any other way, for the disturbance of the peace of this Church for the time to come. And for anything that may further concern Mr. Montague's person in that business, we humbly commend him to his Majesty's gracious favour and pardon. And so we humbly recommend your Grace to the protection of the Almighty. Resting

Your Grace's faithful and humble Servants,

GEO. LONDON. [MONTAIGNE.]
R. DUNELM. [NEILE.]
LA. WINTON. D.C. [ANDREWES.]
J. ROFFENS. [BUCKERIDGE.]
GUIL. MENEVEN. [LAUD.]

From Winchester House,
January 16, 1625.

[u] [See Diary, Jan. 16, 1625.]

LETTER X.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Clarorum Virorum ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. lxxxii. p. 49; ad calc. Vossii Epist. Lond. 1690[x].]

DOCTISSIME VIR,—Præbuisti gratissimam ansam, et aliquam prehendere mihi jamdiu in votis fuit. Quæ impediebant duo fuere; negotia plura, quam quibus par esse possum, et stylus inæqualis, et barbariem sonans; quem tamen, ob male jacta in me literarum fundamenta, nunquam satis limare potui. Compedes hosce, non solum candor tuus, sed et gratitudo mea abruperunt. Accepi litteras tuas, utinam scires quam charas, cum iis solos amoris tui libros, æternum eruditionis tuæ, et ære perennius monumentum, de Historicis Latinis. De Græcis quos edidisti Commentarios, apud me quidem illi sunt, et quod non plane perlegerim, me invitissimum distinuit negotiorum moles. Sed quod in amorem tui me rapuit, Historia fuit Pelagiana[y], Historia, non magis sæculis, quam affectibus Theologorum pugnantium diversis perplexa, seriatim tamen per ipsas laceras Ecclesias deducta, et in ipsis funestissimis Ecclesiasticorum dissidiis, non sine ingenii simul et laboris miraculo ordinata. Ad munus tuum redeo; gratiasque ago multiplices, quod tam eruditum opus, tam utile, nostrum, i. Britannicum, adoptione feceris. Quod tam justis laudibus Academiam florentissimam Cantabrigiam apud aures æquissimas placuit celebrare. Quod me dignum voluisti simul, nomine, inscriptione, libro, literis tuis. Præcipue vero, quod Buckinghamiæ Illustrissimum Ducem, omni virtutem genere cultissimum, et mihi omnis officii nomine observandissimum, tantis, debitis tamen, laudibus, posteris consecrasti[z]. Ego jam Duci paro literas, a me (et forte primo) audiet quid calamo tuo debet. Unum rogo; noli me in lineis hisce turbatis nimium quærere, alibi habito, rerum non verborum servus. Et quum Erpenius tuus[z], et Wintoniensis meus[a] fatis cessere, ipsi meritis suis immor-

[x] [Hæc Epistola, magna vero sui parte mutila, exstat inter 'Præstantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolas,' p. 727. Amst. 1684.]

[y] [Historiæ de Controversiis, quas Pelagius, ejusque reliquiæ moverunt, libri septem.]

[z] [Thomas Erpenius Linguarum Orientalium apud Lcidenses Professor, qui fatis cesserat, Nov. 13, 1624.]

[a] [Lancelotus Andrewes Episc. Winton. qui mortem obierat Sept. 25, 1626.]

tales, socias jungamus manus, meas licet multo breviores invenias. Pater benedictionum sit cumulus tuus, et ego interim servus tibi in Christo, et, si placeat nomen, amicus,

GUIL. BATHON. ET WELLENSIS.

Ex Aula Regia
Hampton. Sept. 25, 1627.

LETTER XI.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Ibid. Epist. xc. p. 57.]

Guilielmus Bathonensis et Wellensis G. J. Vossio.

Aliam datam mihi occasionem ad te scribendi, Vir doctissime, libenter accipio. Et certe gaudeo (etiamsi undique mole negotiorum gravatus) hanc opportunitatem mihi se obtulisse. Non diu est, ex quo literas tuas gratissimas accepi, una cum Historicis Latinis a te nova vita donatis[b]. Ego statim acceptis libro literisque, literas ad te dedi calamo sane obeso, et per desuetudinem titubante. Unum in tua illà pereleganti et gravissima Epistola Duci Illustrissimo nuperrime nuncupata invitus legi, scilicet, te suasu tuorum et pollicitis Reipublicæ illius animum tuum mutasse, et proinde cœlum non mutaturum, nec accessum nunc ad nos te paraturum. Sed quod in hac re tibi placuit, mihi lex sit. Nolo sperare, quod non vis. Interim Dux Buckinghamiæ (qui Deo gratias apud nos iterum salvus[c]) amore et tuo, et tui captus, omnes meditatur vias, quibus te pari honore, quo tu illum, afficiat. Remora munificentissimæ gratitudinis nulla, nisi quod prorsus nescit, quod potissimum eligere debeat, in quo tibi beneficiat. Et hoc ut ego tibi scriberem in mandatis dedit. Officium (etsi difficilius scribo literas) mihi gratissimum. Nunc iterum vel hanc ob rem doleo te exuisse animum ad nos accedendi. Potuisset enim heroicus animus majora, quam nunc apud vos potest. Unum restat, ut te ostendas dextrum fortunæ tuæ fabrum, et prudenter excogites, quid tibi factum velis; sit quale optare fas est (novi enim, ni tua me fallant scripta, ingenium tuum) et factum

[b] [Vide supra, p. 250.]

[c] [Ab Insula Reaco nuper redux.]

puta. Forte deliberandum esse de re ipsa judices. Delibera; tamen hoc unum peto, ut præsenti quam fieri possit responso certiorem me facias literas has ad manus tuas pervenisse [d]. Scio enim Ducem, candoris tui cultorem eximium, responsum expectare, quod (si fieri possit) literas hasce meas anteverteret. Quod reliquum est, preces, oro, effundas pro peccatrice anima

Devinctissimi tui in communi

Salvatore Jesu Christo,

GUIL. BATHON. ET WELLENSIS.

Decemb. 22, 1627.

LETTER XII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Præst. ac Erudit. Virorum Epistt., Epist. ccccliv. p. 729. Amst. 1684 [e].]

Guilielmus Bathonensis et Wellensis G. J. Vossio.

Non profiteor, Vir clarissime, me hisce ad tuas, quas mihi tradidit vir tui studiosissimus Dominus Carltonus [f], responsum dare. Sunto tantum characteres amoris mei, qui nec te negligere, nec illum sine literis novit dimittere. Quum duobus ab hinc mensibus, Majestatem Regiam, ut mihi pro officio incumbit, infausto pede sequor (iter tum faciebat Hamptoniam) rheda egressus, torrentem non quatuor pedes latum dum transilio pede, inæquali planta in terram sabulosam, et minus fidam, incidente, nervum posteriorem tibiæ dextræ (Tendonem vocant) fregi [g]. Ab eo tempore incedo claudus; nec adhuc constat, quando sim vires pristinas recuperaturus. Si quæras, quorsum hæc? Ut certior fias, nactum te esse amicum claudum. Sed etsi nunc fractis nervis, non possum in gratiam tuam, quæ tu, quæ ego cupio, facere: quamprimum tamen vires accreverint, strenuo mihi concredita peragam. Ut sic intelligas, (saltem si quid possim,) me

[d] [Vide Vossii Responsum, apud Vossii Epist., Epist. lxxxi. p. 115.]

[e] [Exstat item apud Clarorum Virorum ad Vossium Epist., Epist. xcii. p. 58.]

[f] [Dudleius Carletonus, Eq. Aurat. hoc tempore Legati officio apud provincias Belgii fœderatas fungens.]

[g] [Vide Diarium, Feb. 5, 1627.]

ima tantum mei parte, non corde, non affectibus claudicare. Literis meis proximis meliora forsan ad te perferentur. Quod in votis est

Amicissimi tui,

GUIL. BATHON. ET WELLENSIS.

Martii 26, 1628.

LETTER XIII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Ibid., Epist. cccclvii. pp. 731, 732.]

Guilielmus Episcopus Londinensis Vossio, S. P.

Literæ tuæ mihi semper gratissimæ ad me pervenerunt [h] salvo conductu D. Stewarti [i], qui una cum honoratissimo Domino, Domino Carltono, vobis nuperrime inservivit. Tradidit ille mihi una cum litteris librum Thesium tuarum, monumentum eximium. Imperfectum dicis, sed simul polliceris te eum et auctiorem et ampliorem jamjam ex schedis tuis latitantibus in lucem producturum. Nomine certe Ecclesiæ gaudeo et tuo; quam illa utilitatem, tu vero honorem sis inde percepturus. Et eo magis gaudeo, quia per litteras certior factus sum, aliquos nominis tui, apud Oxonienses, cultores Theses tuas, nec omnes, nec, ut vereor, perfectas, zelo parum prudenti typis mandare non statuisse modo sed et incepisse. Ego, ne quid esset simul tuum et imperfectum, curavi quantum potui, ne sic luci se ostenderent, et factum spero. Scripsi enim te perfecta volumina editurum.

De Baronio quod moliri instituis inprimis laudo; præcipue vero quod fixum habeas minutias non consectari. Certe in opere tam diffuso, nimis longum iter esset per minutias, et quod tædio afficeret et peritos viatores et festinantes. Caput rei est, illa in quibus longe a primitiva Ecclesia Romana recessit, brevibus ostendere, et argumentis insolubilibus demonstrare; quæ utraque tibi factu facilia semper æstimavi. De lingua etiam Latina commentarios tuo, id est suo, tempore expectabo [k], et quod opto spero, fore te ibi, sicut in aliis, sæculi hujus, et ignorantiæ quorundam superciliosæ vindicem, &c.

[h] [Vide Vossii Epist., Epist. lxxxiv. p. 117.]

[i] [Rich. Stewart; de quo plura alibi.]

[k] [Hoc opus tandem prodiit, sub titulo sequenti, 'Etymologicum Linguæ Latinæ,' &c.]

Pollicitus sum, &c. Filium tuum e multis felicibus unum, &c. mitte; si placet. Jube memorem esse honoris Dei et tui. Dux Buckinghamiæ, ut in alumnum Collegii alicujus adscribatur, et ubi quam minimo sumptu tuo studiis fruatur, effectum dabit. Ego etiam pater, tua venia, filio tuo futurus, si Deus annos meos labentes proroget, et filius tuus patris vestigiis insistat. Præterea illustr. Dux, ne te in filio tuo tantum videatur colere, aliud addit beneficium, &c. Windesoriæ Canonicatum, &c.

Infortunium meum, &c., grave fuit et adhuc hæret, &c. Adhuc inter claudos recensendus sum, &c., possum baculi ope gressus licet tardiores promovere. Nec parti læsæ incumbit ulterius dolor, sed tantum infirmitas. Erit autem illa quotidianus hospes usque ad annum revolutum. Si tum placeat discedere, gratus erit agilitatis quondam meæ tanquam a postliminio reditus; si non, optabo animum corpore in claudo rectum, et serviam necessitati libere.

Habes quæ in re tua multis aliter impeditus hactenus potui efficere. Perficiam quæ pro amore et viribus possum. Salutem vero meam, tum animæ, tum corporis, precibus tuis commendatam cupio; tuam vota mea semper prosequentur. Unum doleo; negotiis undique implicatus, factus sum a libris meis, quos unice sub Deo colui, pene exsul. Quod te scire velim, ne me inter vel studiosos posthæc nominare digneris. Valeas diu precatur

Tibi omni cultu addictissimus,

GUIL. LONDON.

Julii 14, 1628.

Postscriptum.—Mora injecta est litteris meis non sine bono tuo, et gaudeo scisse me, priusquam missæ illæ. Mutavit rex propositum de Canonicatu Windesoriæ, et de Cantuariensi nunc cogitavit. Præponderat hic illum quadraginta libris annuatim ad minimum, &c. Quod ad Theses tuas attinet, frustrato conatu meo, Oxoniæ vel Bellositi Dobunorum excusæ in publicum exierunt, &c.[1]

Iisdem fide et amore tuus,

GUIL. LONDON.

August 5, 1628.

[1] [Theses Theologicæ et Historicæ de variis Doctrinæ Christianæ Capitibus, &c. Bellositi. 1628.]

LETTER XIV.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Clarorum Virorum ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. xcviii. p. 62[m].]

Guilielmus Londinensis G. J. Vossio.

Binas literas tuas accepi, utrasque post fata Illustrissimi Ducis Buckinghamiæ. Utræque tamen de illo silent. Priores putavi ideo tacuisse, quia ad aures tuas tam cruenta mors non pervenisset. Sed prorsus obstupui, quum secundas attulit filius etiam elingues. Quid est? Num fama desiit esse velox? Num mare non ita spatiosum inter nos vosque tardius prætervolat? Num cruor, crudeli infernali dextra effusus, et viscus famæ pennas impedivit? Imo accelerat sanguis, clamatque eundo. Aliud proculdubio est, prorsus aliud, quod de re tam barbara, de persona tam illustri, de fato tam subito, eligis tacere. Nolo plura; ne iterum cordis mei fontes rumpant repagula, et effundant spiritus. Mortuus est, cui ego, tuque multum debuimus.

Priores literæ tuæ nimium mihi ascribunt. Nec enim is sum, cui aut illa debentur elogia, aut cui tu tantum debes. Ducis memoriæ, non minus quam nomini agnosce te debere, et sufficit. De Musis, a quibus incipis[n], sunt certe ante omnia dulces, sed de Dominabus et Musis ipsis intelligi volo, de ancillis non item. Illæ enim sunt quæ Absinthium miscent, utpote non naturales Musarum pedissequæ. Ipsæ enim optant, eligunt alias; vi, et infelicitate temporum nunquam satis deploranda, hæ obtruduntur illis.

Posteriores literæ[o] post immeritissimas laudes descendunt in charissimum pignus tuum, filium natu maximum[p]. Quod expectavi secundum, fecit non optio mea, ubi omnes pariter ignoti; sed in memoria erat quod amicus tuus D. Dudleius Carltonus insinuavit. Quum aliud tibi consultius visum sit, primogenitum æque mihi charum advenisse scito, etiam non adhibitis rationibus illis, quæ tamen ipsæ per se abunde sunt ad suadendum.

[m] [Exstat item, magna vero sui parte mutila, apud Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt., Epist. ccccIx. p. 734.]

[n] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. lxxxviii. p. 120. Lond. 1690.]

[o] [Epist. xciv. pp. 129, 130.]

[p] [Joannem Vossium.]

Unum est, de quo quid dicam adhuc nescio. Scribis filium tuum, præter progressus in Mathesi, et Scientia Naturali, animum tandem appulisse ad Juris scientiam, et in ea Baccalaurei gradum consecutum esse. Timeo, ne hoc ei impedimento esse possit, quominus cooptetur in alicujus Collegii Societatem, si forte per statuta id exigatur, ut non Graduatus sit tempore admissionis; spero tamen hoc non esse omnibus Collegiis commune. Ego (quod potui) statim scripsi, et spero proxima septimana tale responsum me accepturum, ut filius tuus Academiæ Cantabrigiensi gratissimus hospes sit futurus, quod postea facile poteris et a me et a filio audire. Si nactus aliquando fuerit societatem, necesse est, ut Academiæ Collegiique statutis obtemperet, et ad gradus ulteriores tardius quam pro meritis promoveatur, si mores loci jubeant. De sumptibus abunde est, quod promittis, nec minimæ mihi curæ erit, quam primum possum de iis minuendis cogitare.

Mitto tibi Theses tuas Oxonii excusas, a quarum editione utinam abstinuissent Oxonienses mei, sic vota tua meis consona sunt. Qua fide, qua diligentia publicas fecerint, ipse ex hoc exemplari judicare poteris, sed amore, audeo dicere, fecerunt quodcunque factum. Tu tamen quod polliceris facito. Prodeat editio tua. Et ut scias me legisse aliqua (omnia enim nondum otium erat) velim præcipue ea quæ a te juniore prodierunt, oculo haud nimis facili ipse jam perlegas, emendesque, si forte aliquid occurrat, quod te judice a veneranda sanaque simul antiquitate deviet. Quod mihi leviter percurrenti factum videtur in capite de Baptismo Johannis. Neque enim Patres me docuere undique idem fuisse cum Christi Baptismate. Boni consule libertatem hominis amicissimi. Et quid si aliquantulum differas editionem illam a te distinctam, donec ipse, nunc multo maturior, dicas; Eat liber hic priscissimæ Antiquitatis æmulus.

Consilium tuum de Baptismo, una cum Historia Rituum Antiquorum, valde probo. Oro tamen, ne omittas quod de Baronio scripsisti. Unum cave. Vides iterum libertatem meam. Nam libros quinque de antiquis Baptismi Ritibus, Cæremoniisque scripsit Josephus Vicecomes[q]. Quod cum

[q] [Titulus hujus libri ita se habet, 'Observationes ecclesiasticæ; de Baptismo et Confirmatione, de antiquis Missæ Ritibus.' Mediol. 1615—26.]

te latere non possit, curabis scio, ut superior sis in illo argumento. Velim enim nihil sub nomine tuo prodeat, nisi Vossio meo dignissimum, et par Historiæ Pelagianæ.

Redeo ad infandos dolores, quibus intime premor ob Ducis Illustrissimi cædem, omni sæculo dolendam. Parricida ille scelestissimus, Gentis et Religionis dedecus, eripuit non mihi tantum, sed et tibi charissimum caput, et (non obstantibus iis, quibus eum denigravit hominum quorundam malitia) utrisque et animi et corporis dotibus ditissimum. Cœlum non dubito petiit ille. Terrarum incolæ, quos Astræa reliquit, nos adhuc sumus. Damna exinde tua cogita, mea infinita sunt. Pecuniam statuit tibi mittere statim a reditu; periit cum illo illa. Decrevit certo certius omnia in usum filii tui paratissima habere. Non dico periisse hoc, sed quod ego possum multo minus est. Diploma Canonicatus tui in Ecclesia Cantuariensi ille a Rege serenissimo impetravit, munivissetque contra quoscunque impugnatores. Ego et hic tibi non deero, nisi potestas mihi defuerit.

Nunc accipe stigmata anni hujus, mihi inauspicatissimi. Ineunte anno (quod nosti) tendonem fregi, et adhuc incedo claudus. Successit Concio, ineunte Parliamento, mihi tum admodum infirmo a Rege imposita[r], opus (prout res nostræ se tum habuere) periculosum simul et difficile. Postea Dux Buckinghamiæ mihi charissimus, nescio quo fato, et cum illo ipse, haud plane amico usi sumus conventu illo[s]. Finito eo, ille miserrime est non sine Diabolo occisus. Post multa suspiria (nam vere et sine teste dolui) morbum contraxi acrem, a quo vixdum convalui[t]. Servi quatuor variis morbis lassati, quintus a Pleuritide cæsus. Et nescio quid minatur portio anni infausti futura. Sed Deus est cui servio, qui tecum sit gratia speciali, et cum tuis: prout precatur

Tui amantissimus

GUIL. LONDINENSIS.

Octob. 25, 1628.

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[r] [Vide Diarium, Mar. 17, 1627.] [s] [Ibid. Junii 14, 1628.] [t] [Ibid. Sept. 27.]

LETTER XV.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life of Ussher, Letter cxxxiv. p. 401.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your Grace's second letters, and with them letters from Dr. Barlow,[u] a man known to me only by name and good report. I have, upon receipt of these, a second time humbly presented Dr. Barlow's suit to his Majesty, with all fair representation to his Majesty of the necessity of a good *commendam* to the Archbishop of Tuam; and though in my judgment I hold it very unfit, and of ill both example and consequence in the Church, to have a Bishop, much more an Archbishop, retain a deanery *in commendam*, yet, because there is (as I am informed) much service to be done for that Archbishop, and because I have conceived this man will do that service (for so he hath assumed); and because much of that service must be done at Dublin, where that deanery will the better fit him, as well for house as charge; and because it is no new thing in that country to hold a deanery with a bishopric; I made bold to move his Majesty for it, and his Majesty is graciously pleased to grant it; and I have already, by his Majesty's special command, given order to Sir Hen. Holcroft to send letters to my Lord Deputy to this purpose.

But these two things his Majesty commanded me to write to your Lordship: the one, that young men be not commended to him for Bishops; the other, that he shall hardly be drawn again to grant a deanery *in commendam*. Any other preferment, though of more value, he shall be content to yield. I am glad I have been able to serve your Grace's desires in this business. And for Dr. Barlow, I wish him joy; but must desire your Lordship to excuse my not writing to him; for between Parliament and Term, I have not leisure. So I leave you to the grace of God, and shall ever rest

Your Grace's loving Friend and Brother,

Jan. 29, 1628. GUIL. LONDON.

My Lord Archbishop of York[x], Dr. Barlow's tutor that was, is of my judgment for holding a deanery *in commendam*.

[u] [Randolph Barlow, of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, afterwards Archdeacon of Winchester. He was now appointed Archbishop of Tuam.]

[x] [Samuel Harsnet, formerly Fellow of Pembroke Hall.]

LETTER XVI.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. ciii. p. 657.]

Guilielmus Londinensis Ger. Johan. Vossio suo.

Quod tam sero ad aures tuas pervenerat Stygium facinus, et fatum Ducis illustrissimi, haud dubito, miror magis[z]. Sed occlusos tunc temporis portus nostros fuisse serius ipse reminiscor; et dolor sic amissi Ducis, necnon mutata, aut saltem mutanda (ut sperabatur) rerum facies, quæ in fragili memoria scripta erant facile deleverunt. Quod restat nunc sola patientia est, ut ferendo leviora fiant, quæ nec ferre didicit ingenuitas, nec discutere facultas erat. Quiescit in pace anima, qua terræ indignissimæ, ipsa cœlo dignissima. Clarescet, spero, post sæculi invidiam virtus, quam deprimere non potuit rabies plusquam Scythica, denigrare tantum potuit lingua rabida. Tu age, quod spondes, et (quo solo modo gratus esse potes) nomen Ducis in se clarum, posteris clarius tradere, ne totus uno ictu infernali periisse videatur.

De filio tuo quod scribam nihil aut parum habeo. Antea significavi quam inopportunus adventus fuit. Omnia tamen, prout tum fieri potuit, molitus sum, quo nihil ei moræ esse posset, aut scrupulum injiceret, se in gentem incultam advenisse, aut in amicos dubios incidisse. Cantabrigiæ jam est, in Collegio S. Petri, et Doctori Wrenno[a] curæ. Quæ restant, suo tempore præstabo, si potero. Et scio Wrennum, nunc Vice-Cancellarium Cantabrigiensem, esse et filii tui amicum, et nominis tui cultorem.

Gaudeo te Thesium tuarum syllogen accepisse, et Academiam Oxoniensem, quoniam edere voluit, non penitus inemendate edidisse. Sed de Thesibus aliquibus omittendis, nempe quia in opere Historiæ Pelagianæ, et quidem emendatius, legantur, sicut consilium eorum non fuit, ita nec tuum norunt. Nec sub quocunque prætextu, hoc illis, opinor, licuisset.

De Baptismo Joh. mihi abunde est, quod scribis. Et

[z] [Exstat item, magna vero sui parte mutila, apud Præst. et Erud. Viror. Epistt., Epist. ccccliv. p. 736.]

[a] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. xcvii. pp. 132, 133.]

[a] [Matthæo Wren, postea Episc. Heref., Norvic. et Eliensi.]

utinam licuisset ubique, aut, quia illud non sperandum, utinam alicubi licuisset, apte sententiam vetustatis exponere, sapiat illa hominibus, sive non sapiat. Sed in illa tempora mihi certe incidisse videtur Christiana philosophia, ut de ea nec loqui, nec tacere quis tuto possit. Et quam care libertatem illam, qua in alia causa, non sine summo Ecclesiæ bono, usus es, redemeris, facile conjicio. Tanti tamen tibi constitisse nunc in novissimis literis primo legi. Adjicerem hic alia, sed est quod prohibet.

De Josepho Vicecomite admonui tantum, et per amorem [b]. Et magna me lætitia afficit, te ita vestigia ejus premere, ut simul antecedas. Nec dolori tibi sit, labores si forte tui spissius (ut loqueris) prodeunt. Negotia publica, privata, uxor, filii, amici, aliquam tui partem vendicant, ea lege natus es, sed utinam de tua uxorisque valetudine lætiora propediem audiam, et diu vivas ad Batavorum tuorum gloriam, et Reip. Christianæ emolumentum. Mihi tendo fere coaluit, ita tamen ut pristinæ sanitatis sit spes perexigua. Deo interim quotidianas ago gratias, quod vel sic uti crure liceat. Literis meis per omnia responsum dedisti, præterquam quod de Baronio nihil. Nolo sic prætermittere quod summum est; tu id age, ne quid aliud impediat animadversiones illas. Ecce rogator importunus accedo, id age, ut sic tandem Ecclesiæ non desit Historia sua, neve accedat quæ sua non est; si hoc velis, et breviter, potes enim, sacer mihi eris Apollo.

Vale.

Tuus,

GUIL. LONDON.

Maii 10, 1629.

LETTER XVII.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter cxlii. pp. 409, 410.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am glad Mr. Bedell's preferment [c] gives your Grace such contentment. Your former letter came safe to my hands; so did your second. I see nothing is so well done, but exceptions can fret it; for I hear that which I looked not for concerning Mr. Bedell's preferment,

[b] [Vide supra, p. 256.]

[c] [The Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. He was consecrated Sept. 13.]

whose name was never put to the King till both the other competitors were refused by his Majesty as too young.

Ardagh is not forgotten in the letter: for since upon receipt of your Lordship's last letters, I spoke with Sir Hen. Holcroft about it.

Beside those of your Lordship's, I have received letters from Mr. Bedell, and from the Fellows, about their freedom of election of a Provost. My Lord, his Majesty would fain have a man to go on where Mr. Bedell leaves. I am engaged for none. I heartily love freedoms granted by charter, and would have them maintained. If they will return which are come hither; and all agree, or a major part, upon a worthy man that will serve God and the King, I will give them all the assistance I can to keep their privilege whole.

The King likes wondrous well of the Irish lecture begun by Mr. Bedell, and the course of sending such young men as your Grace mentions. I hope before our Committee for the establishment of Ireland end, I shall find a time to think of the remedy your Lordship proposes about scandalous ministers; in which, or any other service, I shall not be wanting. For the particulars concerning Clark, I have your enclosed; and if he stir anything while I am present, you shall be sure I will do you right.

Now, my Lord, I have answered all your letter, save about the Archbishopric of Cassils for the old Dean[d]. I have done all I am able for that reverend and well-deserving gentleman; but the King's Majesty hath been possessed another way; and it seems, upon like removes hereafter will move more than one. And at this time he will give Cassils to my Lord of Clougher, if he will take it; and so go on with another to succeed him, of whom he is likewise resolved; and who shall be Cassils, if my Lord of Clougher refuse[e]. There is nothing which the Dean of Cassils can have at this time, unless he will, with a good *commendam*, be content to take Kilfanora. To which, though I do not persuade, yet I would receive his answer; and I add, it will be a step for him to a better. As for Bath, the Lord-elect that was, he

[d] [Lewis Jones. He was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe April 23, 1633, and died Nov. 2, 1646, aged 104 years.]

[e] [The Archbishopric of Cashel was vacant by the death of Malcolm Hamilton. His successor was Archibald Hamilton, Bishop of Killala and Achonry.]

hath lapsed it by not proceeding to consecration[f]. I must now humbly intreat your Grace to send me the names and values of all the bishoprics and deaneries in Ireland, and what bishoprics are joined to others, that I may be the better able to serve that Church, being as yet one of the Committee; and I pray you to excuse my not writing to Mr. Bedell, for, in truth, I have not leisure. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest,

Your Grace's

Very loving Brother,

GUIL. LONDON.

June 16, 1629.

LETTER XVIII.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter cxliii. pp. 410, 411.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The two Fellows of the College of Dublin, which are attendant here about the freedom of their election, were commanded by his Majesty to send to the College there, and to know whom they would pitch upon for their Governor. And his Majesty was content, upon the reasons given by me, and the petition of the Fellows, to leave them to freedom, so they did choose such a man as would be serviceable to the Church and him. Upon this, after some time, they delivered to the King that they would choose, or had chosen, Dr. Ussher[g], a man of your Grace's name and kindred. His Majesty thereupon referred them to the Secretary, the Lord Viscount Dorchester[h], and myself, to inform ourselves of his worth and fitness.

My Lord proposed that they should think of another man that was known unto us[i], that we might the better deliver our judgments to the King. I was very sensible of your Lordship's name in him, and remembered what you had written to me in a former letter concerning him; and there-

[f] [Leonard Maw had succeeded Laud in the see of Bath and Wells. He died Sept. 2, 1629.]

[g] [This was Dr. Robert Ussher, son of Henry Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. He was cousin to James Ussher, the Primate. In 1635 he was consecrated Bishop of Kildare.]

[h] [Dudley Carleton, created Visc. Dorchester July 25, 1628.]

[i] [Laud was anxious at this time for the promotion of William Chappell, afterwards Provost. See Letter to Wentworth, March 11, 1633.]

upon prevailed with his Majesty that I might write these letters to you, which are to let your Grace understand that his Majesty puts so great confidence in your integrity and readiness to do him service, that he hath referred this business to the uprightness of your judgment, and will exercise his power accordingly. For thus he hath commanded me to write; That your Grace should presently upon receipt of these letters, write back to me what your knowledge and judgment is of the worth and fitness of Dr. Ussher for this place, setting all kindred and affection aside: and upon that certificate of yours, the King will leave them to all freedom of their choice, or confirm it if it be made [k]. So, wishing your Lordship all health and happiness, I leave you to the grace of God, and shall ever rest,

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,

GUIL. LONDON.

London House, June 25, 1629.

LETTER XIX.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Præst. et Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. ccccLxxii. pp. 740, 741.]

Guilielmus Episcopus Londinensis Ger. Joan. Vossio, S. P.

Vir Clarissime, Quod scripturus ad patrem a filio initium sumam, ingratum tibi esse non potest, cui salus filii tui majoris pretii videtur quam tua; et video filium tuum te jam certiorem fecisse, literas a Seren. Maj. signatas et missas esse in hunc finem, ut ipse in locum Collegii Jesu proxime vacaturum adscriberetur. De hoc literæ meæ omnino siluerunt. Volui enim nihil scribere, donec aliquid præstitum viderem. Nunc velim scias me omnia præstitisse, quibus me

[k] [Dr. Elrington, in his Life of Archbishop Ussher (p. 101), records several documents relating to this subject; among others, a notice to the effect that the Fellows should advertise the King of the choice they had made; and the following suggestion by Laud: "June 26, 1629. I think it fit that a letter be prepared for his Majesty's signature, to give order to the Lord Deputy to give order accordingly to the College at Dublin to proceed to an election, after that my Lord Primate of Armagh hath certified his judgment of Dr. Ussher.—Guil. London."

The order for the admission of the Provost was not issued by the Lords Justices till the 13th of the following January.]

astrictum tenebat votum aut Ducis, aut proprium. Filius enim tuus, prout literæ regiæ voluerunt, jam socius est Collegii Jesu, quod ei tibique faustum felixque sit. Et forte hic etiam præcurrit filius tuus; a quo quidni hæc etiam ante scias? Nec mirum, si juvenis senem, sanus claudum, filius peregrinum præeat ad patrem. Nunc vero etiamsi filius domicilium mutavit, spero tamen nec amicos, nec animum, nec studia mutaturum; quod primo Dei gratia, dein tuis monitis facile factu erit. Transitus sic beatior futurus a S. Petro[1] ad Jesum.

Quod consulto a Baronio manum aliquantisper subduxisti, rationem nunc reddis. Voluere Proceres Partitiones Oratorias priores esse; volunt etiam et nunc commentarios. Quidni obtemperes? præsertim, quum, ut scribis, primus hic sit ingenii tui partus, quem Scaligerus, Casaubonus, aliique summi viri tantopere comprobarunt; quos quidem nunquam laudasset nobile illud par doctorum, nisi dignissimos luce judicassent. Sed audi. Ego etsi orator parum vehemens, nec dulcis tamen: etsi negotiis irretitus non solum artem illam, sed insimul omnes oblivioni tradere pene coactus sum; cupio certe videre, quæ tot et tanti viri calculo suo approbarunt, quæque tantum et tam limatum ingenium post eorum censuram maturo consilio ad incudem revocavit, ut auctius et perfectius emittat. Quin et videor mihi hoc jure vendicare. Nam quam sint hæ primitiæ tuæ, cur non mihi et has una cum primogenito concrederes? His autem in lucem emissis, spero te animadversionibus Baronianis vacaturum, saltem quantum potes. De Duce illustrissimo Buckinghamiæ, quem popularis furor abripuit, sæpius apud te quod sentiam, deposui; nec sine gaudio in epistolis tuis novissimis legi, illum æternum tibi amico sermone et scriptis celebrandum, ut alicubi saltem sui similis vel mortuus appareat. Eo autem magis laudo gratum tuum erga munificentissimum Mæcenatem animum, quia domi pariter et foras vapulat. Legisti, scio, P. Bertii Digestum Novum de Aggeribus et Pontibus ad mare exstructis. Qualis fuit vir ille (certe abunde doctus) apud vos tu melius nosti. Qualis et nunc est non ignoras scio. Dum religionem mutavit, forte impleta est Apostasia

[1] [Peterhouse, cui ante adscriptus.]

Sanctorum [m]. Hic illius operis cap. iv. mire in Buckinghamium invehitur. Quem et cap. xviii. incentorem vocat et Ducem omnium malorum. Quid male habet hominem? Quid in eum unquam molitus Buckinghamius? Sed forte Gallorum causam agit, apud quos nunc est. Interim ibi dum sævit in mortuos, in duplicem eadem pagina incidit errorem. Scribit enim Ducem a nobili Scoto confossum, quod ab ignobili Anglo factum fuit. Deinde narrat suffectum in ejus locum Essexium; cum non ille, sed Linseius vices ejus supplevit. Det Deus viro docto meliorem mentem. Ultimo loco scribis, accepisse te his diebus, et ab iis quibus res Britannicæ non ignotæ videntur, dissensum aliquem doctorum in controversia de Prædestinatione et dogmatis annexis, zelo quorundam improvido pene in schisma apud nos erupisse; et alia quæ postremi Parliamenti tempore me aliosque occupatos satis tenuerunt. Ego certe hæc omnia in præcedentibus literis meis consulto omisi. Partim quia ulcus fuit, quidquid attingerem, quod quia sanare non potui, fricare nolebam; partim quia nihil unquam minus placuit, quam nidum proprium fœdare. Quin et quia de Parliamento nihil volui nisi bonum (quod non semper de hoc passa est veritas) proferre. Præcipue vero silentii mei ratio hæc erat. Ne me, quem agitatum undique et petitum norunt omnes, aut iræ impotentem existimares, aut male ominantem patriæ aut Ecclesiæ audires, quod certe non deceret, et (quod olim Cicero) mallem multum alienæ quam nostræ. Sed quoniam vis aliqua, hæc accipe, quæ a corde sæpius vulnerato nunc stillant.

Omnem ego semper movi lapidem, ne publice scopulosæ illæ et perplexæ quæstiones coram populo tractarentur; ne pietatem et charitatem sub specie veri violaremus. Moderata semper suasi, ne fervida ingenia, et quibus religio non est summæ curæ, turbarent omnia. Nec forte hoc placuit; sed memini tamen quam serio suis Salvator charitatem commendavit. Quam caute patienterque voluit Apostolus cum infirmis agi. Si his artibus peream, factus inter litigantes victori (ut solet) præda, merces mea mecum, nec extra me, nisi in Deo, solatium quæram. Interim quæ spero pauciora

[m] [Respicit librum Bertii, cui titulus, 'De Apostasia Sanctorum.']

sunt, quæ timeo multa. Nec habet Reformata Ecclesia quod magis doleat caveatve, quam gladio undique apud alias gentes petita, ne apud nos vosque, ubi tutius degit, propriis manibus lacera, graviori scissura, in partes primo, deinde paullatim dividendo in minutias et sic in nihilum evanescat. Aliquid aliud est quod videor mihi prævidere. Sed orare melius est, ne fiat, quam prædicere faciendum. Nec enim hoc conditione propheta esse velim. Plura nolo, ne, dum deploranda tempora persequar, id dicam, quod imprimis cupio neminem scisse. De me hoc unum te scire velim. Deo propitio dabo operam, ut veritas et pax se invicem exosculentur. Si præ peccatis nostris id nolit Deus, sperabo ipse quam primum pacem æternam; osculum vero dirimentes Deo, suo tempore aut convertendos, quod opto, aut castigandos relinquens.

Jussu Serenissimi Regis, sed opera mea et Episcopi Eliensis[n], conciones viri apud nos doctissimi et sanctissimi Præsulis nuper Wintoniensis[o], plurimæ in lucem prodierunt, sed quia lingua nostra vernacula scriptæ, nolui ad te transmittere. Aliud volumen, minus illud quidem et multo, quia aliqua habet lingua nobis cum aliis communi, nunc una cum his literis ad te mitto[p]. Quædam continet quæ volui te videre. Excusatas habe rudiores has et oblongiores literas; otium non fert, ut sæpius te sic lassarem. Valeat dignitas tua, et in omnibus orationibus tuis sis memor, prout necessitates meæ postulant,

Amicissimi tibi,

GUIL. LONDON.

Julii 14, 1629.

LETTER XX.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter cxlviii. pp. 415, 416.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received two or three letters from you since I writ you any answer. I hope your Grace is not of opinion that it is either idleness or neglect which have made me silent; for the plain truth is, I fell into a fierce burning fever, August the 14th[q], which held me above

[n] [Johannis Buckeridge.]
[o] [Lanceloti Andrewes.]
[p] [Opuscula scil. posthuma Lanceloti Andrewes.]
[q] [See Diary at that date.]

three weeks. It was so fierce that my physicians, as well as my friends, gave me for dead, and it is a piece of a miracle that I live. I have not yet recovered my wonted strength, and God knows when I shall; yet, since I was able to go to the Court, though not to wait there, I have done as much business as I could, and I think as your Grace hath desired of me, for the Church of Ireland, as your Lordship will see by this brief account following.

And first, my Lord, I have obtained of his Majesty the new incorporating of the Dean and Chapter of Derry[r], and I think the Dean is returned[s]. At the same time, the King was pleased to give order for confirming the election of Dr. Ussher to be Governor of the College in Dublin[t]. Thirdly, upon the refusal of my Lord of Clougher[u], his Majesty gave, in the time of my sickness, the Archbishopric of Cassills to the Bishop of Killally[x], and the Bishopric of Killally to the Dean of Rapho[y]. And whereas your Grace, in the close of one of your letters, did acquaint me, that there was a fear, lest some cunning would be used to beg or buy some patronages out of the King's hands; I moved his Majesty about that likewise, and he made me a gracious promise that he would part with none of them. And now, my Lord, I give your Lordship thanks for the catalogue of the Bishoprics of Ireland, which I heartily desire your Grace to perfect, as occasion may be offered you. And for the last business (as I remember), concerning the table of Tithing in Ulster, I have carefully looked it over; but by reason I have no experience of those parts, I cannot judge clearly of the business; but I am taking the best care I can about it, and when I have done, I will do my best with his Majesty for confirmation, and I leave Mr. Hygate to report the particulars to your Grace. I have observed that Kilfanora is no fertile ground, it is let lie so long fallow[z]. Hereupon I have adventured to

[r] [This new incorporation was granted March 3, 1629–30. The patent was surrendered Dec. 31, 1631, and a second was granted on the 7th of March following. See Cotton's Fasti Hibenici, vol. iii. p. 328.]

[s] [Henry Sutton, M. A. He was appointed by name in the new charter. Ibid. p. 331.]

[t] [This confirmation was issued Nov. 15. See Elrington's Life of Ussher, p. 102.]

[u] [James Spottiswood.]

[x] [Archibald Hamilton.]

[y] [Archibald Adair.]

[z] [Kilfenora had been vacant since the translation of John Steere to the see of Ardfert in 1622.]

move his Majesty, that some one or two good benefices lying not too far off, or any other Church preferment without cure, so it be not a Deanery, may be not for this time only, but for ever annexed to that Bishopric. The care of managing that business he refers to your Grace, and such good counsel in the law as you shall call to your assistance. And I pray your Grace think of it seriously and speedily; and though I doubt you will find nothing actually void to annex unto it, yet if that act be but once past, the hope of that which is annexed will make some worthy man venture upon that pastoral charge; and so soon as you are resolved what to do, I pray send me word, that so I may acquaint his Majesty with it, and get power for you to do the work. These are all the particulars that for the present I can recall out of your letters, sent unto me in the time of my sickness. So with my hearty prayers for your health and happiness, and that you may never be pushed in such a fire as I have been, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest,

Your Grace's loving poor Friend
and Brother,
GUIL. LONDON.

London House, Dec. 7th, 1629.

LETTER XXI.

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF LONDON.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 371, 372.]

SIR,—These are to let you understand, that his Majesty, out of his royal and princely care that the government of the Church may be carefully looked unto by the Bishops, and others with whom it is trusted, hath lately sent certain instructions to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and of York, to be by them dispersed to the several Bishops of each diocese within their provinces; to the intent, that whatsoever concerns any Bishop personally, or otherwise, in reference to those of the clergy they are to govern, may be by every of them readily and carefully performed. The instruc-

tions which concern the persons to be governed, are only, the third, for keeping the King's Declaration, that so differences and questions may cease; and the fifth, about lecturers; and the seventh, concerning private chaplains in other houses of men not qualified; and the eighth, about either recusants, or any other that absent themselves from church and Divine service[a]. All the rest are personal to the Bishops; yet because they are so full of justice, honour, and care of the Church, I send to you the whole body of the Instructions, as they came to me, praying and requiring you, as Archdeacon of London, to send me, at or before the Wednesday, the third day of February next, both the Christian and surnames of every lecturer within your Archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, and the place where he preacheth, and his quality and degree. As also the names of such men as, being not qualified, keep chaplains in their houses. And these are further to pray, and, in his Majesty's name, to require you, that you leave with the parson and vicar of the place, a copy, not of all, but of the four Instructions mentioned, with the four several branches belonging to the lecturers, with a charge, that the parson or vicar deliver another copy of them to the churchwardens; and that you do not only call upon them for performance now presently, but also take a great care from time to time, that at the end of your next visitation, and so forward at the end of every several visitation, I may, by yourself or your officials, have true notice how they are performed, and where, and by whom, they are disobeyed. For so much my Lord's Grace of Canterbury requires of me, as you shall see by the tenor of his Grace's letters to me here inclosed. I pray you, in any case, not to fail in this; for if you should, when I come to give up my account, I must discharge myself upon you; and that neglect would make me to go backward in his Majesty's favour, besides whatsoever else may follow. Thus not doubting of your fidelity in this behalf, I leave you to the grace of God; and shall so rest

Your very loving Friend,

WILL. LONDON.

Jan. 4, 1629.

[a] [The Injunctions referred to are given by Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 370.]

LETTER XXII.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter cliv. pp. 426, 427.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I thank your Grace heartily for your letters, especially for the preface of this your last. It is true, my Lord, God hath restored me, even from death itself, for I think no man was further gone, and scaped. And your Grace doth, very Christian-like, put me in mind, that God having renewed my lease, I should pay him an income of some service to his Church; which I hope, in the strength of His grace, I shall ever be willing and sometime able to perform. I have not yet recovered the great weakness into which my sickness cast me; but I hope, when the spring is come forward, my strength will increase, and enable me to service.

In the meantime, my Lord, as weak as I have been, I have begun to pay my fine; but what the sum comes to, God knows, is very little. Your table of the Tithes of Ulster, and the business concerning the impropriations, are both past; and concerning both, I leave myself to Mr. Hygate's report.

As touching the Deanery of Armagh, I am glad to hear that any place of preferment in that kingdom hath so good means of subsistence without tithes. But I must needs acquaint your Grace, that neither my Lord of Winchester[b], that now is, nor Dr. Lindsell[c], did ever acquaint me with your Grace's purpose of drawing Johannes Gerardus Vossius into those parts; had I known it in time, the business might have been easier than now it will be.

'For first, upon an attempt made, by the Lord Brook[d], to bring Vossius into England to be a reader in Cambridge, the States allowed him better maintenance, and were unwilling to have him come; and himself was not very willing, in regard of his wife and many children, being loth to bring them from all their kindred and friends into a strange place. And if he were unwilling, upon these grounds, to come into England, I doubt whether he will venture to Ireland or no.

[b] [Richard Neile, translated to York, Oct. 1632.]

[c] [Augustine Lindsell, Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough and Hereford.]

[d] [Robert Greville, see vol. iii. p. 241.]

But, secondly, my Lord; since this, my Lord Duke in his lifetime procured him of his Majesty the reversion of a Prebend in Canterbury, which is since fallen[e]; and Vossius came over into England in the time of my infirmity, and was installed, and I was glad I had the happiness to see him. After he had seen both the Universities, he returned home again; and, within these two days, I received a letter from him of the safety of his return thither[f]. The Church of Canterbury, notwithstanding his absence, allow him an hundred pounds a year, as they formerly did to Mr. Casaubon[g]. Now, I think, the Prebend of Canterbury (would he have been Priest, and resided upon it) would have been as much to him as the Deanery of Armagh. But, howsoever, my Lord the King having given him that preferment already, will hardly be brought to give him another, especially considering what I could write unto you, were it fit. Nevertheless, out of my love to the work you mention, if you can prevail with Vossius to be willing, and that it may appear the Deanery of Armagh will be of sufficient means for him and his numerous family, if your Grace then certify me of it, I will venture to speak, and do such offices as shall be fit.

And now, my Lord, for your own business. Mr. Archibald Hamilton, who, it seems, by your Grace's letters, is your agent here, hath not as yet been with me; but, whensoever he shall come, he shall be very welcome; and I hope your Grace knows, I will be very ready to do that Church and you the best service I can. As I had written thus far, Mr. Hamilton came to me; so that now I shall inform myself, as well as I can, of your Lordship's business, which, he tells me, is perplexed by some to whom it was formerly referred. His Majesty is now going to Newmarket, so that till his return, little or nothing can be done; but so soon as he comes back, I will not be wanting to that part which shall be laid upon me.

I formerly writ to your Grace about divers businesses, and I have received your answer to the most of them,

[e] [This was the eleventh Stall. On the Duke's promise to Vossius, see above, p. 257.]

[f] [This letter does not appear to have been preserved.]

[g] [Isaac Casaubon was admitted Prebendary of Canterbury, Feb. 1611. Several letters addressed to him by Benjamin Carrier, respecting the value of his Prebend, are printed in the notes to Casaubon's Ephemerides, pp. 1183 seq.]

only to one particular you have answered nothing, which makes me think that letter scarce came safe to your hands. It is about the Bishopric of Kilfanora, which is so poor in itself, that no man asks it of the King; and his Majesty is graciously pleased that your Lordship would think of some good parsonage, or vicarage, or donative, that might for ever be annexed unto it. And though nothing be now perchance actually void to fit this purpose, yet I conceive the annexation may be presently made, though the profit arising from the thing come not to the Bishop till it become void. I pray your Grace take as much care of this as possibly you can, and let me hear from you what may be done.

This letter, my Lord, is a great deal too long; but so many occasions would not suffer it to be shorter. I wish you all health, and so leave you to the grace of God, ever resting

Your Grace's loving poor Friend and Brother,

GUIL. LONDON.

Lond. House, Feb. 23, 1629.

LETTER XXIII.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter clxvi. pp. 448, 449.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I hope your Grace will pardon me, that in all this time I have not written unto you. For though, I thank God, I have recovered my health, in a measure, beyond expectation, yet I have been so overlaid with business, that I have not been able to give you any account, or, at least, not such as I desired.

Your Lordship's first letters (for I owe you an answer to two) bear date April the 5th, and your later, June the 4th, 1630. The main of both letters is concerning Sir John Bathe. And though, in your last letters, you be confident that Sir John's grant is not passed the Seals, as he hath avouched it is, yet I must acquaint your Grace that you are mistaken therein; for it appeared, at the last sitting of the Committee, that the Seal was put to his grant at the beginning of April last[h]. Of

[h] [This was a grant of some Impropriations belonging to the Crown. See Elrington's Life of Ussher, pp. 111, 112.]

which doctrine you may make this use: what close conveyance and carriage there may be, when the Church is to be spoiled. I understand, by Mr. Hamilton, that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is in Holy Orders; and that being Deacon, he holds an Archdeaconry yet of good value[i]. Surely, my Lord, if this be so, there is somewhat in it that, I will not express by letter; but were I his superior in ordinary, I know what I would do, and that I have plainly expressed, both to his Majesty and the Lords Committees.

But, my Lord, for the business, I have stuck so close unto it, both with his Majesty and with the Lords, especially the Lord Treasurer[j], who hath been, and is very noble to the Church, that I hope Sir John Bathe will see his error, and pitch upon some other reward for his services, and surrender this patent, though sealed, that we may go on with the King's royal and pious grant to the Church.

Things being thus far onward once more, there are two things which stick with the Lords[k].

1. One is, they like not the placing of these impropriations upon any incorporations, Dublin, or other. To this I answered, that neither did I like it, and that it must be altered, because it is against law. So it is resolved that we shall hereafter take, not only that, but all other material passages of the grant into consideration; and, therefore, I think, neither your old, nor your new letter will stand. Some thought it fittest, that these impropriations should be left for the King to give. To this I replied, that this course would, by the suit of the clergy, and their journeys over, take off a great part of the benefit intended them. And to leave them in the power of the Lord Deputy, that might be but to enrich his secretaries, and expose the Church to that which I will not speak.

2. The other difficulty is, that this grant to the Church is too much against the King's profit in these difficult times, because in the lay-way the King's rent may be improved; which according to this grant cannot be. This blow I looked

[i] [Adam Visc. Loftus. He was appointed Archdeacon of Glendalough by his uncle, then Archbishop of Dublin. Elrington (Life of Ussher, p. 114,) states that he was only a layman.]

[j] [Richard, Lord Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland.]

[k] [A grant of Impropriations had been made in the previous year. See Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 749.]

not for; but answered upon the sudden, that I thought the Church of Ireland would be glad to take the King's grant, though it were with some improvement upon such impropriations as might well bear it. This I did, partly to bear off the shock for the time, and partly to gain opportunity to write to you, who understand that business better. And I pray you, by your next letters, give me all the help you can towards this business.

One thing more, and then I have done with Sir John Bathe. Upon occasion of his speech, That the Clergy had a third part of that kingdom, I represented to the Lords the paper which you sent me concerning the state of the county of Louth. It was a miserable spectacle to them all; yet, at the last, some doubt arose, whether those values there expressed, were the rate in the King's books, or the uttermost value to the incumbent. To this I was not able to make a resolute answer, yet I feared they were rates to the utmost value. Hereupon, the Lords required of me to write unto you, to desire you to send me word, with all the speed you can, what value that rate of yours contained; of which I pray fail not.

Your Grace is pleased, in another passage, to desire me not to be too strict to my rule, in choosing Deans only to be Bishops. My Lord, it is true, Deans are, or should be, the likeliest men to be fitted for bishoprics; but they, and no other, was never any rule of mine to my remembrance. My rule was, and is, and to that I shall ever be strict, not to suffer any Bishop to hold any deanery *in commendam*, if it lie in my power to hinder it.

For that which concerns the Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh[1], I have read the enclosed papers you sent, and see cause more than enough to pity; but the way for remedy will be full of difficulty. And for Kilfanora, there will be time enough to think upon annexation. For the College and their chauntry lands, &c., when they come for their patent, they shall not need to doubt all the lawful assistance that I can give them.

And now, my Lord, (for as my business stands, 'tis time to make an end,) I must needs thank you that you make it a

[1] [Robert Dawson.]

matter of joy to hear of my late honour in being chosen Chancellor of Oxford. My Lord, I speak really, it was beyond my deserts, and contrary to my desires; but, since it hath pleased God, by their love, to lay it upon me, I must undergo the burden as I may. My honourable predecessor enriched his name by the Greek manuscripts he gave [m]; and it gives me much content that I was the means of it. And now for the bargain which you mention of ancient coins, to the number of 5,500; I cannot upon the sudden say anything; for my own purse is too shallow, and my Lords, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Pembroke, are dead. You say they are a great bargain at 600*l.*; I pray therefore, if you have so much interest in the seller, send me word, as soon as you can, how many ounces the gold coin comes unto, and how many the silver, and then I shall be able to judge of the copper; and then, upon my return to those your letters, I will give you answer, whether I can find any noble spirit that will deal for them or no [n].

You may judge by these letters, I am not in haste. But indeed I am; and yet in the fulness of my business, more troubled a great deal, that I cannot remedy what I see amiss, than at any disproportion between the weakness of my shoulder and the weight of my load. Let me have your prayers, and in them, and God's grace, I shall rest

Your Grace's very loving Friend
and Brother,
GUIL. LONDON.

Fulham House, July 5, 1630.

LETTER XXIV.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. cxv. pp. 74, 75 [o].]

Salutem in Christo.

Literæ tuæ tres numero, Vir Clarissime, manus meas utrasque implevere, a quo te vel coram, vel per literas salutavi.

[m] [The Baroccian MSS.]

[n] [Laud presented a large number of coins to the University, probably obtained from this source. See Hist. of Chancellorship, Works, vol. v. pp. 136, 225.]

[o] [Exstat etiam, magna vero sui parte mutila, apud Præst. ac Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. ccccIxxiii. p. 742.]

Et pudet, et doleo. Amor tamen tuus, quo me frui gestio, facile huic tarditati veniam dabit, præsertim quum res meæ tibi innotuerint. Literæ enim tuæ novissimæ datæ sunt 14 Feb. 1630, quo tempore ego minus firma valetudine responsum nec illis, nec prioribus potui aptare. Nam post discessum tuum, Festo Nativitatis Domini nostri instante, etsi relapsus in febrem non contigit, nescio quomodo tamen turbata natura me iterum periclitantem vidit [p]. Et quid per hæc potuit (cum Hilario loquor) limosi corporis gravis anima?

Festo Paschatis sequente (quod, ut nosti, incidebat hoc anno in 28 Martii) confirmatior accedentem et ascendentem solem aspexi, et me paulatim negotiis et Aulæ et Ecclesiæ immiscui. Fretus tamen multo magis Deo et tempore anni, quam propriis viribus. Exinde festo finito, Deo sic disponente, negotia undique me obruebant. Certe primo non sine metu mei, et meorum, sed postea sub mole illa, qua vix major mihi unquam incubuit [q], crevere vires, et, misericordiam ampliante Deo, pristinam adeptus sum valetudinem. Semper tamen excipio tendonem fractum.

Hodie primum exui paululum negotia. Et hoc justitio dum fruor, te imprimis salutare cura fuit. Salvus itaque sis, mihi charissime, et a lævo recipias, quicquid adhuc amplius te, et studia, et familiam tuam, beare possit.

Ad literas quod attinet. Primæ discessum tuum tantum repetunt, et quam charus fuisti confratribus tuis Cantuariensibus. Gratias ego egi nonnullis eorum, quos vidisse contigit, et nomine tuo. Sic illic omnia certa, et, spero, tibi grata sunt. Filius tuus Johannes dum redit Londinum, non multos post dies me invisebat. Claudicabat, sed paululum, et tum quoque magna spes claudicationem illam non fore diuturnam. Ab illo tempore eum non vidi, studiis spero intentum. At ubi loci nunc sit, non dubito quin ipse te certiorem fecerit, et quam graviter Cantabrigia peste laborat [r]. Morbus ille a vobis, militibus quibusdam redeuntibus, transmissus.

Literæ tuæ quæ his succedebant, felices nunciæ fuerunt salvi et sospitis reditus tui in patriam [s]. Gaudio id certe magno mihi cessit, utpote cui sanitas tua, et vita in longum

[p] [Vide Diarium, ad Aug. 14, Sept. 7, Oct. 20, 26, Mar. 21, 1629.]

[q] [Quum admissus fuerit in Cancellariatum Univ. Oxon.]

[r] [Vide Diarium ad Aug. 24, 1630.]

[s] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cxx. pp. 157, 158.]

protracta in usum Ecclesiæ, in primis votis sit. Facile credo fuisse non paucos, qui tibi reditum grātularentur, quam dispari animo ipsi viderint. Sat scio quales inter vos amicos habeant, qui Potestatis Regiæ, et veteris Ecclesiæ cultores quoquomodo existunt. Si cordatioribus exemisti scrupulum, illud perbene; qui tribunum olent, ad populum refero; curet scilicet, qui vult. Me non nominant literæ illæ, sed satis intelligo, et multum rideo insaniam.

Promittis hic Institutiones Oratorias. Et eas jam accepi per manus doctissimi tui Junii[t]. Ille mihi ante charus, charior nunc nomine tuo. Pollicitus est ille se una cum gratiis ob libros illos doctissimos et tuos, me excusatum habiturum apud te, quod tum literas non dedissem. Nunc ego iterum Baronium inculco. Nosti quid velim. Et est quod vel maxime usui sit Ecclesiæ. Induciæ vestræ cum Hispano precor aut non sint, aut sint cum bono et vestro et Ecclesiæ. Nec imprudenter cavent meo judicio, qui exinde domestica dissidia magis timent; præcipue prout Religio hodie apud vos. De Scioppio vestro[u], et reliquis Reformatæ Religionis propudiis, quid dicam nescio, gaudeo tamen Amstelodamenses, ubi libertatis nescio quid asylum, in maledicum tam severos exstitisse.

Novissimæ literæ tuæ nil aliud fere spirant, quam honorem Higgii nostri[v]. Certe multum tibi debet Oxoniensis Academia nomine ejus, nec minimum ego, qui Higgium illum virum moderatum æque ac doctum semper quibus potui modis promovebam. Non opus est ut scribam; ille, scio, narrabit quanto amore, maximo illo certe, si prudenti, si fausto bene est, me Oxonienses, nunc alio nomine mei, prosecuti sunt, et me Cancellarium, indignum simul et nolentem elegerunt. Inter eligentes Higgius. Eum sine literis remittere ad vos me graviter pupugit, sed tum vix respirare datum. Gratias tamen ago, et tibi, et filio Francisco, ob honoratum Higgium.

Quod reliquum est scias velim, etsi tempestates, quæ

[t] [Franciscus Junius, cujus sororem Vossius in matrimonium duxerat. De eo plura videas apud Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 1139.]

[u] [Gaspar Scioppius, in castra Romanensium transfuga, erga Reformatos maledicentissimus.]

[v] [Griffinus Higgs, e Coll. Merton., Elizabethæ Reginæ Boiem. a sacellis gradu Doctoris in S. Theol. in Acad. Leidensi nuperrime est insignitus: Decanatum Lichfieldensem postea adeptus est. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 481.)]

sæculo hoc exagitant Ecclesiam, sedando non sim, nolle tamen me, Deo favente, aut causæ aut officio deesse. Interim cuivis fere obvium est, quam periculose jactantur Respublicæ, fluctuante Ecclesia. Ad filium tuum Johannem quod spectat, quum proxime videro (brevi id spero futurum, Deus si pro misericordia sanarit Cantabrigiam) effectum dabo quod postulas. Tu modo ut mei quotidianis in precibus memor sis obnixe rogo, ut in nomine Christi; ne, dum moliuntur inimici, solus sim. Vivas interim opto, valeasque, ego ut sim

Virtutum tuarum cultor, sicut

Sum et tui amantissimus,

GUIL. LONDIN.

Julii 21, 1630.

LETTER XXV.

TO DR. ROBERT PINKE, WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dccccxliii. p. 141.]

Salutem in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I heard, when I was at Court at Windsor, that my worthy friend, Mr. Warden of Winchester[w], was ill, and in some danger, which I was, and am, very sorry for. Since my return to Fulham, I hear the same confirmed, and it seems his danger increases. Though I know not the particulars of your local Statutes, yet I know the preferment must fall upon a New College man, and that the election is with you.

I know you understand that the schoolmaster of Winchester, Mr. Stanley[x], is my Chaplain, and he was (being otherwise a stranger) commended unto me by very near friends of mine. A good able scholar he is, and gave his Majesty good contentment lately when he preached before him. Now I am informed, that for three elections successively the schoolmasters of Winchester have been chosen Wardens, and I should be very glad if he might be the

[w] [Dr. Nicholas Love.]

[x] [Edward Stanley, afterwards Prebendary of Winchester. He preached the first sermon in that cathedral after the Restoration. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 590.)]

fourth, if this place fall void, which is at this time my suit unto you. I am induced the rather, because I can assume for Mr. Stanley, if he be chosen, that he shall be a very respective and true brother Warden to you; and besides, as I conceive, the choice of him will be more advantage to your College than the choice of any other, because by his choice the schoolmaster's place will be a present and a rich preferment for another Fellow, which I doubt not but you will so order that a friend of your own may have.

I hope you will not think it amiss that I write thus unto you, because it is for a Chaplain of mine own, and a Chaplain that so stands out of my way, that, where he lives, I have not anything to bestow upon him; and I know not any circumstance which should make him unfit for this your favour. I told you I was ignorant of the particulars of your Statutes, and so I am, and, therefore, if this suit of mine be cross to them in any considerable thing, I shall fairly submit it to your wisdom. For I shall ever consider that God hath disposed of me to the place I bear, to keep and preserve the liberties of statutes and elections according to oath, and not to put any stress upon them, but rather to stand as a bar and a hindrance to any power, when it is attempted by others.

I hope, my Lord, your Visitor[y] will not write to prejudice this request of mine, but being absent, if he be over entreated, I shall in this take it upon me to give him satisfaction. Thus wishing you all health and happiness, and desirous to be beholding to you in this, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

GUIL. LONDON.

Fulham House,
Septemb. 10th, 1630.

To the right worshipfull my very worthy friend Dr. Pinke, Warden of New College, Oxon. these.

Endorsed: Septemb. 10, 1630. My first letters to the Warden of New College about Mr. Stanley.

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[y] [The Bishop of Winchester. Richard Neile was now Bishop.]

LETTER XXVI.

FROM WILLIAM BEDELL, BISHOP OF KILMORE, ETC.

[Tanner MSS. vol. cclxxviii. p. 99.]

RIGHT REV. FATHER, MY HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,—With my humble service remembered. Since my last to your Lordship of the 1st of April, I have set on foot my suit at the Council-board, for the rights of my bishoprics, founding it on that beneficial clause of his Majesty's gracious letters, wherein he was pleased to give order, that if I found myself wronged by any unlawful act of my predecessors, either in the profits or jurisdictions of my bishoprics, I might be relieved there. I propounded first my jurisdiction, impaired by my predecessor's appointing me a Chancellor; wherein, before I relate my success, I shall declare to your Lordship the grounds and manner of my proceeding, whereby I shall with one labour endeavour to satisfy some part of your expectation from me, viz. certify you of such occurrents as concern the Church of Ireland, and free myself from the false imputations of slanderous tongues, which there, perhaps, as well as here, have, or shall misreport my proceedings.

My Lord, I do thus account, that amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us, there is not any greater than the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is the opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned men that I have known. And the demonstration thereof is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true reasons of things; they are sensible in the purse. And that religion that makes men that profess it, and shows them to be despisers of the world, and so far from encroaching upon others in matter of base gain as rather to part with their own, they magnify. This bred the admiration of the primitive Christians; contrary causes must needs bring forth contrary effects. Wherefore, let us preach never so painfully, and live never so piously ourselves, so long as the officers in our courts do prey upon the people, they account us no better than publicans. And so much the more deservedly, because we are called spiritual men and reformed Christians. In this kind there hath been (they say) wonderful abuse in

this kingdom. While I was in Dublin, before my consecration, I understood by many principal men, both of my diocese and others, that of all those that have exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this land these late years, the most noted man and most cried out upon, was one Mr. Alan Cook, Chancellor to my predecessor; insomuch as he had been questioned in the Star-Chamber, and rather by error in proceeding for the manner, or some other cause than want of matter, escaped the trial. Among the Irish he hath gotten the nickname of Pouke; and, indeed, they fear him like the fiend of hell. To his austerity the abandoning of the country by above a thousand of the inhabitants the last year was more imputed than to the hardness of the times. And a principal man of his Majesty's Council said it within these two months to me, that he had been more burdensome to that part of the country than the contribution to the soldiers. This man, as was told me by others, had a commission to be my Chancellor. Himself would not so much as show it me, or desire that, with my good leave, he might hold it; which, although it seemed to me somewhat uncivil, yet I was not willing to break with him, or infringe the acts of my predecessor, till, by the daily complaint of my neighbours, and some of my tenants, and of the clergy, I was enforced to demand the sight of his patent. I found a vast heap of authority conferred upon him without due form, Latin, or common sense. One period before the *Habendum* consisting of above 540 words, and yet without any one importing a grant, or any other principal verb at all. Nothing left to the Bishop but a mere shadow of authority. I called the Chapter, examined whether they confirmed it or no, which they denied not, accounting it more concerned the Bishop than them; acknowledging, that the Bishop's great seal was not put to it. Whereupon, I, accounting it void or surreptitious, or revoking it in case it had any validity, did inhibit Mr. Cook to do anything by virtue of it as my Vicar, and the clergy to assist him therein. Upon this he appealed to my Lord Primate's Court, from whence I was inhibited, and cited to appear to answer him; he being in the citation styled Vicar of the Courts of Kilmore and Ardagh, lawfully established. For this so apparent a forejudging the cause

ere it was heard, I entered a recusation before a public notary, which I sent to my Lord Primate; yet submitting the cause to his own censure, *omni appellatione remotâ*, if my adversary were so pleased. This he refused. Thus did it hang till Hilary Term. In the mean season I went about my diocese myself, and sat in mine own courts, redressing the disorders, and mitigating the fees, (whereof yet I took no penny, but sequestered them only,) and in a short space have, as I hope, disposed the people to some better opinion of our religion and jurisdiction, than before they had conceived.

The case at Dublin was divided in pleading by my counsel: 1st, That no Bishop may grant a commission longer than during his own time. 2nd, That my predecessor, holding two bishoprics united only for term of life, could make no greater estate than his own. That by his death the bishoprics were again divided, and anew united by his Majesty, so as in them I am not his successor. The other part would make a Vicar-general a standing office, and said, the Dean and Chapter might anciently choose a Bishop, much more then confirm a Bishop's Vicar for life. Especially they urged precedents in England, and some here. The Lord Chancellor seemed unwilling to have this case determined here, which he said was never yet adjudged in England. Those of the Council that are of the profession of the law, required it might be argued again at the beginning of Michaelmas Term, which was granted.

Since that, Mr. Cook hath procured me to be cited again to the Lord Primate's Court, where I appeared July 29, alleging that the cause is depending before the Lords Justices and Council, and refusing again the Chancellor, Mr. George Singe[z], to be either judge, or assistant therein, as having been Mr. Cook's master and patron, and now his familiar friend, and having discovered some spleen against me in certain letters which since this cause came into that Court he had sent me.

Your Lordship hath here the historical part of this business; whereto if I shall be bold to add the prognostical, it is

[z] [He was appointed Vicar-General and Dean of Dromore by Archbishop Hampton, and was consecrated Bishop of Cloyne, Nov. 11, 1638. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 347.)]

this. That, although I have his Majesty's patents as large for me as I can desire, the canon law as clear as the sun (whose maxims are these, *Vicarius perdit jurisdictionem morte Episcopi; Vicarius removeri potest ad libitum Episcopi, etiamsi sit constitutus cum juramento de non revocando; Vicarius mortuo Episcopo non potest perficere causas inchoatas vivo Episcopo:* and *de facto,* Mr. Cook, after the death of my predecessor, took a new commission from the Lord Primate to execute the jurisdiction *sede vacante*); lastly, though I have the common law equal, if this be but a commission; and as the Lord Chief Baron said openly, by the law one judge cannot appoint another in his stead; yet, because in lands and possessions the grant of the Bishop, with consent of Dean and Chapter, is good, it will be carried so here also. I consider my adversary's cunning, potency, friends in all courts, purse: the King's Serjeant and Attorney are for him against his Majesty's patent. The Lord Chancellor had sometimes a like commission bestowed upon him by his uncle, as I have been told by some of the Council. He persuades me to compound with Mr. Cook, which, for the incredible scandal that would follow, I can never do. He (as Mr. Cook, in a manner boasting, told me) hath nominated him since the term to be judge in a cause of the Admiralty touching a prize here taken. Add to all these, the confidence of the man, that comes and sets himself by me, and quarrels with me in mine own court, and will sit there, and ask me no leave. In these respects I give it gone; unless it would please his Majesty to interpret his own meaning in his gracious letters for me, and the patents thereupon founded; or to signify his express pleasure, that this cause may be maturely discussed according to his laws, notwithstanding any examples there or here inuring; or, lastly, to give order to his learned counsel to see to the interest of his crown, in upholding his grants and patents, and by what warrant they are infringed by the pretended patents of others.

My Lord, if this were mine own particular case alone, I should not be so bold as to request your favour and assistance hereunto. But it is the common interest of Bishops, who through their own sufferance do now but serve for cyphers to make up the wrongs and extortions of their

officers. They begin to scorn to be our vicegerents. Two citations I have received from my Lord Primate's Court, in the former whereof my pretended Chancellor is called *Vicarius Cur. Kilmor. et Ardagh.*; in the other, *Diœceseos*. If they were (as anciently) constituted only *durante beneplacito*, they would know themselves. For my part, God is my witness, that if I thought I could be excused in conscience for the misgovernment of the people whom God and his Majesty have committed unto me, I could easily suffer Mr. Cook to exercise the jurisdiction, though there be left me nothing but the name of it; but when the blame also and the shame of religion lies upon it, I hope good men will not account me pragmatical if I be sensible, and desire to fulfil my profession made at my consecration, that I would be gentle and merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and such as be destitute of help. These poor people (to whom, to be put into the Bishop's book, as they call it, hath been worse than their imaginary purgatory) do beseech your Lordship, and by you, his Majesty, to pity them. Religion intreats you to remove this scandal; the Church, to reform this disorder. I have said and done what I can. I leave the success to God. To whose gracious protection I commit your Lordship, and shall ever remain

Your Lordship's most obliged,

WILL. KILMOREN. ET ARDAGHEN.

Kilmore, Aug. 7, 1630.

To the Right Rev. Father in God,
William, Lord Bishop of London,
my honourable good Lord, deliver
these.

LETTER XXVII.

TO WILLIAM BEDELL, BISHOP OF KILMORE, &c.

[Tanner MSS. vol. cclxxviii. p. 104.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have read over your Lordship's large letters; both the historical and the prognostical part, and truly, my Lord, I must needs acknowledge, that there

arises a great deal of hurt to ourselves, and scandal to our calling, by the courses which our under officers take in our courts, and the harrowing of the poor people there. And I easily conceive, it must be worse with you, than with us, because the state of that Church is somewhat more broken of the two. Your Lordship hath expressed a great deal of care and a great deal of zeal to that part of the Church with which God and the King hath trusted you, and not without a great deal of judgment. But, my Lord, we live in times in which the Church is overgrown, not only with weeds within it, but with trees, and bushes about it, which, though they were set at first for a fence, yet now they are grown up they drop sourly upon whatsoever is good in it.

And now, my Lord, to descend lower and nearer your business, you must first give me leave to tell you I see little hope of any remedy in the thing and way as you propose. For, if I mistake not, the question is, whether (in that Church especially) it be fit that Bishops' Chancellors or Vicars-general should have or hold their offices by patent during life, or stand only at the Bishop's pleasure, and as their merit and justice in their courts shall deserve. And this being the question, I shall promise your Lordship, so soon as I come to London among my books, to look into the ancient canons and laws of the Church, both those which you mention and others; but in the meantime desire your Lordship to consider these particulars following:

First, The canon law hath been blasted in these kingdoms, so that any use taken up of almost any continuance will be able to bear head against it. Secondly, They answered you truly, that told you this case had never yet been decided in England; or if it were, the overruling was that they should hold for life, for so the practice goes in all the cathedrals of England. Thirdly. Wherever this question shall come on foot, whoever appears in it must look that all the civil lawyers, and all the friends they can make, which are many and great, will be sure to oppose it. And they will plead reason, that where so great a part of the burden of a diocese lies upon them, it will be fit, if not necessary, they should be invested for time of life. Fourthly, I think now for many years together the practice through Christendom hath

been (except in some few exempts) that the Chancellors have held by patents for life. Fifthly, I would be peremptory against that hold, and all grants of a Bishop longer than his own life, if I were sure all Bishops were and would be such as they should. For otherwise the pressure of the people would be as great by a bad Bishop as by a bad Chancellor, and the scandal greater; whereas now sometimes a good Chancellor moderates an ill Bishop, though at some other time a bad Chancellor troubles a good. Last of all, and which is most forcing amongst us, I doubt it will appear that patents for life have been so long granted in both kingdoms, that the common law will make them good, do you, or I, or any man else, what we can: for to imagine that all Bishops will agree to rectify such an abuse as is consequent upon these patents for life, is mere building in the air.

For the particular person with whom you have to do, Mr. Alan Cook, I never heard of him before, but it seems by your letters he knows very well how to lick his own fingers. As for Mr. Singe, I think my Lord Primate (if I forget not one of his letters) hath had as harsh music from him as another man hath had of his Chancellor, and therefore it is not very probable, that your Lordship should find any more favour in his court against Mr. Cook. And for the bringing of your cause to the Council-board, though I make no doubt but you shall find there all honourable justice with favour, yet I fear they will do nothing in a business of this weight, being altogether without example and precedent here.

And for the proposals towards the end of your letter, which are three, without all or some of which you seem to give your cause gone; to deal openly and freely with you, I do not see how they can relieve you. For first, for his Majesty's interpretation of his own meaning in his gracious letters for you, and the patents thereupon founded; you may be sure he will make no other interpretation than may stand with his laws, neither may I desire more. For the second, for his Majesty to signify his express pleasure that this cause may be maturely discussed according to his laws, notwithstanding any example in either kingdom, I doubt that the common law, which upon a prohibition will be

judge, will upon never so mature discussing make good their patents, unless you can infringe any by some particular exceptions. And, thirdly, though his Majesty should give order (as you desire) to his learned counsel never so strictly to look to the interests of his crown in upholding his grants and patents, &c., which were no hard matter to obtain, as I conceive, yet that would be to no purpose, if the law be for their patents, for then they will easily make that answer to his Majesty.

Now therefore upon the whole matter I have but these two things to say: The one is, I do not believe you will be able to do anything against Mr. Cook's patent, unless you can find, that it is drawn against law, (and if he refuse to show his patent, there is means enough, I think, in the ordinary way to force him to it,) or unless you can legally prove, that he hath carried himself so ill, as that he hath forfeited the patent, though rightly granted. The other is mentioned by yourself, and it is an offer made by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, if I understand you right, that you should compound with Mr. Cook; to which you say you may by no means yield, for the infinite scandal that would follow upon it. Indeed it is true, if you compound with him only to settle his patent and take money for that, and leave him to vex the people more till he hath made up his money, it must needs be a very unworthy act in you, and full of scandal. But if (where you cannot remedy it otherwise) you there compound, and in that composition bind up Mr. Cook, that the people may have justice and ease, I do not yet see what ill is in that, or what scandal can follow upon it; for I shall not advise the making of any other composition, than that which shall be free from corruption on your part, and for the just and orderly settling of your jurisdiction on his.

My Lord, my occasions are many and great, yet I have stolen time, such as I could, to give you answer. The case never fell either under my study or practical consideration, yet I have adventured to write freely unto you. You must pardon both the freedom and the weakness, the case especially being such as a man cannot tell of whom to ask counsel. For none can be asked but a Bishop or a civilian. And if a

Bishop be asked, he is likely to say for you; but if you ask a civilian, I am sure he will be for Mr. Cook. And where I now am, I can meet with no experienced man of either. In Court haste, therefore I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

[GUIL. LONDON [a].]

Fulham House,
September 11, 1630.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO DR. ROBERT PINKE, WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dcccexliii. p. 143.]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—I hear how lovingly you received my former letters, and how careful you are for my sake of Mr. Stanley. No part of your love shall be lost, and if it shall please you to use me, you shall find it. I had rather act the rest as it comes in my way than speak it; and to that I refer myself.

I took sufficient order before I went from Windsor that no letters should come from his Majesty for any other, if Mr. Stanley had them not, and (as you may see by my former letters to yourself) I purposed there to leave it, ever resolving to keep me entire to the duty of my place, that elections might go as statutes directed, and as merits prevailed. But when I came to see (for I saw it), that his Majesty's letters were aimed at for another, and in some words that I had no great cause to like, I then thought fit my Chaplain might use his friends, yet I ordered it so that the letters which are come might no way trench upon the liberty of your election, but keep near the precedent which I saw written for Dr. Love[b].

I must end with the same thanks with which I began,

[a] [This cause was ultimately taken into the Court of Chancery, and the Chancellor confirmed Mr. Cook's appointment, with 100*l.* costs. See Elrington's Life of Ussher, pp. 116, 117, where some other particulars relating to the case are mentioned.]

[b] [See a copy of the King's letter to Warden and Fellows of New Coll. Oct. 14, 1613, in favour of Nicholas Love, Lamb. MSS. Numb. dcccexliii. pp. 149—151. Also from T. Winton. (Bilson) in favour of the same person, dated Oct. 25, 1613, ibid. pp. 151—153; and from Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, enjoining them to make a free election, dated Oct. 12, 1613, ibid. pp. 153—155.]

which, if God spare me life, you shall find to be very well. So in court haste I leave you to the grace of God, and shall ever rest

Your very loving Friend,

GUIL. LONDON.

Theobalds, Septemb. 12, 1630.
To the right worshipful my very worthy friend Dr. Pinke, Warden of St. Mary New College in Oxford, These.
Endorsed: September 12, 1630.
My second letters to the Warden of of New Coll. about Mr. Stanley.

LETTER XXIX.

TO DR. ROBERT PINKE, WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE.

[Lambeth. MSS. Numb. dcccxliii. p. 145.]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—I am very much beholding to you for your love, which I shall esteem no whit the less because it succeeded not[c]. I am rather the more in your debt, because you laboured it so freely and so constantly to the last. And I pray be persuaded, that when God shall give me an opportunity to return it, you shall find me ready to do all parts of a friend.

I hear of some things in this business, which I have not deserved, and therefore looked not for. But I hope you shall suffer no more than you have already. And I know you will carry yourself so justly and so worthily in your government, that you will not need to fear any faction at home, which I hear bear bolder for any power abroad. And in your wisdom you will be the more wary, because you see what watch is upon you.

Give me thus far leave (out of a great deal of love) to be bold with you also in another particular, which I observed when I lived in Oxford, and which I hear you yet continue. It is that you live a little too much reserved to yourself;

[c] [John Harris was elected Warden. He sided with the Presbyterians, and was one of the Assembly of Divines. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 455.)]

which as it cannot but damp your spirits, and take off from your experience, so doubtless it adds to the insolency of the Fellows which oppose you, to see you acquaint yourself with no other Heads, nor no other resort to you. I know divers would be glad you would think of this; and I do verily persuade myself the party in your House would not be as they are, if they saw you backed with other men of note in the town. If this be against your nature, or your resolution justly grounded, I leave it to your wisdom, and only desire my love and my liberty may not be mistaken.

I sent you a few lines the last week, but they were so enclosed that I doubt they came not to you, and 'tis no matter for anything in them. For Mr. Stanley had forgotten to write me the certain day of the election, so I shot at Rovers for that particular.

I hear some of your house have been very bold with me, and charged upon me the procuring of letters for one Morlye, that he might be Fellow (which they say he deserved not), and have greater allowance of money for his travel than your Statutes allow; or at least that I connived at it, and let them pass. I shall not much labour to give them satisfaction; but I assure you, *in fide boni viri,* I am most innocent of this charge. And had you sent unto me about it, I would have kneeled to the King for preservation of your Statutes. And how tender I was of them in this last particular you best know, who alone had letters from me. And while I speak of them, I pray do me the favour to send me the copy of my letters back again, that I may have them to show, or the letters themselves, which you please, if, at least, you did keep them. Again I thank you, and am heartily sorry you should suffer for my sake, or mine. So I leave you to the grace of God, and shall ever rest

Your very loving Friend,

GUIL. LONDON.

Fulham, Octob. 1, 1630.

To the right worshipful my very worthy friend Dr. Pinke, Warden of New College in Oxon, These.

Endorsed: Octob. 1, 1630.

My last letters to Mr. Warden of New Coll. about Mr. Stanley.

LETTER XXX.

TO DR. CHRISTOPHER POTTER, PROVOST OF QUEEN'S.

[In the possession of Queen's Coll. Oxford.]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—I received a letter from you the last week, and had I not come home as I did, lame and sick, I had given you present answer. I am sorry to hear that Dr. Rawlinson is so ill, as it seems by you he is. I heard a flying report of it about a fortnight since, because much about the same time there was one of the same name in Bedfordshire very sick, and, as I hear, since that time dead. This made me hope there was no danger toward the Dr. you mean, but that there had been a mistake only; now your letters make me fear again 'tis otherwise; I pray God comfort him according to his extremities, whate'er they be.

Concerning your business about St. Edmund's Hall, I must needs say you have made a fair representation to me, and I shall take it into as just a consideration. You know I am but newly come to be Chancellor, and have had as yet but little time to think of those things which may most concern it. As for those which belong to myself, I have put them last, and least thought on them, therefore I must desire you to lend me a little time to consider. For as I shall be ever unwilling to trespass against any privileges or statutes, either of the whole body of the University or of any college in particular, so shall I be ever loth to sink or weaken any rights belonging to the place I bear, lest afterwards my successors should have cause to say I had been unworthy to the office. So soon as I have fully informed myself, and weighed my business, you shall receive such farther answer as is fit, and I hope to satisfaction. In the meantime I am glad of occasion to hear of you and your health, of which God make you long master; to whose grace I leave you, and shall ever rest

Your very loving Friend,

GUIL. LONDON.

Fulham House, Octob. 15, 1630.

LETTER XXXI.

TO DR. BROOKE, MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE[d].

[Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors[e].]

For your pastoral I take little care, but wish it well; but for your other tract I must needs say thus much,—fifteen years study cannot but beat out something. And I like it well that you mean to have the judgment of so many and such men upon it. And if God give me leisure, and the tract be not too long, I shall be glad to read it too. And the making even of the old way will to most men seem better than a new. Nevertheless I am yet where I was, that something about these controversies is unmasterable in this life. Neither can I think any expression can be so happy as to settle all these difficulties. And however I do much doubt, whether the King will take any man's judgment so far as to have these controversies any further stirred, which now, God be thanked, begin to be at more peace, etc. And for the several copies which you mention, to send to those friends you name, it shall be wisdom for you to take heed that none be stole out privately to the press, before you are aware.

LETTER XXXII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. cvi. p. 68[f].]

Salutem in Christo.

VIR SPECTATISSIME,—Quum literas meas novissimas darem (et parcius hoc facere cogor pro negotiis quæ urgent et premunt fatiscentem) literæ tuæ ad me pervenerunt. Sic situlæ

[d] [Samuel Brooke was, on May 13, 1631, admitted Archdeacon of Coventry, and died the middle of September following. Prynne (Cant. Doom, p. 167) says that he wrote an Arminian treatise of Predestination, and gives in the same place his reply to this letter of the Archbishop. This treatise does not appear to have been printed. (Wood, F. O. i. 401, 402.)]

[e] [This portion of a letter is printed from a MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, endorsed, 'December 9, 1630. The passage of my letter to Dr. Brooke, concerning a Tract of his.']

[f] [Exstat etiam, magna vero sui parte mutila, apud Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt., Epist. ccccxciii. p. 758.]

nostræ mutuo fontem petiere, dum neuter, quid alter ageret, certior factus.

Literæ illæ jam antiquæ et adhuc præ manibus, sed sine responsione, et quod sæpius impedivit volentem, idem est. Nonas illæ Sextiles præ se ferunt[g], et hæ xii. Cal. Feb., nec tamen adhuc responsio parata. Credideris forsan me gelu quodam, etiam hac nimis temperata hyeme, obriguisse; hoc te metu ut liberem, ecce jam tandem te iterum saluto, tibi omnia exopto bona. Cum anno novo incipiat, recurratque in sinum felicitas.

Prima literarum tuarum facies gratulatur mihi Cancellariatum Oxonii mei, et subridet. Gaudio sit illud tibi, Academiæ salus; mihi sat scio onus incumbit, et cui nunquam par ero. Quin et his exulceratis Ecclesiæ temporibus, nec Ecclesiæ tantum (nam et sic solet punire Deus) nescio, ita me Deus amet, nescio quid agendum sit, mihi præsertim. Sed aliquid est, quod urget, et ducentem sequor.

Illustrissimus Princeps noster, pro tenella illa ætate (Deo gratias) abunde valet[h]. Et mihi quidem gratissimum est, quod lætitiæ illius, quam nos ex felicissima ipsius Nativitate merito percipimus, te quoque consortem præbeas. Vivat ille valeatque diu, serius tamen spero paternis succedet sceptris.

Alia sunt quæ properans cogor omittere. Sed mortem Matthiæ Martinii[i] certe eo impensius doleo, quo magis indiget Ecclesia æquitate illa, quæ in illo viguit, et quæ spero tamen non est penitus cum illo sepulta. Penitus, dico. Vereor tamen ne multo rarior sit, quam quæ deceret togam nostram. Historia illa, unde profitebatur se eam hausisse, prolixe habet in se unde eam conferre possit, nisi lectores habeat admodum iniquos[j]. Iterum tibi eo nomine gratias ago. Nunc accingé (promisisti enim et non semel) ad historiam aliam, veteris nempe Ecclesiæ, scribendam. Magnopere cupio (Deo si placuerit) antequam fata mihi aperient sepulchrum, Baronium videre sub telis tuis cadentem. Nec literas potes a me ullas exspectare sine stimulo.

[g] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cxv. p. 153.]

[h] [Carolus, Princeps Walliæ, natus Maii 29, 1630.]

[i] [Auctor Lexici Philologici. In Synodo Dordrechtana magnam partem egit, et moderata consilia prosequutus est.]

[j] [Historia Pelagiana ab ipso Vossio conscripta.]

Et ecce quum manum chartulæ huic eram appositurus, aliæ literæ tuæ ad me perveniunt[k]. Illustrissimus Legatus rediens, non redux sine te. De te certe nec pauca nec parva loquitur. Quin et gratias egi, quod nomine meo te sibi cognitum charumque habuit.

Ad negotium quod attinet. Academiæ vestræ ita collapsam esse disciplinam non sine dolore aúdio. Sunt hæc certe semina omnium malorum, tum in Ecclesia, tum in civili statu, quod loca educationi juvenum, in Artibus simul et Religione, olim dicata, ita laxata sint in omne quod vel maxime dedecet juventutem Christianam. Ad cædes vero, easque frequenter deventum esse, quis ferat?

Consilium quod petis libentissime darem, si, quod optas, præsens essem. Res certe magna et gravis; tibi honorifica et utilis futura; Amstelodamensibus forsitan non desiderata magis, quam salutaris. Rationes, quas proponis, primo intuitu firmæ videntur, et rotundæ, sine offensione, quam novi, ulla. Hoc unicum serio considerandum, quid Ordines vestri de consilio hoc tuo senserint, et quibus fundamentis nixi. Nam si illis transitio hæc tua parum Reipublicæ vestræ utilis censebitur, quis scit, quid inde dispendii, quid periculi tibi possit accedere? Quod ex animo deprecor. Scio te cautum fore et prudentem; et spero Deum, cui servis, electionem tuam ita velle disponere in melius, ut illud in te assumas, quod simul et licitum, et utile, et honorificum sit. Quod semper erit in votis

Amici tui, et rerum
tuarum studiosissimi,
GUIL. LOND.

12 Cal. Feb. 1630.

LETTER XXXIII.

TO DR. CHRISTOPHER POTTER, PROVOST OF QUEEN'S.

[In the possession of Queen's Coll. Oxford.]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—I received letters from you the last week concerning Dr. Rawlinson's death, or his being *in extremis;* upon which

[k] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cxxxv. pp. 168, 169.]

you inferred the near, if not present, vacancy of Edmund Hall. I could not give you answer to those letters by reason of the urgent business which lay upon me; yet I desired you should not only know that I had received them, but also how respective I stood to your claim when it should be made; of both which I sent you word, though briefly, in Dr. Juxon's letters. You know how tender I was to meddle with your evidences, or anything concerning that place, till I had apparent certainty of Dr. Rawlinson's death[l]; and my reasons, I think, were just. Upon this I thought I should have had so much respect from you and the College, as might have borne a fair return of my letters unto you, before you had proceeded unto any election, especially considering that Dr. Rawlinson was not dead when you wrote those letters to me. For since that I have received direct information out of Shropshire, by a neighbour minister that came to me, that Dr. Rawlinson died upon Thursday was seven-night, about four in the afternoon; and your letters came to me that very night, and you proceeded to an election before I could send any answer upon Saturday; which was more haste than was fit, unless I had been formerly acquainted with your title, and resolved upon your right. I think I have not so carried businesses in the University, as that you should suspect my justice; and, therefore, being the first in this kind that fell since I was Chancellor, a little respect might have been had to me, and not such a sudden resolution taken as must needs seem to slight me, and can do you no good. For in whomsoever the choice be, the approbation is necessarily mine; and since you have been so quick in the choice, you shall find me as slow, perhaps, in the admittance. And were it not that I so far tender the memory of Dr. Ayry[m], I would resolutely say, this man whom you have chosen should never be Principal; and what it may prove yet, I cannot tell. When I have had more leisure to consider of

[l] [Dr. John Rawlinson, who was originally a Fellow of S. John's, was Laud's chief opponent in his election as President. (Heylin, Cypr. Angl. ad an. 1611.) He was, among his other preferments, Rector of Whitchurch, Salop, where he died, Feb. 8, 163$\frac{4}{5}$.]

[m] [This was Henry Airay, who had 'picked a quarrel' with Laud 'about his sermon.' (See Diary, Oct. 21, 1606.) The new Principal of S. Edmund's Hall, Adam Airay, was his relation. He was not admitted Principal till March 9.]

the papers which he brought concerning your claim, you shall hear further from me. In the meantime, I cannot take the business well. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your neglected Friend,

GUIL. LONDON.

London House, Feb. 11, 1630.

To the right worshipful my good friend Dr. Potter, Provost of Queen's Coll. in Oxford, These.

LETTER XXXIV.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. cxxxiii. pp. 86, 87 [n].]

Salutem in Christo.

Literas hodie tibi debeo binas; totidem enim accepi [o], nec reddidi. Sum in hoc genere æris solvendo paulo tardior. Et certe aliquid tantum est, quod possim solvere. Tanta enim mole negotiorum gravatus sum, ut aliquid sit, et sæpius, quod mihimetipsi debeo, nec solvere possum, quidni ergo et amicis aliquando? Et quod nunc in hoc scribendi officio tibi non desim, gratias ago stylo huic contractiori, qui hoc unum novit, multa paucis concludere.

Intelligo ex utrisque literis tuis metum injectum esse Lugdunensibus, non solum ne te amitterent, sed et ne Academiam; saltem ne Professores quosque digniores ad se allicerent Amstelodamenses. Eos autem primores juvenum facile sequuntur, sicut illi præmia ampliora. Et quid sine his Academia? Superest, ut vel stipendia adaugeant Leidenses, quod in bonum cedet Professoribus; aut ut Professores Amstelodamum concedant, quod malum minatur Academiæ; quin et civitati etiam, quæ ex frequentia studentium ditior facta, nec cupit, scio, lucrum dediscere. Reliqua, in tantum te spectant, cupio audire, sed quum causa finita est, et quum statio tua fixa.

Filium tuum salvum et reducem gestio videre. Hoc bene

[n] [Exstat etiam, magna vero sui parte mutila, apud Præst. ac Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dv. p. 765.]

[o] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epistt. cxl. (pp. 172, 173.) cl. (pp. 182, 183.)]

est, sed male quod abiit me nesciente. Quid? Ut ad te, quem tanti facio, quanti, spero, nosti, abeat filius tuus sine me? Iterum (si quæ occasio detur) non faciet spero. Et unice probo, quod tam cito remiseris. Non quasi de progressu ipsius, dum apud te, dubium ullum, sed ne in Collegii statuta peccaret.

Si quæ parata habeas, nolim ut abscondas. Nosti quid sit, Lucerna sub modio. Nec erit male posita opera, si scripta illa, quæ ut antiqua sunt, ita ante hoc sæculum pæne antiquata, e pulvere suo extrahas, iisque aliquid lucis addas. Semper tamen inculco Baronium, et eo magis quia Ecclesia (sic enim scribis) summa votorum tibi.

Franc. Junius[p] rediit in Britanniam citius multo quam opinabar, utpote qui satis novi, quo animo in Gallias profectus sit.

Attulit secum literas ab amplissimo viro Hugone Grotio ad me datas. Gratissimæ illæ (virum enim illum doctissimum semper agnovi), sed rescribendi otium non datur. Nota etiam mihi probitas et eruditio Junii, nec opus, ut a te habeam illum commendatiorem. Scias velim, me et tui, et Grotii, et sui causa facturum quod possum.

Victoriæ Principis vestri gratulor. Cedat precor in gloriam Dei et bonum Ecclesiæ. De prudentia ipsius et virtute militum, non est apud me dubium; sed si iterum et in mari non rubro Israelem præivit nebula, date quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.

De filio tuo iterum. Et iterum si placeat. Nam cur non et hic duplex primogeniti portio? Certe mihi curæ erit, quamdiu ipse sibi. Tu eum hortare, ut facis. Et quo magis te et tua in eo conspexero, eo majori cura me eum prosecuturum spondeo. Quod reliquum, te, et illum, et tuos Deo fovendos commendo. Et quum fuerit opportunum, te rogo, ut nomine meo virum illum spectatissimum Hug. Grotium [salutes], eique pro literis per Junium missis gratias agas. Hoc facto scias me

Amicum semper tibi fore

Fidelissimum,

Novemb. 7, 1631. GUIL. LONDON.

[p] [Vide supra, p. 277.]

LETTER XXXV.

TO THOMAS COMBER, MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 363.]

I am sorry you have been troubled at Cambridge with the distempered speeches of any men in the pulpit. And I must confess, I heard of both the particulars you mention before I received your letter. That in St. John's, it seems, they have punished; and you do very worthily to join with them, in case anything for the public shall be further requisite. And as for Mr. Bernard[q], I am the more sorry for him, because he is in London, within my charge. Nevertheless, if he have done unworthily, I shall be very ready to assist you and the University, in what I may be able. And since you gave a decree to the Beadle to convent him, and he slipped away the while, I will do the best I can to send him back, there to be answerable to the government against which he hath offended. And if he shall refuse to do so, without giving better reason than I think he can, I shall certainly suspend him till he do it. So, in haste, I leave you, &c.

W. LONDON.

Endorsed: May 27, 1632.
A clause of my letter to Dr. Comber concerning Mr. Bernard.

LETTER XXXVI.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. cxlix. pp. 100, 101[r].]

VIR ILLUSTRISSIME,—Literæ tuæ Id. Februariis datæ[s] nuper ad me delatæ sunt. In quibus, quod mihi gratissimum, lego pro Amstelodamensibus pronunciatum esse, et te ibi inauguratum. Cedant tibi in bonum omnia. Spero enim te, Numine propitio valde, sedem, non studia, mutasse. Sti-

[q] [Nathaniel Bernard, Lecturer at St. Sepulchre's in London, in preaching at St. Mary's in Cambridge, May 6, 1632, "uttered some offensive words concerning some ceremonies and rites used in some churches," as Comber the Vice-Chancellor informed Laud. See Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 363.]

[r] [Exstat etiam, magna vero sui parte mutila, in locis autem quibusdam emendatior, apud Præst. ac Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dviii. p. 767.]

[s] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. clviii. pp. 189, seq.]

pendium altera parte majus usui erit tuis, quod paucioribus horis publice doceas, erit tibi et studiis.

Casaubonus[t] a morte Reverendissimi Wintoniensis[u] in meam clientelam transiit. Ego Patris nomine et suo, quæ potui feci, ut liber a curis studiis indulgeret; quibus æque ac majoribus conatibus (si majores sint) res domi augustiores obstare solent. Alia et majora facturus sum, quum facultas adsit[v], et erit opportunum. Interim gaudeo tot nominibus tibi gratum accessisse Casauboni Optatum[x]. Si qua in re aurem tibi vellat, spero mitius agit, nollem enim, ut quid durius, quum tantis sis occupationibus distentus, nec vellem ut aliis quam tuis passibus, et quibus feliciter possis, progrediaris.

Armachanus certe noster[y] Vir doctus et gravis librum tibi dicatum, a se scriptum[z] ad me misit. Gratias egi, ut par erat; nam valde mihi Præsul ille ob multiplicem doctrinam charus. Sed quum primum inspexi, nonnulla occurrebant, quæ mihi raptim (prout res meæ exigunt) legenti non ita arrisere. Præcipue vero ille S. Aug. sensus restrictior, qui venerabilem illum Patrem nec antiquioribus in Ecclesia, nec sibi ipsi, constare permisit. Gratias vero tibi ago summas, quod (etsi paucis id a te factum) significare placuit, in quibus necesse tibi sit a viro tanto dissentire. Dignare, obsecro, si per otium liceat, pleniori calamo, breviter tamen, ea, et si quæ alia sunt, describere, et ad me transmittere, in privatum tantum usum vertenda.

De amplissimo illo Viro Hu. Grotio pauca habeo. Salutes, quæso, virum doctissimum meis nominibus. Fac etiam, ut sciat gratum mihi admodum fuisse, quod calculo ejus dignissimo indignissimus approbatus sim, quod ex ipsius ad Casaubonum literis intellexi[a]. Cæterum reditum ejus in patriam fateor mihi semper fuisse inter res vix credibiles, cujuscunque demum suasu fuerit. Nec deest mihi ratio, etsi non hic et nunc inserenda. Si iterum sponte patria excedat, felix est,

[t] [Mericus Casaubonus, Isaaci filius, admissus ad Eccl. Cant. Canonicatum, Junii 19, 1628.]

[u] [Lanceloti Andrewes, qui obierat Sept. 25, 1626.]

[v] [Contulit ei Laudus, tum Archiep. Cantuar., Vicariam de Minster, Oct. 4, 1635, et Vicariam de Monkton, Oct. 25, ejusd. anni.]

[x] [Ediderat Optatum una cum Notis et Observationibus, Londini. 1631.]

[y] [Jacobus Usserius, Archiep. Armach.]

[z] [Gotteschalci et Prædestinarianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historiam, editam Eblanæ, A.D. 1631.]

[a] [Vide Merici Casauboni ad has Hug. Grotii literas responsum apud Merici Casauboni Epist. p. 3. Roterod. 1709.]

quod eum tot reges principesque desiderant. Hoc uno infelicior, quod non tam, aut facile, aut tuto, eligere potest, atque eligi. Quod præ aliis invides eum Britanniæ, placet id quidem, et quam utilis esse potest, non magis scio quam agnosco. Sed, ut nunc res sunt apud nos, de ea re ne cogitandum quidem.

Quod interjicis de turbis Lugdunensibus, et capitis supplicio irrogato homicidæ[b], certe non sine dolore audio hæc et similia de Academiis. Inter pessimos mores quid restat, si occidere, vel occidi, sit Academice vivere? Felix tamen Lugdunum vestrum, quod inter tam crebras cædes, tot habet tamen nobiles, quotidie illuc advolantes studii et eruditionis causa, auditque Asylum juventutis. Sed non sic olim crevere literæ.

Quod reliquum est (nam alia me avocant), cura valetudinem, ut diu usui esse possis Ecclesiæ Christi. Ævum schismaticum dicis; nec audeo abnuere. Interim necesse est ferre, quod nec vitare potes, nec corrigere. Et certe morbus adeo complicatus est, ut nescio quem potest Medicum exspectare, præter Deum. Auctorem salutis nostræ dum precibus sollicitas, sis mei memor. Vale.

Tui studiosissimus,

GUIL. LONDON.

Julii 3, 1632.

Fere inter scribendum accepi orationem a te publice habitam, certe doctissimam, de Utilitate Historiæ. Gratias ago maximas.

LETTER XXXVII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 57, 58[c].]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I humbly thank you for your noble letters to me, and I cannot doubt of your assurance to me.

[b] [Iste homicida "fuit ex famulitio Principis Razevilii, eo tempore apud Lugdunenses degentis." Vide Vossii Epist. clviii. p. 190.]

[c] [This letter is placed by Knowler in 1631; but it obviously belongs to 1632, as Wentworth was not made Deputy of Ireland till Jan. 7, 163½; also, Moreton was not made Bishop of Durham till June 1632.]

I am glad to hear from so good a hand as your Lordship's, that my Lord Newcastle[d] is so well affected to me. You know I had need hold some friends; and, certainly, if his Lordship come into the south, to me he must be welcome, to whomsoever he be not; and, if it were in my power to hold him here, the north should not have him again in haste. I hope they are as well minded to him, that have more power.

Mr. Secretary Windebank[e] takes himself much bound to your Lordship, and hath lately expressed so much to you by his own letters.

The same day that I received letters from your Lordship about Smart[f], I received the like from my Lord his Grace of York[g]; they came to me at Oatlands. There I acquainted his Majesty with it, and read my Lord of York's letter to him, and left it in his hands to give to Mr. Secretary Coke, that he might write presently down about it. I acquainted the King likewise with the passage in your letter. I hope your Lordship, and the Commissioners there, will make that most unworthy Dean an example[h].

For Dr. Carr[i] I have moved, and have obtained in your name what you desire for him. But I must tell your Lordship, fifty miles is a great distance; and the King was marvellous strict; yet he said he would not deny it you, being to leave those parts for his better service[k]. Yet this he requires, that Dr. Carr shall, within the space of two years, bring himself within the distance of thirty miles,

[d] [William Cavendish, created Earl of Newcastle, March 7, 1628; Marquess of Newcastle, Oct. 27, 1643; and Duke of Newcastle, March 16, 1664: a most accomplished person, and also actively employed on the side of the King in the great Rebellion. The Archbishop bequeathed him his best diamond ring. (See Will.)]

[e] [Sir Francis Windebank, so frequently mentioned in the Diary.]

[f] [Peter Smart, Prebendary of the fourth stall in Durham Cathedral. He preached, in 1628, two celebrated sermons on "The Vanity and Downfall of Superstition and Popish Ceremonies," for which he was deprived in the High-Commission Court. He was released by the Long Parliament, and retaliated by instituting a prosecution against Cosin and others. See vol. iv. pp. 40, 293.]

[g] [Richard Neile.]

[h] [Dr. Hunt, who appears to have favoured Smart.]

[i] [Thomas Carr, Prebendary of the fourth stall in Durham Cathedral. He was presented by Lord Strafford to the livings of Hungate and Aycliffe, and attended him at his murder on the scaffold. (Walker's Sufferings, p. 20.)]

[k] [Wentworth had, a few months before, been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland.]

which the canon of the Church allows. And of this I heartily pray your Lordship to take the best care you can, to help him to an exchange. For the world will be apt to think this is my doing, and that I make too little conscience of distance. This to your letters.

Now, my Lord, what do you, or have you done, about Dr. Bramhall for the prebend? For my Lord of Durham is actually translated, and so out of it[l].

And what do you mean to do for your journey into Ireland? Will you stay till August be past, and put yourself upon the flaws of September in that broken sea? Have you courted, you know whom, all this while (for I have nothing but what Cassius tells me), to take no better company with you than Michaelmas Riggs? If you do not make haste, I profess I cannot tell what to say to your journey. You may find more danger in a ship to Ireland, than over the Thames in a skuller. Did ever Brutus or Cassius do thus or thus at Tiber?

One business more I must acquaint you with: the Lord Mountnorris[m], when he went, spake with me to get him a chaplain, a sober man and a good scholar. His intentions are very honourable, but too long for a letter. He told me, the party (if I could fit him) was to come over with your Lordship. I have, I think, fitted his desires[n]; but whether my Lord acquainted you with this or not, I cannot tell. I thought fit, however, to tell you of it; for I should be loth to have him prepare himself, and then be left behind; the rest of this you shall have, when I have the happiness to see you. I hear my Lord Bishop of Lincoln[o] uses my name at his pleasure, and strangely, if all be true I hear. God forgive him, and I do. But I hope He will preserve me from such inveterate malice. This is too long too, and not worth repeating. I will hope he is misreported to me.

[l] [Thomas Moreton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, had been confirmed Bishop of Durham the previous July 2. The stall which Bramhall held in York Cathedral was Husthwaite, to which he was not admitted till June 13, 1633. See Bramhall's Works, vol. i. p. xvii.]

[m] [Francis Annesley, created Baron Mountnorris in 1628.]

[n] [The person who was selected was James Croxton, of whom see more in vol. iv. p. 288, note [a]. He is frequently mentioned below in the course of these Letters.]

[o] [John Williams, Laud's bitter opponent.]

My Lord Marshall[p] and his Lady[q] are gone towards Cumberland. I presume they have, or will see you in those parts, where I shall now never have the honour to see you, if I should lose my way again between Rotherham and Rouslye Bar. So, wishing you all health and happiness, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's most affectionate
Friend and Servant,
GUIL. LONDON.

July 30, 1631 [*leg.* 1632].

LETTER XXXVIII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. clxi: p. 105[r].]

Salutem in Christo.

Junius[s] vester nosterque, vos et nativum solum repetit. Causa itineris est Comes Arundelianus, cui jam feliciter servit. Comes ille, non genere clarior quam virtutibus, Legatus Regius ad sororem Reginam Bohemiæ[t], ad vos proficiscitur; tum ut ei solatio sit graviter amissum maritum dolenti; tum ut eam, si ita Deo et Reginæ visum fuerit, in Angliam reducat. Hinc occasionem avide arripiens Junius, me gaudio perfusus adit, et vos desiderio prius, quam ulnis, amplectitur. Quæris ergo cur Junius sine literis meis? Certe non est, quod nihil habeam, quod scribam, scribo enim (ut vides) etsi nihil: sed, non inscio Junio aliis manibus literas meas credidi, ut juvenis hic, præclaræ certe indolis, qualemqualem occasionem habeat te videndi, et meo nomine salutandi. Filius autem est, et natu quidem maximus honoratissimi DD. Francisci Windebank[u], Regiæ Majestatis nuper Secretarii, et a Consiliis; viri ut alias dignissimi, ita mihi per annos triginta et amplius amicissimi. Juvenem hunc eo amore, quo amicos beare soles, prosequere, et omnia quæ nunc petenda sunt perfecisti. Velim etiam, ut Junio gratias

[p] [Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.]

[q] [Alathea, daughter and co-heir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.]

[r] [Exstat etiam, maxima vero parte sui mutila, apud Præst. ac Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dxvi. p. 771.]

[s] [Vide supra, p. 277.]

[t] [Vide tom. iii. p. 216, note [k].]

[u] [Thomas Windebank, de quo plura apud Prynne, 'Hidden Works,' pp. 144, seq.]

agas, quod hic amici mei filius ei curæ sit. Quod nec multis, nec sæpius scribo, negotia mea in causa sunt, non animus. Baronium tamen etiam nunc inculco, et scis quid magnopere velim. Hoc etiam habe; me omnia fecisse, et facturum, quæ Grotio nostro dignissimo, aut honori sunt, aut usui esse possunt. Reliqua Dei sunt. Vale, et quoties Deum adoras, pro me ores; sum enim

Tibi in Christo amicissimus,

GUIL. LOND.

Lond. Decembr. 26, 1632.

LETTER XXXIX.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Ibid. Epist. cxxxvii. p. 90.]

Salutem in Christo.

Nudiusquintus scripsi ad te, Vir Clarissime. Nuncius tum et Junius tuus et Windebankus meus. Quum literas illas ad te dedi, prorsus nihil rescivi de filio tuo, nisi quod omnia bene Cantabrigiæ. Quum ecce literæ ab amicis meis intimis, et qui tibi filioque optime vovent, ad me properant. Clamant filium tuum, non otiosum tantum, sed et pene dissolutum. Deus bone, qualis mutatio, et quam inexpectata! Doleo valde, sed tua interest, ut quam proximum rescires. Aiunt illum, amore puellæ, et famæ non satis integræ (utpote degentis in diversorio) captum esse. Si matrimonium contrahat et tale, quantus dolor! Statim in ipso Nunc literarum istarum scripsi ad illos, ut omnia facerent, quæ ægrum filium tuum possint sanare, aut saltem impedire, ne sic miser pereat. Societas enim, qua fruitur in Collegio Jesu, illa altera Societate perditur, et unde vitam quæret nescio. Consilium dant amici, nec aliud ego, ut tu quam citissime tanquam aliud volens filium accersas, celerrimum reditum promittas, sed quum in tuam, i. e. patriam potestatem devenerit, potes alia et salubria consilia capere. Num Junius abeuns eum non adiit? Num adiit, et nihil est suspicatus novi. Deus bone, quam male me habet animus! A tempore quo a te redux (diu id mihi videtur) me non invisit. Quum hoc audio, jubeo literas hasce meas volare, ut tu jubeas reditum

filii tui, saniora spero consilia inituri, quum te viderit. Vale, et me ama, ut mihi molestum est hæc scribere.

Tibi amic.

Jan. 4, 1632
Stylo nostro.

GUIL. LONDIN.

LETTER XL.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Ibid. Epist. cxl. pp. 92, 93 [x]]

Salutem in Christo.

VIR CLARISSIME, Admodum gratæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ [y], ut semper, ita nunc præcipue. Diu enim expetii brevem, sed magis dilucidam sententiæ Godescalsianæ Expositionem, quam ullibi adhuc mihi videre contigit. Et certe lis illa de gratia et libero arbitrio eo inauspicatius mota mihi videtur, quia vix ulli, qui a primis ante S. Aug. Patribus recesserunt, tam feliciter rem aggressi sunt, ac priores illi. Nunc literæ tuæ, et chartulæ inclusæ, mihi et votis meis abunde satisfecerunt, et gratias ago. Si quæ tamen sunt, quæ post uberiorem disquisitionem prolixius placet scribere, mihi certe pergratissima futura sunt.

Exercitationes Grammaticæ tibi forsan (ut res tuæ sunt) necessariæ editu, aliis proculdubio utiles, mihi acceptiores futuræ, nisi te a Baronio avocarent. Summopere enim cupio historiam veteris Ecclesiæ a te aut compositam, aut limatam videre; id est, a præjudiciis, et contrariarum factionum interpolationibus liberatam.

Gratulor tibi de Dionysio tuo [z], quod annum vix egressus vigesimum tam alta sapiat. Si Rabbi Mos. Maimonidis transferre ex Hebræo cogitat, et auctor placet et argumentum, sc. de Idololatriæ Exordiis et Progressu. De nomine, cui inscribere decrevit opus tam insigne, id mihi voluptati erit, quod placet vobis [a]. Interim carmina ejus, quæ geminum implent Panegyricum, Principi Arausioniensium debita [b], avidius per-

[x] [Prior hujus Epistolæ pars exstat quoque apud Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dxvii. pp. 771, 772.]

[y] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. clxxxvi. p. 208.]

[z] [De quo in Epist. superius citata Vossius ad Laudum scripserat.]

[a] [Voluit librum suum Laudo inscribere. Vide Vossii Epist. p. 209.]

[b] [Vide ibid. p. 210.]

legi, sed (ut soleo) propere nimis præ negotiis, quæ me non a studiis modo, sed et meipso divellunt.

Et utinam hic laus Dionysii terminus esse posset Epistolæ hujus, sed Johannes id non patitur, nec literæ tuæ per Junium nostrum allatæ [c]. De amoribus illis si antea audivisti, eo doleo magis, quod monitis tuis, non dico, spretis, neglectis tamen, ullam cum ea consuetudinem ulterius foveret. Si nolit uxorem, cur vult consuetudinem? Cur famam placet alere in proprium dedecus? Si extremæ dementiæ sit projicere se infra sortem suam, certe vix minoris est, id agere, quo magis fama frustra scindatur sua. Negat hæc omnia, audio, et spero vere. Sed vera sint illa de nuptiis, sive non, certum est et horas male collocare bonas, et æs alienum contrahere, quæ duo, sola ut sint, ferenda non sunt. Hæc autem ita se habere, potes e chartula hac inclusa scire. Clausula est literarum Doctoris Beli, Collegii Jesu apud Cantabrigienses Præpositi [d], quas nuperrime ad me misit. Belus lingua vernacula scripsit, literas ejus Latinas fecit inelegantior calamus.

Junius statim a reditu et me consuluit, et Cantabrigiam petiit. Rediens inde me frustra quæsivit, ut quem negotia alibi magis detinent quam domi. Id tantum servo meo concredidit, intra triduum aut eo circiter adfuturum filium tuum. Ecce paro literas, sed nimis propere scriptas, et de filio tuo nihil habent, quod addant. A Junio ea spero accipies. Si bona sint, tecum gaudeo; si alia, et non pessima, potes id agere, Deo propitio, ut quum ad te venerit filius, redimatur quam queas minimo, sive damno, sive periculo. Gravia certe hæc sunt, sed ad meliorem se frugem recipiet filius, si forte (ut fertur) aberravit. Deus te diu incolumem servet tibi, tuis, et mihi

Nominis et meriti
tui Cultori,

Feb. 15, 1632, GUIL. LONDIN.
Comp. nostro.

Hucusque filium tuum exspectavi frustra. Cantabrigia Londinum decessit, antequam ego has literas scripsi. Si alas mutuatus est, quibus ad te volet, bene est. Sed timeo omnia. Iterum vale.

[c] [Vide Vossii Epist. cxci. p. 212.]
[d] [Guil. Belus, de quo plura videas apud 'Walker's Sufferings,' p. 148.]

LETTER XLI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 81, 82.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I humbly and heartily pray you to give me leave to recommend these particulars following both to your memory and your justice, so soon as it pleases God you shall be settled in Ireland. And that you will be pleased to consider of so many particulars, as concern the Church and religion, with as much favour as justice can give way unto.

1. I humbly pray your Lordship to remember what you have promised me concerning the Church at Dublin[c], which hath for divers years been used for a stable by your predecessors; and to vindicate it to God's service, as you shall there examine, and find the merits of the cause.

2. That you would be pleased to consider of the business proposed by the Lord Viscount Mayo, so far as you shall find it honourable, and for the King's service; and let his Lordship know, that, according to my word, I have remembered it.

3. That you would be pleased, when old Mr. Matchet brings my letters to you, about the rights of his parsonage, to preserve him and the Church's cause, so far as you shall find it just, for his adversary is potent.

4. That in the great cause of the Impropriations, which are yet remaining in his Majesty's gift, and which he is most graciously willing to give back to God and His service, you will do whatsoever may justly be done for the honour and service of our two great masters, God, and the King; that you would countenance and assist the Lord Primate of Armagh in all things belonging to this great service. And particularly for the procuring of a true and just valuation of them, that the King may know what he gives the Church. I pray, my Lord, be hearty in this, for I shall think myself

[c] [S. Andrew's church. See Letter from the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, Feb. 26, 1631. (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 68.)]

very happy, if God be pleased to spare my life to see this business ended.

5. I would also pray your Lordship to give the Lord Bishop of Limerick [f] that fair and just hearing, which I know you will not deny to any; the rather because the said Bishop pretends in his letter to me, that he desires nothing but justice [g].

6. The next is a particular business concerning St. John's College in Oxford; to which college Dr. Michael Boyle [h], now Bishop of Waterford, is indebted thirty-five pounds, as appears by note under Dr. Juxon's hand, then President of the college [i], which I here deliver your Lordship. I presume he cannot be so unworthy as to deny the debt. If he be, I here send your Lordship the bond itself, which he entered to the college according to course, when he was made Fellow; and two letters which himself sent to me, while I was President, acknowledging the debt, and desiring forbearance. I pray your Lordship the college may be no longer deluded by him, but that you will be honourably pleased to receive the college money, and deliver him his bond, or call him to a legal account, if he refuse, that we may once have an end of this business.

7. There is one Christopher Sands, who, as I am informed, dwells now in Londonderry, and teaches an English school there; and I do much fear he doth many things there, to the dishonour of God, and the endangering of many poor souls.

[f] [Francis Gough, consecrated September 17, 1626, died August 26, 1634.]

[g] [This case is thus mentioned in the letter written December 1633, by Wentworth to Laud, in which he gives an account of the progress he had made in his 'Church-work':—"My Lord of Limerick had likewise a suit with one Streatch, which continued many years, and the Bishop not anything the nearer. The matter concerned 80*l.* a year, given by one Lofthouse (whose daughter and heir this Streatch since married) to the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, intending sure the Roman; but we hold ours the Catholic Bishop, and therefore have rectified the knowledge of the donor, and applied it to the right bishop indeed. So it is ordered at the Board, that Streatch shall convey and release all his interest to the Church, and take back a lease of one-and-twenty years from the bishop, paying 40*l.* rent, and 40*l.* fine." It is added, in the margin of this passage, "that Lofthouse was moved to restore these lands, and a stone house of his own, forth of remorse of conscience, by recompence for the lands he had *mala fide* taken the benefit of from the Church."—Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 171, 172.]

[h] [Michael Boyle was elected Scholar of St. John's in 1593. He came first to Ireland as Dean of Lismore, and was consecrated, in 1619, Bishop of Waterford.]

[i] [Juxon was President of St. John's from November 19, 1621, to 1632.]

For the party is a Jew, and denies both Christ and His Gospel; as I shall be able to prove, if I had him here. I humbly pray your Lordship, that he may be seized on by authority, and sent over in safe custody, and delivered either to myself, or to Mr. Mottershed, the Register of the High-Commission, that he may not live there to infect his Majesty's subjects.

8. I am likewise commanded by his Majesty to deliver your Lordship a clause of a letter sent unto me by the Lord Primate of Armagh, Novr. 1st, 1632, with which I acquainted his Majesty. At which time his princely pleasure was, that your Lordship should assure the Lord Primate, that he would see the jurisdiction of the Church established there, to be maintained, against both recusants, and other factionists whatsoever; and that you should do your best endeavour to stop all such occasions as may dishearten the bishops in God's service and his. This branch of the letter I also here deliver to your Lordship.

9. I further pray your Lordship to take notice by the Lord Primate of Armagh, of the readiness of the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland [k] to set forwards the maintenance of the ministers in that kingdom, and to encourage him to advance the same. As also to move the Lord Chief Justice for his opinion, what legal course he shall think fittest may be held for the present means of curates out of the impropriations in Ireland; which I am credibly informed his Lordship is very able, and willing to give.

10. I heartily pray your Lordship to take notice of young Mr. Croxton [l], whom I send over with your Lordship to the Lord Mountnorris. I hope he will prove so honest and so able a man, as may do good service to those parts, if God bless him with life. And I doubt not, but, as it shall fall in your way, your Lordship will bestow some preferment upon him for his maintenance, for which I will thank you, and rest

Your Lordship's loving poor
Friend to serve you,

April 30, 1633. GUIL. LONDON.

[k] [Sir George Shurley.]

[l] [See above, p. 302.]

LETTER XLII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 110, 111.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I heartily thank your Lordship for all your love, and for the joy you are pleased both to conceive and express for my translation to Canterbury; for I conceive all your expressions to me are very hearty, and such I have hitherto found them. And now, since I am there, (for my translation is to be on Thursday, Sept. 19th,) I must desire your Lordship not to expect more at my hands than I shall be able to perform, either in Church or State; and this suit of mine hath a great deal of reason in it, for you write, that ordinary things are far beneath that which you cannot choose but promise yourself of me in both respects. But, my Lord, to speak freely, you may easily promise more in either kind than I can perform. For, as for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your Lordship sees, no man clearer, that they which have gotten so much power in and over the Church, will not let go their hold; they have, indeed, fangs with a witness, whatsoever I was once said in passion to have. And for the State, indeed, my Lord, I am for 'thorough,' but I see that both thick and thin stays somebody, where I conceive it should not; and it is impossible for me to go thorough alone. Besides, private ends are such blocks in the public way, and lie so thick, that you may promise what you will, and I must perform what I can, and no more.

Next, my Lord, I thank you heartily for your kind wishes to me, that God would send me many and happy days where I now am to be. Amen. I can do little for myself, if I cannot say so; but truly, my Lord, I look for neither: not for many, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life; not for happy, because I have no hope to do the good I desire; and, besides, I doubt I shall never be able to hold my health

there one year; for instead of all the jolting which I had over the stones between London House and Whitehall, which was almost daily, I shall have now no exercise, but slide over in a barge to the Court and Star-Chamber; and in truth, my Lord, I speak seriously, I have had a heaviness hang upon me ever since I was nominated to this place, and I can give myself no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that there is more expected from me than the craziness of these times will give me leave to do.

That there is a sharp contention between the Seculars and the Regulars in Ireland[m], and that the titular Archbishop of Dublin[n] sides as a Benedictine with the Regulars, is no news to me; for my Lord Primate, I thank him, hath sent me over some of the books which have been written and printed in that argument; but the habit both of the Bishop and Priests, I swear by his Grace's stockings, is as new as blue. Indeed, my Lord, I did not think to hear of a clergy so suited on that party. I should not much have wondered had it been Knox and his fellows; but your Lordship may see by this to what contempt and scorn the rents and divisions of the Church have brought many of all parties; but I, for my part, must acknowledge the judgment just.

For the matter itself, since you are pleased to ask such advice, as I can give; First, I know no reason of state why you should cooperate to set the contrary party at one. Secondly, I know no reason in religion why a superior should excommunicate any man for suing his civil rights in the civil courts of justice, especially if he break no canon of the Church in the manner of pursuit. In which case, if your Lordship do prosecute the Archbishop, by the King's Attorney, for not recalling such his excommunication, I think you shall do but your duty. Nevertheless, if he shall send to his superiors to consult whether he shall recal his excommunication or no, (as I verily think he will,) I should think, because this is a leading case, it were not amiss for your Lordship to communicate it to the Lords of the Council here, and then you may be the more ready for what answer soever his superiors

[m] [See some papers relating to this dispute in Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 106–109.]

[n] [Thomas Fleming. He is called a Franciscan in the Protest of the Romish Bishops, ibid. p. 107.]

shall give him; but this I submit to your Lordship's better judgment.

Now, my Lord, why may you not write, as whilom you did to the Bishop of London? The man is the same, and the same to you; but I see you stay for better acquaintance, and till then you will keep distance. I perceive, also, my predecessor's awe is upon you, but I doubt I shall never hold it long; and I was about to swear by my troth, as you do, but I remember oaths heretofore were wont to pass under the Privy Seal, and not the ordinary seal of letters. Well, wiser or not, you must take that as you find it; but I will not write any long letters and leave out my mirth, it is one of the recreations I have always used with my friends, and 'tis hard leaving an old custom, neither do I purpose to do it; though I mean to make choice of my friends, to whom I will use it. For proof of this, I here send your Lordship some sermon notes which I have received from Cambridge; and, certainly, if this be your method there, you ride as much aside as ever Croxton did towards Ireland. I wish your Lordship all health and happiness, and so leave you to the grace of God, ever resting

Your Lordship's very loving poor Servant,

W. CANT. ELECT.

Fulham, Sept. 9th, 1633.

LETTER XLIII.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 10[p].]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, —My duty and all due respects remembered, I do, in the first place, congratulate with your Grace, or rather with

[p] [The letters of Bp. Williams, now printed for the first time in this collection from the originals in Lambeth Library, are introduced, not only for the purpose of making the Archbishop's replies intelligible, but also to illustrate the position in which these leading Churchmen stood to each

this happy and flourishing Church of England, that it hath pleased God to put it into his Majesty's heart to advance your Grace's person, so full of great parts and abilities, and withal so acceptable unto his Majesty, to be Primate of all England, and the Metropolitan of this province. And do must humbly and willingly offer unto your Grace my best service and attendance, either on your Consecration, as one of your Grace's poor Officers, or in any other way, as one of your Grace's Bishops or Suffragans.

Lindwood, l. 5. titul. 'DePœnis,' c. 'æterno,' verbo 'tanquam.'

In the next place, protesting sincerely in the presence of God, that whatsoever, or from what man soever your Grace hath heard aught to the contrary, yet that in truth I did never, in all the time of my being in any nearness unto the late King or his Majesty that now is, either offer (willingly) any wrong, or omit any act of true and sincere friendship and respect unto your Grace, whom (as all men know, that know me) I esteemed one of my best and ablest friends in those times. This protestation, I say, sincerely premised in the presence of Almighty God, I humbly beseech your Grace to procure my peace with the King's Majesty, that resting in his favour, as others of his Majesty's ordinary Bishops and Chaplains, I may, for this short remainder of my life, serve God more quietly, and his Majesty more cheerfully and comfortably, and yet in no other ways and directions than his Majesty, by your Grace, to whom it now most properly belongeth, shall chalk and appoint me.

And for the favourers of Puritans or Sectaries, with whom I am most injuriously treated to comply so much, I renounce them all, of what sort or condition soever they be, from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyssop weeping upon the wall; and shall not be offended if all the world be acquainted with my profession in this kind, but shall always be ready to make it appear unto your Grace, that this great diocese, God's name be praised for it, is more free from unconformable ministers than ever it hath been these

other. The volume of MSS. from which they are transcribed, contains much other interesting matter relating to Bishop Williams. There is given, in the commencement of the volume, an account of the manner in which it came into the Archiepiscopal Library.]

sixty years; and had been so many years ago, if I had been as fortunate as other Bishops in the ability and faithfulness of those Ecclesiastical Officers, which my predecessors' patents have pinned upon me.

And so, my good Lord, being no more ready to receive that great favour in this kind from your Grace than I shall ever be, if not to deserve, yet to acknowledge it, I beseech God Almighty to preserve your Grace, and shall ever remain

Your Grace's most humble

Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

To the Most Rev. Father in God, his very good Lord Archbishop Elect of Canterbury His Grace, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, present these.

Endorsed :—'Recep. Sep. 9, 1633. My Ld. Bp. of Lincoln's Letter to me to move his Majesty, &c.'

LETTER XLIV.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 11 [q].]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I received your Lordship's letters about the middle of the last week, by the hands of Mr. Secretary Windebank; and had there been nothing in them but what I could have answered by myself, your Lordship should not have stayed so long for these of mine; but in that you desired from me a good office to the King, and who was then gone to Bagshot, I could neither do it, nor give your Lordship an account of it, till after this Sunday that I had spoken with his Majesty.

And now, my Lord, I shall distinctly answer to the three

[q] [These letters of Archbishop Laud to Bishop Williams, are not originals, as those of the Bishop, but are all in the handwriting of his amanuensis, and were evidently the copies preserved by him for future reference.]

parts into which you have divided your letters. And for the first, which is your congratulation, I heartily thank you for it; and I pray God give me that ability for the discharge of the place which your Lordship seems to suppose in me. I thank your Lordship, likewise, for your readiness to come up at this time to my translation; but before I knew that it stood with your liking and occasions, there were other Bishops named, upon whom I must now rely; and my day is so near (being Thursday next, the 19th of this present September) that I cannot hope these letters can come to your Lordship's hands much sooner than the very time.

For the second, which contains your Lordship's serious protestation, that in all the time of your nearness to King James, of blessed memory, or his Majesty that now is, you never did me wittingly any ill office; I leave it to your Lordship's truth and sincerity, and, howsoever, have no will at all to rake into anything that is past, and have, therefore, according to your Lordship's desires, very seriously and earnestly moved the procuring of your peace with his Majesty.

The King gave me a fair and a full hearing, and when I had done, commanded me to signify to you that he had given me leave to move him in any business of the Church whatsoever, but a charge withal that I should not be earnest in temporal causes, save where I was called in, and that he thought I was mistaken in this. For though your Lordship's person be ecclesiastical, yet the cause, he said, for which you were questioned was temporal, as was also the Court in which you were to answer[r]; and therefore his Majesty required me to forbear any further motion in that business. This was all the answer I could get from him, and all the service which in this particular I have been able to perform to your Lordship, though I were very willing to strain upon his Majesty directions given me to do you this good office, might my mediation have proved effectual.

In the last place, it is very true that divers men have charged upon your Lordship for favouring of sectaries, and

[r] [Bishop Williams was at this time lying under the charge of revealing the King's secrets. See above, p. 71.]

men that have neither loved the uniformity, nor the peace of the Church; but that, my Lord, must rest upon them that have so reported of you. And I hope your Lordship doth not look that I should take anything of theirs upon me. For if they have traduced you, I am not in any part of their fault, nor will I offer at any part of their defence. And if your Lordship can (as you say) make it appear that there are fewer unconformable ministers in that great diocese than have been these sixty years, I think your Lordship will need no other justification than that in this particular. And this also, because I thought it might do you good, I read out of your Lordship's letters to his Majesty. But whereas you add, that you have not been fortunate in the ability and faithfulness of such ecclesiastical officers as have been left to you by the patents of your predecessors; that, perhaps, is not your Lordship's case alone; but, howsoever, it is matter of law, and I shall not meddle with it one way or other.

And thus, my Lord, having given your Lordship a true account of the business you trusted with me, and a real answer to all other parts of your Lordship's letter, I shall forbear to be further troublesome at this present, but assure your Lordship that I shall always be very ready to perform towards you all the duty of my place, and all that I can in any way owe you in Christ's charity, and so rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, September 16th, 1633.

LETTER XLV.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 12.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, —I am much bound unto your Grace for this great pains your Grace was pleased to take in answering a letter, written principally to comply with my duty, and not to

put your Grace (at this time especially) to any molestation. I was an humble suitor indeed unto your Grace, to be my good Lord in mediating unto his most excellent Majesty for the extent of his favours towards me in the general, without the which it is but small comfort that I could promise my afflicted soul in any one particular; nor had I then any distinct thought, either of my cause, or the Court wherein it depended, my prayers aiming at his Majesty's mercies, which are so high above his justice.

Yet God forbid but that princely ear should be always open to your Grace for a poor man, whose person is Ecclesiastical, be his cause never so civil or temporal. Nor do I despair of mine own better fortune in this kind upon your Grace's further opportunities, and my humbling of myself, in the meanwhile, in true devotions towards my God, who hath in His hand the hearts of princes.

For those matters of fact I avowed in my letter, my witness is in Heaven, who I hope will never suffer me to fail in truth or sincerity, for anything can befal me here upon earth.

I humbly thank your Grace for your Christian charity; and will not omit to endeavour, by my duty and service, to merit in time your Grace's other relations; praying, in the meanwhile, Almighty God to bless your Grace with all happiness and prosperity.

Your Grace's most humble

Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, this 19th
of Sept. 1633.

To the Most Reverend Father in God,
my very good Lord, the Lord
Archbishop of Canterbury His
Grace, Primate of all England and
Metropolitan, present these.

Endorsed:—'Recep. Sep. 21, 1633.
The Ld. Bp. of Lincoln's
Lr. of Thanks, &c.'

LETTER XLVI.

TO THE PROVOST OF EDINBURGH.

[Steven's Hist. of Heriot's Hospital[s].]

S. in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c. I thank you and the whole Corporation of Edinburgh, for the love and worthy usage which I found, when I was lately in those parts upon attendance of his Majesty[t], as also for the kind letters which I have now received from you. Concerning their contents, I have already performed them as far as I am able: for I took occasion in the presence of the Lord Registrar (who is able to give you an account how heartily I did it) to move his Majesty, that the debt due to Mr. George Heriot, and given to that worthy work which I saw begun, and in good forwardness, may be carefully paid in, that so pious a work may not in that respect be hindered. His Majesty very graciously spake many good words both of Mr. Heriot, and the work, and in my hearing put the Lord Registrar upon the best way that for the present could be thought on, who I doubt not but will give you now at his return some good account of it. And if hereafter your agent, Mr. Johnstone, shall find that there is any further use of my mediation to his Majesty to advance that charitable work, I shall never be sparing of my pains, but be ready to give it and you all the assistance I can. So with remembrance of my love to the whole body of the town, and particularly to the subscribers of the letters to me, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and so rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth,
Octob.
1633.

To my very worthy friends, my Lord the Provost of Edinburgh, and the rest of his Brethren there.

[s] [This letter has been kindly compared with the original by the author of the above-named volume.]

[t] [See Diary, Works, vol. iii. p. 217.]

LETTER XLVII.

TO WM. PIERCE, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 141.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD, &c.—My businesses concerning my Translation are now almost over, and those of Term ready to begin. And in the interim, I am commanded by his Majesty to put you to a little pains. There hath been of late some noise in Somersetshire about the Feasts of the Dedications of Churches, commonly called the Wakes; and it seems, the Judges of assize formerly made an order to prohibit them, and caused it to be published in some or most of the churches there by the minister, without my Lord the Bishop's consent or privity[u]. The pretence of this hath been, that some disorders derogatory from God's service and the government of the commonwealth are committed at those times: by which argument, anything that is abused may be quite taken away. It seems there hath been some heat struck in the country about this, by the carriage of the Lord Chief Justice Richardson at the last two assizes, especially the last, with which his Majesty is not well pleased. And for the preventing of outrages, or disorders, at those feasts, no man can be more careful than his Majesty. But he conceives, and that very rightly, that all these may and ought to be prevented by the care of the Justices of Peace, and not leave the feasts themselves to be kept, for the neighbourly meetings and recreations of the people, of which he would not have them debarred for any frivolous pretences. And further, his Majesty hath been informed also, for this last year, since warning was given, there have not been any noted disorders at any of those feasts kept in those parts. Yet, for his better satisfaction, he hath commanded me to require you (which I do by these letters) to send for some of the gravest of your Clergy, and such as stand best affected

[u] [See an account of the disturbances here referred to, in Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 141 seq.; and compare, also, Abp. Laud's Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. xxvi. Works, vol. iv. pp. 133 seq.]

to the Church and Government in the several parts of your diocese, and by them to inform yourself, how these feasts have been ordered for this last year, and how free they have been from disorders; and to send me up an account of it, such as I may show to his Majesty, of which you must not fail. And he doubts not, but that you will perform the same, like a wise and prudent governor. Thus leaving this business to your care, and desiring you to make as much convenient haste with it as you can, I commend you to God's grace, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving
Friend and Brother,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, Octob. 4,
1633.

LETTER XLVIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 124, 125.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—In all your Lordship's very large letter, which I lately received, there is not one word of the Archbishop of Dublin's recalling his excommunication[v]; so it may be it is well ended; nor is there one word of your wonted recreation; so it may be, either you are not yet well enough acquainted at Lambeth, or else you are afraid that some sour ghost walks there. But to that which you have written, I shall give your Lordship a very clear answer, and as free as I used to do.

And first, I wholly agree with you, that the wars and their noise stunned the Church; and that, since the time of peace, it hath scarce thriven any better than it did in the war, must needs be in part charged upon the weakness and negligence of the Clergy themselves. But, having agreed with your Lordship thus far, I pray you give me leave to add two other causes, which have nipped the growth of it almost as

[v] [See above, p. 311.]

much as these. The one is the excessive number of the opposite party, and their heartiness to their own side damming up the ears of the people against any other instruction. And the second is, (which I for my part do somewhat believe,) that some of the Lord Deputies, which have been there in former times, have not given it that countenance and assistance which it extremely needed, and which I hope your Lordship will give. But for the recovery of the weakness it is in, I am wholly of your Lordship's belief, that the physicians, that must cure it, are on this side the sea; and further, that the fees allowed in those parts, are not large enough to tempt them over. And to force them in such a case, I can never hold it fit; for such a work will never be mastered by unwilling hands.

It is a very noble resolution in your Lordship to desire to be noted for speaking the best of your friends, rather than the worst of those that love you not. And indeed, my Lord, very seriously I have a very good opinion of all the four men you name, but not so large as your Lordship. And for Dr. Bramhall, I think, with your Lordship's direction and countenance, he will be able to do any service that can be put upon him. And as there is enough to do, so I presume you will set him on work. For that which you do conceive may be my part, whensoever the King shall think fit to do more than is done, and to make a better settlement of the Church, I will, God willing, be wanting to no duty that I am able to perform. In the meantime, since there is such a necessity for an army, as that without it there will be neither obedience to the King, nor respect to the Church, the Bishops which have opposed it, have shown a marvellous deal of weakness. And I am sorry that Kilmore[w] is one of them; especially considering what favour hath been showed to them, and their demesnes, in all the levies that have been for the army. And certainly, the first leisure I have, I will write to the Bishop of Kilmore about it, and all to that effect which you desire.

I heartily thank your Lordship for the enclosed paper which you sent me, though you might have spared the pains, for I was never jealous that you would do anything against

[w] [Dr. William Bedell, appointed Bp. of Kilmore in 1629.]

the good of the Church, or such intentions as I have towards it. For I am most confident, (and I protest my heart and my pen go together,) that since the Reformation there was never any Deputy in that kingdom intended the good of the Church so much, as your Lordship doth. And I hope you are as resolute in your thoughts for me, that, since I was the first man that humbly besought his Majesty to send some of his Chaplains to be Bishops in that kingdom, I shall not now recede from it, unless it be at some times, and upon some particular occasions, when I may receive informations from your Lordship of some very able and deserving men on that side.

Concerning the age of such as should be Bishops in those parts, I see your Lordship and I shall not differ much; for I did never intend, may I have free use of my own judgment, to send you any decrepid men amongst you. For I very well know, that in places where action is less necessary than in Ireland, a man may be as well too old, as too young, for a bishopric. Your Lordship would not have any there under thirty-five, nor above forty-five. And truly, my Lord, I am in the middle way, and that useth to be best; for I would have no man a Bishop anywhere under forty. And if your Lordship understood clergymen as well as I do, I know you would in this be wholly of my judgment. I never in all my life knew any more than one made a Bishop before forty, and he proved so well, that I shall never desire to see more, nor will, if I can hinder it; but this way that I have expressed, have with you upon all occasions both for Church and State. And if at any time I send you any of my acquaintance, and break rule of age, life, or doctrine, lay it upon me home.

My Lord, when I say, the less assistance the more merit, I did not put you off with a compliment, for my answer was real. 'Tis true, able and well-affected men are brave associates, and great services are done at ease by such instruments. But wot you what? Where many are employed at once, and all very able, there usually proves to be in some a fretting cankerworm of ambition, and that for particular aims makes such a division, as gives far greater impediment to the greatest affairs, than any want of sufficiency can make.

And, therefore, by your Lordship's leave, the conceit which you express, of all able, and all hearty, and all running one way, and none caring for any ends so the King be served, is but a branch of Plato's commonwealth, which flourishes at this day nowhere but in Utopia, and thither I have no purpose to send your Lordship.

For your St. John's business, it is yet under examination at Cambridge by commission, and what will become of it I cannot tell[x]. For my own part, I have done Mr. Oldisworth all right to his Majesty; and for Dr. Lane, I never saw him five times in my life, and to my remembrance never spake to him but once. God send the business a good end, for the University and the College sake; for I heartily wish the public well; and, to speak clearly, if the one be not sober enough for the government, I doubt the other may be found too weak: honest and learned is not enough for government.

And now, my Lord, I heartily wish you and your Lady all mutual content that may be; and I did never doubt that you undertook that course but upon mature consideration[y], and you have been pleased to express to me a very good one, in which God bless you and your posterity, though I did not write anything to you as an examiner. For myself, I must confess to your Lordship my weakness, that having been married to a very troublesome and unquiet wife before, I should be so ill-advised as now, being above sixty, to go marry another of a more wayward and troublesome generation. And I hope you are not grown so hard-hearted, but that you will either pardon or pity me in this slip; and the rather, because you write that a Bishop above fifty is fitter for his ease than labour, which had I thought upon as I ought, I might, perhaps, have been free from the burden which now lies heavy upon me; and yet you think that I may leave the

[x] [This refers to the disputed election to the headship of St. John's. Richard Pearson, the nephew and biographer of Holdsworth, in the Life prefixed to his Prelections, Lond. 1661, thus refers to the circumstance: "Collegii D. Johannis alumnus olim et socius ad ejusdem magisterium plurimis et potentioribus sociorum suffragiis delectus est; nonnullorum vero perversitate, aliorum præpotentia, de jure suo cedere coactus est." Both the candidates mentioned in the text were put aside, and Dr. William Beale admitted Feb. 20, 163⅔. Papers relating to the subject are preserved in Baker's MSS. vol. xxvii. pp. 95, 107, and vol. xxx. pp. 405—409.]

[y] [Wentworth had privately married, in Oct. 1632, as his third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes.]

callings of an unquiet life to answer your large letters. So in haste I leave you to the grace of God, and shall ever rest

Your Lordship's loving and poor
Friend to serve you,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, Oct. 14, 1633.

P.S.—I have herewith sent your Lordship a copy of my letters to the Bishop of Kilmore, which I pray your Lordship to peruse, and if you approve of them, to send them to him, but if otherwise, to burn them. I have received very pitiful letters from the Bishop of Kilfanora[z]; pray your Lordship afford him all the assistance you can. The Queen's Majesty was brought to bed this morning, Oct. 15, of a young duke[a]. God bless them both with strength and happiness.

LETTER XLIX.

TO WILLIAM BEDELL, BISHOP OF KILMORE.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 125, 126.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am bold to write half-a-dozen lines to you, which I must desire you to take as well as they are meant, both to your person and the cause.

I know not the particulars of your carriage towards the King and his service in those parts, but somewhat there is, either about the levy that concerns the army, or about the laying down of 12*d.* a Sunday for Recusants for a time, in which you are conceived much to have mistaken the King's intentions, and withal as much to have disserved him, in which you are not alone, but other Bishops with you. This is come to his Majesty's ears, and he doth not take it well; and, for my own part, I have reason to be a little sensible, because I was, under God, the man that put your name to his Majesty for preferment, and, therefore, must needs in part suffer for anything that shall be deemed a miscarriage

[z] [James Heygate, consecrated May 9, 1630, died April 30, 1638. Probably the person mentioned above, p. 267.]

[a] [This was James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II.]

in you. I never saw your Lordship to my knowledge, nor did I ever know you but by a little tract of yours against Wadsworth[b]; and were it but for that alone, I should be very sorry you should do anything in your place unlike it; for that is very full of judgment and temper. But for the justification of the King, my master, and for the settling your thoughts, if there be any disturbance in them, I shall briefly say thus much to you: First, for the army, the King having taken very good advice of his Council, is of opinion, that as his affairs stand, there is a necessity of having an army in those parts; and very wise men are likewise of opinion, that, considering the multitude of the Roman party, and the natural disposition of the Irish, there would be little safety, did not his Majesty take the care and the course he doth; and there would be less safety for the Church and clergymen than for any others. Besides, I am informed, that in this levy for the army, there hath been all the favour showed to my Lords the Bishops, that could possibly be, neither their glebes nor their tithes being made liable to the payments.

Secondly, for the laying down 12*d.* a Sunday, and not exacting it for the present, I have no warrant to lay open to you the particular reasons why he doth so, but this I may let you know, that his Majesty conceives he doth it upon all the considerable reasons that may be, and those very well weighed. But if there be either in yourself, or any of your brethren, a misdeeming fear for matter of religion, take this from me, and be assured, that there is no man, nay, no Bishop in that kingdom or this, more truly, conscientiously, and constantly set both for the belief and maintenance of religion, as it is now established, than his Majesty (God be blessed for it) is. And, therefore, I do heartily pray both you and your brethren to lay aside all jealousies, and to advance his Majesty's service by all the good means you can. For I assure you his thoughts, as they are very pious, so they are exceeding royal towards the Church; and I shall be very

[b] [James Wadsworth, of Emmanuel College, a contemporary of Bp. Bedell, was induced, when employed as Chaplain to the English Ambassador in Spain, to join the Church of Rome. Some letters which passed between him and Bedell, are printed at the end of Bp. Burnet's life of the latter.]

sorry to find that the carriage of any, Bishops especially, should cast a damp upon them. Thus, not doubting but you will conform yourself to the King's religious and prudent courses for the settlement of that kingdom and Church, and speedily redeem, either what hath been amiss or mistaken in this matter, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.[c]

Lambeth, Oct. 14, 1633.

LETTER L.

TO DR. CHRISTOPHER POTTER, PROVOST OF QUEEN'S.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 251, 252.]

But to the last clause of your letter, about the reprinting of your book[d], I have done that which you have so desired, as you will see by this enclosed paper. They are but a few scattered phrases; and I put them to your consideration, as much for conveniency and charitable expression, as for truth. Do what you will with them, so you mistake not me, in that which yourself have caused me to do; but in that place, p. 26, where you say, it may (viz. Matt. xi. 17) be understood of any assembly, as well civil as ecclesiastical, do you not thereby give as much power to the Parliament as to the Church in Church affairs? I read in haste, and it may be a mistake, but you shall do very well to consider it. So in haste, I leave you to the grace of God, &c.

WILL. CANT.

Endorsed: 'Octob. 18, 1633. Doctor Potter, a second impression of his Book, and my Answer to it.'

[c] [Bishop Bedell's defence of himself, is given in his letters to Lord Wentworth, in Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 146—150, 164.]

[d] [The Book, which Potter subjected to the Archbishop's revision, was "Want of Charity justly charged." Lond. 1634, being his reply to Knott the Jesuit. (See above, vol. v. p. 165.) The passages which Laud objected to in the enclosed paper, and some of which Prynne mentions, were altered in the second edition. These corrections formed part of the charge brought against the Archbishop at his trial. See vol. iv. pp. 279, 351.]

LETTER LI.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 382–384 [c].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—His Majesty hath been often and much troubled upon complaints which have been made unto him by the Lords and other men of quality, concerning the multitude of both unlearned and unworthy ministers, which pester the Church, and are always the causes of great scandal, and too often of schism and divisions therein; and some of them are forced, to the shame of themselves and their calling, for want of means to beg for their living; and yet are daily made in great numbers, and that directly against the Canon of the Church, which requires, That no man should be made a minister *sine titulo*. For remedy of this great abuse and wrong to the Church, his Majesty hath directed his letters to me, and by them required me to call all such Bishops to me, as were then in or about the city; and, after consultation with them, to send my letters to every several Bishop within the province, to require obedience to the Canon of the Church, and his Majesty's directions according to it. The tenor of his Majesty's letter followeth:—

"To the most Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely beloved Counsellor, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, &c.

"CHARLES R.—Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely beloved counsellor, we greet you well. There is nothing more dear to us than the preservation of true religion, as it is now settled and established in this our kingdom, to the honour of God, and the great comfort of ourself and our loyal people; and there can nothing more conduce to the advancement thereof than the strict observation of such Canons of the Church as concern those that are to take orders in their several times. More especially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoins, that no man be made a Priest or a Minister without a title. For we find that many, not so qualified, do, by favour or other means, procure themselves to be ordained, and afterwards,

[c] [This letter is entered in Reg. Laud, foll. 191 b, 192 a, and is printed also in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 481, 482.]

for want of means, wander up and down to the scandal of their calling; or, to get maintenance, fall upon such courses as are most unfit for them, both by humouring their auditors and by other ways altogether unsufferable. We have, therefore, thought fit, and we do hereby straitly require and charge you to call such Bishops to you as are now present in or near our City of London, and to acquaint them with this our resolution. And, further, that you fail not in the beginning of the next term, to give notice of this our will and pleasure openly in our High Commission Court; and that you call into our said Court every Bishop respectively that shall presume to give orders to any man that hath not a title, and there to censure him as the Canon aforesaid doth enjoin, (which is, to maintain the party so ordered till he give him a title,) and with what other censure you in justice shall think fit. And our further will is, that nothing shall be reputed a title to enable a man for orders, but that which is so by the ancient course of the Church and the Canon Law, so far forth as that Law is received in this our Church of England. And as you must not fail in these our directions, nor in any part of them, so we expect that you give us, from time to time, a strict account of your proceedings in the same. Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the nineteenth day of September, in the ninth year of our reign."

According to these letters, I am to pray and require you, that at all times of ordination you be very careful to admit none into Holy Orders, but such men as for life and learning are fit, and which have a title for their maintenance, according to the laws and ancient practice of the Church. And his Majesty hath further commanded me to advertise your Lordship, that he will not fail to call for an account of these letters both of me and you. Thus, not doubting but you will have a special care, both of the good of the Church, and his Majesty's contentment therein, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving
Friend and Brother,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, Oct. 24,
1633.

There was enclosed in this letter the following paper, endorsed in the Archbishop's hand, stating what should be considered a title:—

[1] [This paper is printed by Heylin, Cypr. Ang. ad ann., in Rushworth's Collection, vol. ii. p. 214, and in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 482.]

So upon the matter these Titles are named in the Canon. He that is ordained must have—

1. A presentation to some ecclesiastical preferment.

2. Or, A certificate undoubted that he is provided of some church void there.

3. Or, A grant of some Petty Canon's place, or the like, in a Cathedral or Collegiate Church.

4. Or, A Fellow, or in the right of a Fellow, in some College in Oxford or Cambridge.

5. Or, A Conduct or Chaplain in some College in Oxford or Cambridge.

6. Or, A Master of Arts of five years standing, living at his own charge in either of the Universities.

7. Or, The intention of the Bishop that ordains, shortly to admit him to some benefice, or curate's place, then void.

And I think the Canon intends that after a man is once admitted a curate, the parson or vicar of the place should not have power to put them off at pleasure, but only for such criminal unworthiness, as might deprive him of his benefice, if he had one.

So I conceive, under favour, the order may go briefly thus:—

And further, his Majesty's express command is, that this Canon be strictly observed by all Bishops in their several dioceses respectively; and that none presume to ordain any man to be a Deacon, Priest, or Minister, under the penalty enjoined in the Canon, or any other which his Majesty's just displeasure may inflict on him.

LETTER LII.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 484 s.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—It hath pleased his Majesty to command the reprinting of a Declaration, published in his royal father's time of blessed memory, and intituled, 'The King's Majesty's Declaration to his subjects concerning lawful sports

s [From Reg. Laud, fol. 192a.]

to be used, &c.[h]' wherein, as your Lordship shall find at the latter end thereof, every Bishop is enjoined to see that the books be distributed to the several parishes within his diocese, and there published to the people, to the end they may know his Majesty's princely care over them; and to the effectual performance of this, I make no doubt but your Lordship will use all diligence. And I am commanded to give you notice hereof, because his Majesty expects no less from you; and your officers are to send for the books accordingly. So with my love remembered, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, October 28,
1633.

LETTER LIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 155—157.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—It seems by your late letters which I have received, that you have taken your leave of Fulham. The Bishop you say is gone, and I believe that's true. God speed him as well where he now is, as He did there. As for your letters and yourself, when you come, they shall be as welcome to Lambeth as they were to Fulham. And since you have learned the way to be a little merry, I would you and your cousin Sibbes had been the other day at the Council-table, where I never heard, you know whom, in a better mood verily.

I am very glad to read your Lordship so resolute, and more to hear you affirm, that the footing of them, which go thorough for our master's service, is not now upon fee, as it hath been. But you are withal upon so many 'ifs,' that by their help you may preserve any man upon ice, be it never so slippery. As first, if the common lawyers may be contained within their ancient and sober bounds; if the word

[h] [This Declaration is reprinted in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 483, 484.]

'thorough' be not left out (as I am certain it is); if we grow not faint; if we ourselves be not in fault; if it come not to a *Peccatum ex te, Israel;* if others will do their parts as thoroughly as you promise for yourself, and justly conceive of me. Now I pray, with so many, and such 'ifs' as these, what may not be done, and in a brave and noble way? But can you tell when these 'ifs' will meet, or be brought together? Howsoever, I am resolved to go on steadily in the way which you have formerly seen me go, so that (to put in one 'if' too) if anything fail of my hearty desires for the King and the Church's service, the fault shall not be mine.

The indisposition, of which I wrote unto your Lordship, I thank God, passed over quickly, though I find that I cannot follow your counsel, for Croydon is too far off to go often to it, and my leisure here hath hitherto been extremely little, I may truly call it none. Besides, the Lady Davis hath prophesied against me, that I shall not many days outlive the 5th of November[i], and then to what end should I trouble myself with exercise, or the like?

My Lord, I thank you, that you are pleased so kindly and so nobly to take that which I wrote unto you about the Archbishop of Dublin[k], and his taking upon him, together with the rest of the Popish clergy, to meddle with the civil government, of which I doubt not but your Lordship will be very careful, as of all things else that may weaken the power of that party in that kingdom. But I had not ventured to write anything to you in this business, if your Lordship had not required it of me. But your Lordship doth very prudently in bearing with them, till the Parliament be over, that there you may make use of them for the King's service. And that contention between the Regulars and the Seculars is grown so general and so warm, that you may easily hold up Harris[l], if no decision come to the contrary; and a brave service it will be, if you can settle the revenues of that kingdom.

[i] [See Diary, Nov. 13, 1633. Works, vol. iii. p. 220.]

[k] [See above, p. 311.]

[l] [Paul Harris, Dean (as he styles himself) of the University of Dublin, one of the protestors against Archbishop Fleming. (Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 109.)]

I perceive you mean to build, but as yet your materials are not come in; but if that work do come to me before Christmas [m], as you promise it shall, I will rifle every corner in it; and you know, my good Lord, after all your bragging, how I served you at York, and your church-work there; especially I pray provide a good riding-house, if there be ever a decayed body of a church to make it in, and then you shall be well fitted, for you know one is made your stable already [n], if you have not reformed it, of which I did look for an account according to my remembrances before this time [o].

I find your Lordship hath a good opinion of my Lord Primate's learning and honesty, and I verily think he will not deceive your expectation in either; but you are pleased to ask me another question, whether that be all that goes to a good Bishop and a good governor? I must needs answer, No; but if that which is further required be wanting in him, I am the more sorry; but I will tell you, my Lord, I pray God, all be well in his and the other Bishops' apprehensions concerning your Lordship, and your government there. For before you went, I writ, as I thought, and as I think still, very largely in your commendation, how thorough you would be for the King and the Church. It may be they understood this otherwise than I could mean it, or your Lordship perform it, and did not look with such a prudent eye as they should, upon the necessities of that place. And methinks it may stand for an observation, that I, which had frequent letters before from my Lord Primate, have not received any one, that I remember, since your Lordship went thither.

My Lord, I did not take you to be so good a physician before, as I now see you are; for the truth is, a great many Church-cormorants have fed so full upon it, that they are fallen into a fever; and for that no physic better than a vomit, if it be given in time; and, therefore, you have taken a very judicious course to administer one so early to my Lord of Cork [p]. I hope it will do him good, though per-

[m] [The expected letter was written by Wentworth in the following December (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 171—174.)]

[n] [See ibid. p. 173.]

[o] [See above, p. 307.]

[p] [Dr. Elrington (Life of Ussher, p. 158, note z) gives the following information:—"The ravages which this mighty Earl had committed upon the property of the Church were very extensive. His great attempt was

chance he thinks not so, for if the fever hang long about him or the rest, it will certainly shake either them or their estates in pieces. Go on, my Lord. I must needs say, this is 'thorough' indeed, and so is your physic too, for a vomit never ends kindly, that doth not work both ways, and that is 'thorough.' Nor can I answer what became of the Primate and the rest of the Bishops, while the poor inferior clergy were thus oppressed, more than this, that I ever thought it was not in their power to help it. But if any of them be as bad for oppression of the Church as any layman, that I am sure is unanswerable; and if it appear so to you, great pity it is, but some one or other of the chief offenders should be made a public example, and turned out of his bishopric. And, I believe, such a course once held, would do more good in Ireland, than anything that hath been there these forty years.

Now for your question, what my Lord of Cork will say? I cannot tell; but sure I am, so many of the fraternity, as think it Popery to set the Communion-table at the end of the church, and for the Prebends to come in their formalities to church, are either ignorant or factious fools. But I warrant you, the poor vicar thinks very well of you, and so doth the King, to whom I have told what physic you have given the Earl of Cork.

But I warrant you, I am thought as odd an Archbishop, as you can be a Deputy; for my Lady Davis, she prophesies against me, that I shall not many days outlive the 5th of

purchasing the College of Youghall on a doubtful title, and then endeavouring to obtain a grant of it from his brother, the Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, at that time Warden of the College. Lord Strafford summoned him before the High Court of Castle Chamber, where he forced him to abide his arbitration, and then awarded that he should pay 15,000*l.* to the King, for the issues of thirty-five years, and that all the appendant advowsons should be seized for the Crown. This was not the only occasion on which Lord Strafford forced him to give up his ill-gotten possessions. Lord Strafford, in March 1634, writes thus: 'No longer since than this term, a poor vicar was restored to an impropriation and two vicarages, usurped there, thirty years and better, by the Earl of Cork. We put him in possession, the case in good faith very clear.' (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 380.) And Dr. Bramhall states, that the Earl of Cork holds the whole Bishopric of Lismore, at the rent of 40*s.*, or five marks by the year (Letter to Archbishop Laud [Works, vol. i. p. lxxxi.]). The Earl of Cork, in his Diary, says, that Lord Strafford prejudiced him no less than 40,000*l.* in his personal estate, and in his inheritance 2,000 marks a year."]

November. And I think I sent your Lordship word before of one Bowyer, a rogue that broke prison, but said he came newly from beyond the seas, and went up and down the country railing against me, and making me no less than a traitor; but he was brought to the Star-Chamber, the 13th of November, and there soundly censured, the rogue confessed all, and all by the devil; but would acknowledge no confederates[q]. And now there is another fellow half-mad, that comes into the Court with a great sword by his side, and rails upon the Archbishop, God knows for what, and says, he will have justice of the King against him, or take another course for it himself[r]. Would not this encourage any man to do service?

One thing more, and then I have done. You will herein find an inclosed paper; it came from my Lord the Bishop of Durham[s], and by it you may see the effects of your composition in the North; do you not think this may make a fine noise in time? I hope you will hear of this the next Parliament, as well as others have done for less matters. Well, it is time to make an end, and so I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's poor loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, November 15th, 1633.

[The following is the enclosed Paper.]

MY LORD,—I am hereby occasioned to let your Grace understand that we are marvellously pestered with this generation even in this town, more than in other places, and in Northumberland infinitely, and, which is worse, we find now by experience, a daily revolt, upon presumption of that composition, which was religiously intended by his Majesty for reclaiming of them, and as zealously endeavoured and pursued by my Lord Deputy to the same end, as I dare swear to be true upon both their full expressions. But the wisest physicians do not always hit upon the malady and malignancy of the disease; for now the compounders think

[q] [See Diary, Nov. 13, 1633, Works, vol. iii. p. 219.]

[r] [Ibid. p. 220.]

[s] [Thomas Morton.]

themselves freed from all command of conference, as concluding they must not be troubled for conscience, by the which reason they may harbour their unconscionable and traitorous intendments, by whose peremptoriness and boldness it falls out, that profane persons, being urged by excommunication, or otherwise, will needs turn recusants. Nor this only, but when it is required, that their children at Grammar Schools should be catechised, they threaten to send them rather to be schooled at Douay, or some other Seminary College beyond the seas. My Lord, God by His providence hath placed your Grace a chief pilot in this Church, whose wisdom it will be to endeavour to find some means to stop this leak, which threatens a subversion of the Church in these parts. I shall pray God you may effect it[t].

LETTER LIV.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS, Numb. mxxx. p. 13.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Finding more by effects than any promises, your Grace's favours bending towards me, I do not know any better way how to requite these beginnings, than by imploring your Grace's crowning and perfecting of them, obliging myself by this presumption either to become your Grace's true and faithful servant, or to be held unworthy of any esteem or repute in the world for the remainder of my life.

For my sincere affections to the service of the Church of England, and the Head thereof under Christ, I appeal to your Grace's former knowledge and recordation of me when I was in place and employment; your Grace knowing more

[t] [Wentworth's reply to this letter, in which he notices the progress he had made in the reform of the Church, and particularly notices this complaint of the Bishop of Durham, is found in Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 171–174. An account of the compositions made by Wentworth with recusants, is given by Prynne, Hidden Works, pp. 95, 96. He was in this acting under the directions of the King's Proclamation, dated July 7, 1628, the title of which is mentioned by Prynne (ibid.)]

at that time of my secrets in this kind, than all the Churchmen of England have known before or since. And I humbly beseech your Grace to take view of me by that true light, rather than by the false representations of other men, who, peradventure, have with their deceitful colours, in these days of my misfortunes, painted me out as ugly unto your Grace, as they have done your Grace formidable unto me.

Sir John Lambe can tell your Grace, if he list, that I never favoured, but cordially hated and abhorred all schismatics and puritans, and never conceived any quarrel against him (which I humbly for all that do lay down at your Grace's feet) but for representing me, for his own ends (as I was informed), a favourer of this untoward kind of people, who themselves never favoured man that wore a rochet, what other disposition soever he was of. But if my sins shall permit your Grace to prevail so far with his Majesty as to restore me once more to my peace, and to such a portion of his princely favour as I may be conceived to remain *in statu merendi*, I shall in a very short time clear all suspicions of this kind, and so behave myself for the future that it shall never repent his Majesty of this clemency, nor your Grace of this intercession. To this end I humbly beseech your Grace to present this enclosed petition unto his most excellent Majesty, and to believe that I shall for these great favours ever continue,

Your Grace's most humble and much obliged

Servant and Suffragan,

Jo. Lincoln.

Westmr. Coll. this
— of December, 1633.

To the most reverend Father in God his very good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

Endorsed:—'Rec. Decr. 4, 1633, L. Bp. of Lincoln his letter to desire me to deliver the petition inclosed to the King, which I did, Decr. 8, 1633.'

THE WORKS

OF

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

LONDON:
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

THE

WORKS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM LAUD, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. VI.—PART II.

LETTERS.—NOTES ON BELLARMINE.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.
M DCCC LVII.

LETTER LV.

TO MONS. DE VIC.

[MS. Harl. 7000, last letter in vol.]

S. in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I received lately letters from you out of France, and with them others enclosed from Peter Moulin[u], for conveyance whereof I heartily thank you. I likewise received three sheets of the new Bible, which is now there under the press[v]. I have heard heretofore very much of that work, but never saw anything of it till you sent me these sheets. That nation may brag of the work in many respects, for so many various and difficult characters of the Eastern languages did I never see together before; and it is a great and very chargeable work for an advocate or a greater man to undertake single. It is great pity that they are enforced to make use of a Jew for the correction of the Hebrew, for howsoever he be converted, (and I pray God he be heartily,) yet so few of the late converts have been hearty, that he must needs be himself, and expose the work also, liable to suspicion. I thank you heartily for this advertisement, and so wishing your employment there happy both to the state and yourself, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Decemb. 9, st. vet. 1633.

To my much honoured Friend,
Mr. de Vic, his Majesty's Agent
in France, at Paris.

LETTER LVI.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 15.]

S. in Christo.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—Mr. Secretary delivered your Lordship's letters to me, and in them a petition to his

[u] [Professor of Divinity at Sedan, and a celebrated controversialist. King James gave him a stall in Canterbury Cathedral. See his Life in 'Batesii Vitæ.']

[v] [This was the Parisian Polyglott, edited by Le Jay, who was ruined by the expense.]

Majesty. Truly, my Lord, I did not a little wonder (considering what answer I was commanded to give your Lordship's former letters) that you would choose me out to this service; yet, since you would needs put this office upon me, I resolved rather to venture upon it, than to give cause to think I was disaffected to yourself, or your peace. And how formidable I have been represented to your Lordship (to use your own word) you best know; but what I am to you or others, that, I think, I should know best. This I am sure of, I judge not your Lordship in anything by the false representations of other men, and shall thank you for the like measure.

Having received your petition, I sought the first and best opportunity I could get to present it to his Majesty, and all that I got by it for myself was a smart chiding; his Majesty telling me, he thought he had forewarned me enough of this error, and that he had distinguished clearly enough to me between a Churchman and a Church cause when I moved it first. But when I had gotten leave to read it to him, his Majesty was pleased to say he would consider of it; and that was all the answer I could get.

For Sir John Lambe, I think he is of as ancient acquaintance with your Lordship, as with me; if he have done anything unworthy either of himself or you, let him bear his own burden. I did never joy in the differences that are fallen out between you, and am sorry for some occurrences that have happened[w]. Since this is all the account I am able to give your Lordship either of your letters or your petition, so I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother.

Lambeth, Decemb. 11, 1633.

Endorsed: 'Decemb. 11, 1633. The copy of my letter to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.'

[w] [Lambe was early in life patronized by Bp. Williams. He, and his son-in-law Sibthorp, were the witnesses against the Bishop, on the charge of revealing the King's secrets. (See Hacket's Life of Williams, par. i. p. 37, par. ii. p. 80.)]

LETTER LVII.

TO DR. RICHARD ASTLEY, WARDEN OF ALL SOULS.

[Tanner MSS. vol. cccxl. fol. 115 a[x].]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—I thank you and that whole society very heartily for the respective letters which you writ unto me by two of the Fellows. I gave them hearing so soon as they came to me, and I think I do now understand the business concerning your surplusage, and the division of it; and how it arises, as well from the means your Founder left you, as from the Statute of Provision[y]. And for this present year I am content to take no more from your dividend than to make your Tower-stock £1,000, which, if the Fellows inform me right, is £900 already. For the rest which you desire for the years to come, I do not yet like for the present to pitch upon a certain medium, because the occasions of the College are, or may be, both greater and more various than your dividend. And further, I like not to make a certain rule for a business of which I have had so little experience as I have of this; and I had rather not make such a rule, than, by after-occasions, be forced to break it. Yet this I shall do for the College; I shall not every year cause two of the Fellows to take such a dirty journey as these two have done, nor put the College to any needless charge. But this I shall expect, that every year, after the audit ended, you give me an account, by letter, what the Tower-stock is, and what the surplusage of that year; and then I will return you an answer what I think fit for the Dead College, and what for the Living: Always provided, that my late predecessor's orders stand in force still, and that I may have two of the Fellows come up to me to give me further account by word of mouth in all such years, and upon all such occasions as I shall think fit to call upon them.

And now, since I have dealt thus freely, and with such an

[x] [Marginal notes are added by Archbishop Sancroft, and the text is corrected in his hand.]

[y] [This is the Act xviii. Eliz. cap. vi. which provides that upon leases made by Colleges, a third part of the rent shall be reserved in corn.]

open hand to the Company, I must desire you, Mr. Warden, to let them know that I shall take it very ill if the Fellows do not every way conform themselves to honour their Founder, by obeying his Statutes, and conforming themselves to that which will be most beneficial for them. It is not long since I have heard of two complaints against the Fellows, or rather against the government; and I hope you, and they together, will mend both. The one is, that the scholar-like exercises required by statute are not duly kept: and the other, that the Fellows, divers of them, are too chargeable in their clothes, and follow the fashions too much. I hope the fault in these kinds is not so great as it is made to me, but the greater it is, the fitter to be amended, and I shall expect it be.

This enclosed petition was delivered me not an hour before the Fellows came to me.

I shall not ask you to do anything against either the Statutes or good orders of the College; but with preservation of them, pray do as much as you can for the youth. So, wishing all honour and happiness to that foundation, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Dec. 20, 1633.

LETTER LVIII.

TO ADAM BALLANDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE[z].

[Baillie's Letters and Journals, Appendix, No. II. Art. iv. p. 431. Edinb. 1841[a].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—You are very much beholding to my Lord Sterling; and, for myself, I did you the very best

[z] [This prelate is also called 'Ballantyne,' and 'Bannatyn.' He was translated to Aberdeen on the death of Bishop Patrick Forbes.]

[a] [The original of this letter is in Wodrow MSS. Fol. vol. lxvi. Numb. 13. It is mentioned in Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 149. Mr. Laing, the learned editor of Baillie's Journals, has prefixed to these letters of Laud 'An Account of Papers intercepted betwixt Archbishop Laud and the Scots Bishops,' from a contemporary MS. in his possession.]

service I could, and am glad your troublesome suits are at an end. I hope that which the King hath now done will preserve you against your pressing necessities, through whīch I pray God send you a good passage. But for Westminster foes, they did very much wrong you, whoever they [were], that made those relations to you of great sum; for my former [letters told] the truth to you.

Concerning your preferme[nt, until any better] place falls, I can promise nothing; but I assure [you, his Majesty] hath a very good opinion both of you and your service; and therefore I [cannot] doubt but that he will take you and your estate into his consideration. At this time you have given his Majesty good content, and he expects that you continue in that course; and let him still receive a note who they be that conform, and who not; for I see his Majesty is resolved to go constantly on, and therefore you must not fail.

I have considered how much reason you speak concerning the poor singing men, and have received their petition, which you sent enclosed. I must needs say their case deserves a great deal of commiseration; and the very first time I got access to his Majesty, after the receipt of your letters, I acquainted him with their necessities, and he, like a gracious and a good Prince, was very much moved with it, and commanded me to deliver their petition to my Lord Sterling, that some course might be taken for them; and this, God willing, I will do so soon as ever I can meet with that Lord, which I hope will be this day, and so soon as I can drive it to any good issue you shall hear from me. So, in haste, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Jan. 14, 1633.

To the Right Reverend Father in God,
my very good Lord and Brother
the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, at
Edenburrow, These.

Endorsed: 'Anent his encouragement,
and anent non-communicants.'

LETTER LIX.

TO HIS MAJESTY'S PRINTERS.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 485 [b].]

S. in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c.

These are to let you know, that his Majesty takes special care of furnishing of a Greek press, that such of his subjects as are learned in that language may have means to set forth such manuscripts as are in his Majesty's library, or in either of his Universities; a thing greatly tending to the honour of the kingdom, and the good of the Church. And because you have been faulty in the English print with which you are trusted [c], his Majesty is resolved your fine shall be converted to buy matrices and letters, &c., for the Greek. And further, because the patent which you hold under him by his gracious favour is a thing of great profit to you, he expects that you, and all that succeed you in the enjoying of that or the like patent for the press, shall at your own and your successors' proper costs and charges print, or cause to be printed, one volume every year, of what bigness soever it be, in Greek, or Greek and Latin, if the Reverend Father in God, Augustin, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, or Mr. Patrick Young, his Majesty's Library-keeper, or any other of his Majesty's learned subjects, provide it and make it ready for the press; as you will see more particularly and at large by his Majesty's letters themselves directed unto me; which here follow in these words:—

> "Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely beloved Counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas our servant, Patrick Young, Keeper of our Library, hath lately, with great industry and care, published in print an Epistle of Clemens Romanus in Greek and Latin [d], which was never printed before,

[b] [This letter is taken by Wilkins from Reg. Laud, fol. 195 b. It is also printed by Archdeacon Todd, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. pp. 210–212, from Lambeth MSS. No. 943, pp. 299 seq.]

[c] [In omitting the word 'not' in the seventh Commandment.]

[d] [This was the first edition of the Epistles of Clemens Romanus. The Preface gives an account of the Alex. MS., at the end of which these epistles were found written in the same hand. The Alex. MS., it is well known, is now in the British Museum.]

and hath done this to the benefit of the Church and our great honour, the manuscript by which he printed it being in our library; and whereas we further understand, that the Right Reverend Father in God, Augustin, now Bishop of Peterborough [e], and our said servant, Patrick Young [f], are resolved to make ready for the press one or more Greek copies every year, by such manuscripts as are either in our library, or in the libraries of our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or elsewhere, if there were Greek letters, matrices, and money ready for the work; which pains of theirs will tend to the great honour of ourself, this Church, and nation: We have thought good to give them all possible encouragement herein, and do therefore, first, require you, that the fine lately imposed by our High Commissioners upon Robert Barker and Martin Lucas for base and corrupt printing of the Bible, being the sum of three hundred pounds, be converted to the present buying of such and so many Greek letters and matrices, as shall be by you thought fit for this great and honourable work. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, our patentees for printing which either now are, [or] shall hereafter succeed them, being great gainers by that patent which they hold under us, shall, at their own proper costs and charges of ink, paper, and workmanship, print, or cause to be printed in Greek, or Greek and Latin, one such volume in a year, be it bigger or less, as the Right Rev. Father aforesaid, or our servant Patrick Young, or any other of our learned subjects, shall provide and make ready for the press; and shall print such a number of each copy as yourself or your successors for the time being shall think fit. And all this they shall perform whether the said copies be to be printed in London, Oxford, or Cambridge, which shall be left free to their judgments and desire, whose pains prepare the copy or copies for the press. And last of all, our further will and pleasure is, that the aforesaid patentees do, without delay, procure such and so many matrices and letters as aforesaid, that no hindrance be put upon the work; and that they be at the charge of printing in the meantime with such letters as are already in the kingdom. Of all which, or any other necessary circumstance for the furtherance of this work, we shall not fail to call for a strict account from you; and therefore do look that you call for as strict a one from them. Provided always, that it shall be, and remain in your power to

[e] [Augustin Lindsell, Bishop of Peterborough, edited Theophylact's Comment on the Epistles, (published in 1636, after his death, by Dr. Thomas Bayly, afterwards Bishop of Killala,) and the Catena on Job (Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 215). Wood (F. O. i. 308), says that the latter was edited by Patrick Young. Probably it was a joint performance.]

[f] [Patrick Young of S. Andrew's in Scotland, incorporated at Oxford, July 9, 1605, and at Cambridge, 1619. See his Life in Smith's Vitæ Illustr. Virorum. 4to. 1707.]

mitigate their fine aforesaid, according as you shall see their diligence and care for the advancing of this work. Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the thirteenth day of January, in the ninth year of our reign."

I doubt not but that having taken these his Majesty's most gracious letters into your due and dutiful consideration, you will apply yourselves with all care and diligence to give his Majesty all satisfaction herein: In which, I assure you, his Majesty will not be pleased with any delay, knowing that there will be a copy ready for the press before you can be ready with letters and other things necessary. These are, therefore, to pray you, that you presently furnish yourselves with all things necessary, especially matrices and letters of all sorts for the work aforesaid, that I may be able to give his Majesty such an account as he professes he will require of me; and that you give me your answer, in writing, what obedience you will yield to these his Majesty's directions; of which I pray you not to fail. So I bid you farewell, and rest

Your loving Friend,

W. CANT.[g]

Lambeth, January 18, 1633.

LETTER LX.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 486 [h].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Your Lordship cannot but know that his Majesty, taking into his princely care the decayed and ruinous estate of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, was graciously pleased not many years since to grant a commission towards the repair thereof; the copy of which being first drawn by his Majesty's Attorney-General, was

[g] [The Printers returned their answer on Jan. 27, that they were ready to promise all things required of them. (Wilkins' Conc. t. iv. p. 486, from Reg. Laud. fol. 195 a.)]

[h] [From Reg. Laud, fol. 195 b, 196 a.]

afterwards reviewed by my Lord Keeper; and by the joint consent of my predecessor, and all the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, it was then thought fit, that the clergy, bishops and deans excepted, which give annually, should contribute, together with the laity, to the end that their good example might the better move them to the furtherance of so necessary and pious a work. But this course, it seems, took not that good effect which was wished, divers of the clergy disliking it; wherefore, upon the renewing of the said commission, it is thought expedient to alter the former way, and to leave the clergy wholly to their ordinary, not doubting but that by your Lordship's good example and persuasion they will be very forward in advancing that good work. These are therefore heartily to pray your Lordship to take special care herein, and by yourself or by your archdeacons, to call the clergy of your diocese together accordingly at such time or times as your Lordship shall approve to be most convenient, and to give them thanks, that have already contributed, not pressing any man beyond that which he shall please voluntarily and cheerfully to give. So assuring myself that you will use all effectual means with those of your Lordship's diocese of London, and that they of themselves will be very ready to give their utmost assistance to a work of that nature and consequence, that so nearly concerns the service of God and the honour of this church and nation, with remembrance of my love, I leave you to God's grace, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth House,
Januar. ult. 1633.

LETTER LXI.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 18.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,—My due respects premised, upon the message delivered unto me by Mr. Sherman concerning your Grace's intention to visit my diocese, which no Archbishop of Canterbury hath

done this hundred years, I have caused some search to be made in the registries at Lincoln, and have found there so much as emboldens me to become a humble suitor unto your Grace to forbear this visitation for such a reasonable time as these records may be transcribed and well weighed by your Grace's counsel and mine. All that I humbly desire is but to preserve the rights, exemptions, customs, and privileges of this see, which have been formerly granted, continued, and used in the times of my predecessors, bishops of this place. Upon the well weighing and considering whereof, if it shall be found that your Grace hath right to visit, I will most willingly (as far as the use and right hath been) in all obedience submit thereunto. If otherwise it shall appear, that by privilege, use, prescription, or custom, this diocese be cleared from any metropolitical visitation, or exempted otherwise legally, I do nothing doubt but your Grace shall receive as much honour from that justice which shall suffer the bishopric to enjoy those freedoms which in former times it had, as it can from the power of metropolitical visitation; and so with my thankful acknowledgment of your Grace's late favours towards me, I humbly rest

Your Grace's much obliged Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

From my poor house
at Lincoln, this 2d of Feb. 1633.

To the Most Rev. Father in God his very good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER LXII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dxxviii. pp. 786, 787.]

Salutem in Christo.

Quantopere, vir summe, negotiis distrahor, hinc liquet, quod literis tuis mihi semper gratissimis, postridie Kal. Octob. datis, et xxviii. mensis ejusdem receptis, vix adhuc datur respondendi otium[1]. Hinc me publica avocant, illinc revocant privata, sed summe necessaria; duplici itinere,

[1] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. ccvii. p. 223.]

longo, molesto, et sumptuoso, uno eodemque anno suscepto et finito, in Scotiam nempe[k], et sedem Cantuariensem[l]. Reversum me esse ex uno salvum, et in alterum bonis spero avibus alisque provectum, scio te primo auditu perfusum esse gaudio. Non sic omnes affecti, qui audiverunt, nec apud vos nosve. Nec virulentia multorum me latet. Deo gratias, quod causa, cur ita dentibus venenatis famam meam rodant, prorsus ignota est. Si non ideo forte sit, quod a multis jam annis istis moribus in Ecclesia Dei vivitur, ut pessime audiant, etiam ab Ecclesiæ filiis (ut haberi volunt) qui optime consultum Ecclesiæ, et paci ejus, cupiunt. Tales autem prætereundi sunt, aut nihil in bonum Ecclesiæ faciendum. Deus mihi constantiam et patientiam det oro; utraque mihi summe opus. Tu interim orationibus tuis me Deo Opt. Max. commendatum habeas. Ego sic munitus pergam, quo Deus duxerit. Qui malevolis illis et veniam det et mentem meliorem.

Quod ad filium tuum Johannem attinet, &c.

Libri, quos una cum literis misisti, illæsi ad manus meas pervenerunt. Gratulor et tibi, et filio Dionysio, qui juvenis tam felici genio tanta peragit[m], inter literatorum principes princeps facile futurus, si eodem, quo nunc ingreditur, pergat pede. De te quid dicam nescio, nisi quod doleo te ita interpellatum, dormientibus interim operibus a te tantopere affectis. Quo respectu quo minus tuus sis, eo minus sis et meus. Sperabo tamen te, etsi forte non facile, omnia superaturum impedimenta, ne Baronius semper hæreat.

Vidi nuperrime literas tuas ad Goffum, &c.

Merum figmentum est Episcopos Angliæ jurisdictionem suam in Ecclesias vestras velle extendere. Id quidem illis ne per somnium accidit. Poeta ad minimum Davenportus, si dicat, fingit. Nam hoc vult Rex Serenissimus, ne mercatores, aliique subditi sui, Forbesium[n], similemve alium, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ præferant. Ideoque Forbesio dimisso, Goffus[o],

[k] [Vide Diarium, Opp. tom. iii. pp. 217, 218.]

[l] [Vide Diarium, Sept. 19, 1633; ibid. p. 219.]

[m] [Belgarum aliumque gentium Annales, ab Everardo Reidano Belgice conscriptas, Latine verterat.]

[n] [Joannes Forbesius, Synodi apud Scotos contra regiam auctoritatem habitæ, A.D. 1605, præses a patria expulsus, apud Middleburgam in Hollandia cœtui Angligenarum in sacris præfuit, atque inibi mortuus est A.D. 1634.]

[o] [Stephanus Goffe, unus e Regiis Capellanis. Plures ab eo ad Vossium exstant Epistolæ. In castra Romanensium postea transiit. (Wood, F. O. i. 494.)]

ad quem scripsisti, vir doctus, et disciplinæ nostræ prudens assertor, omnium suffragiis substituitur. Quid hoc ad Ecclesias vestras? Sed quoniam focina isthæc Davenportum subolet, habebis viri apud nos res gestas; nec enim ipse audet negare. Triennio plus minus abhinc coram me, Episcopo tum Londinensi, sistebatur, &c.[p] Si ideo gratus sit vestris Amstelodamensibus, quod Ecclesiæ suæ et Reformatæ desertor sit, fruatur ille fortuna sua, vos illo. Nolo te diutius a studiis tuis multo utilioribus distinere. Vale. Et quoties Deum pro te ipso interpellas, sis memor etiam mei apud communem Redemptorem

Tibi tuisque amicissimi

GUIL. CANT.

Datæ ex ædibus Lambethanis,
Febr. 24, Stil. Vet. 1633.

Dum hæc scripsi, et non antea, nuntiatum est mihi de obitu filii tui, utrum Johannis vel Dionysii nondum constat, sed timetur juniori[q]. Faxit Deus, quisquis is fuerit, ut te plus æquo non discruciet.

LETTER LXIII.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 19.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letter concerning my intended visitation of that diocese. And truly, my Lord, why any of my predecessors omitted their visitation of that See, I can neither satisfy myself nor give you an account. Yet this much, I think, is clear, that *de jure ordinario*, I have as much power to visit your Lordship's diocese as any other part of my province. To take away this power, it will lie upon you not only to plead but to show your exemption, and if you had any exemption and that be after disannulled, and the Archbishop left to his

[p] [Vide 'Accounts of Province,' Op. tom. v. p. 318, note b.]

[q] [Mortuus est Dionysius sub finem Novembris 1633.]

ordinary right again, then I think it is clear enough for me; and I hope I shall be able to make that appear. Two things there are of which I shall assure your Lordship. The one is, that I intend not the offering of any hard measure either to your Lordship or your See, but I hope it shall be esteemed as much both justice and duty in me to maintain the rights of the archbishopric, as in your Lordship to preserve the privileges of that diocese; and this is all I seek for. The other is, that his Majesty, taking into due consideration the hurt which either doth or may arise from any such exemption from the power of visitation, is resolved that I shall go on with my visitation for every diocese of my province; and that I may both obey his sacred Majesty, and preserve and settle the rights of mine own See, I think I shall hold my resolution to visit Lincoln diocese this year, and send out my inhibitions accordingly without delay. For your Lordship's notion of referring it to counsel before I proceed, I shall not stay my inhibitions for that; yet I hold the motion so reasonable, as that I shall refer the consideration of it to Mr. Attorney-General, that he may know his Majesty's command in this particular, and advise upon my right. And if your Lordship please to join any counsel for yourself, you may so do, and bring or send up your Lordship's evidences, and have them perused to your best advantage[r].

My Lord, I take this occasion also to signify to you, that I represented to his Majesty the care that your Lordship took in your diocese, according to your certificate which you sent to me, and particularly that which concerns the Company of the Mercers, in London, who by the gift of Mr. Fishburn, a brother of theirs, and by a proviso in his gift, take upon them to place and displace a Lecturer at Huntingdon upon any dislike, at a month or a fortnight's warning, without any relation to Bishop or Archbishop[s]. This, his Majesty says, your Lordship did justly dislike, and gave his answer to that passage in writing in his own hand, and in these words:

[r] [The letters of Archbishop Laud and Bishop Williams to Attorney-General Noye, and his decision of the question in the Archbishop's favour, are printed in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 487–490, from Reg. Laud, foll. 112, 113.

[s] [See Accounts of Province for 1633. Works, vol. v. p. 321. Richard Fishburn gave, in 1630, 2,000*l.* to the Mercers' Company. This, with other sums, was invested in the purchase of the Manor of Chalgrave, from which 60*l.* is paid yearly to the Lecturer. (Lewis's Topog. Dict.)]

'That he could not hold it fit that any lay person or corporation whatsoever should have the power these men would take to themselves, for he would have no priest have any necessity of dependency upon their people;' and commanded me to signify to your Lordship that he would have this remedied. I pray your Lordship, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to take present order that the Mercers either relinquish the grant and submit to the orders of the Church, or else that you admit no Lecturer there, unless your Lordship can think of any better way to remedy this new lay encroachment upon your Church.

Concerning those things in your Lordship's certificate which are not within his Majesty's instructions, I have received no answer but this: That his Majesty leaves them to your Canon and ordinary rule of the Church, with this, that though the Canon say the people may receive the Communion in the chancel or in the body of the church, yet he likes not that the ordinary (to whose discretion this disjunctive is left) should suffer it to be in the body of the church; both because the people usually sit in their seats, and cannot be discerned whether they kneel or no while they receive, and because the minister cannot possibly come with any convenience at them which are placed farthest in their seats, to deliver the Sacrament to them, unless every other seat should be left void. I am sorry I have so much occasion to trouble your Lordship, but you will, I hope, bear with it, because the greatest part concerns yourself, and your own particular; so, in haste, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth,
Feb. 25, 1633.

Endorsed: '1633. The copy of my letter to the Bishop of Lincoln about my visitation, and his Majesty's answer to his certificate.'

LETTER LXIV.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 21.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,—My humble duty and service remembered. To your Grace's letter concerning this visiting of my diocese, however my predecessors have heretofore framed their appeals, I humbly crave pardon to offer rather some reasons why it should not be now, or not in this manner by way of inhibitions, than why your Grace should not visit at all. And this I have endeavoured to do in a letter to Mr. Attorney General, to be (in my absence by reason of indisposition) made good as far as my records will serve the turn, by my counsel, if your Grace shall be likewise pleased to design any solicitor to attend the business: and whatsoever Mr. Attorney shall, either out of his own knowledge, or by direction from his most excellent Majesty, order therein, I shall most steadily abide and perform.

For these two things your Grace is pleased to assure me of, the fair measure intended for my See and myself, and his Majesty's pleasure and providence not to allow any exemptions in this kind, (were it but expressed in a line or two, to remain upon record,) would end this difference to my full contentment.

I will put down the Lecturer at Huntingdon, until the Company of the Mercers shall clearly and absolutely nominate a clerk to be approved by the ordinary for the discharge of that preaching-place, for so long a time as he the said ordinary shall hold him fit to lecture there, in regard of his life, doctrine, and diligence. I was mistaken in that disjunctive about the placing of the Communion-table in country churches, and thought it had related to the spaciousness of the room and the usual reading-place; but his most excellent Majesty conceiving it to be entirely left to the discretion of the ordinary, I am better instructed for the like occurrences in the times to come.

To conclude where I began: when your Grace shall resolve to visit these parts, however the diocese shall appear, the Bishop will be found a very sick man, until your Grace (upon whom he mainly depends therein) shall be the happy messenger to bring unto him some dawning hopes of his Majesty's favour, which blessing if your Grace shall once procure him, there is no Bishop in Christendom shall more affectionately honour or more devoutly pray for your Grace, than

Your Grace's unfortunate Servant

and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, this 7th of March, 1633.

To the Most Reverend Father in God my very good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER LXV.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 212—214.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received a pair of cards from you or two, but they are not to play withal, the packet is too serious; therefore I will begin with the outworks, your letter which came to me single[t], and give you an account of other things in my own hand as there shall be cause.

I have known the Bishop of Waterford[u] long, and when he lived in the College, he would have done anything, or sold any man, for sixpence profit[1]. It seems he carried the same mind with him into Ireland, by which means Lismore and Youghall have fared never the better by him. But since Lismore was in huckster's handling[x] before he came to Waterford, it may be, if he be handsomely wrought on, he

[1] I had a touch in Dr. Bramhall's Letter of getting the College money from the Bishop of Waterford. Good my Lord, forget it not.

[t] [This letter does not appear to have been preserved. It is probably the letter of Oct. 31, to which Strafford refers. (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 172.)]

[u] [See above, p. 308.]

[x] [See above, p. 333.]

will be brought to petition me about it, which will be an excellent ground for us both to work on.

I thank your Lordship heartily for the Dean of Londonderry[y]; it will be a brave example, and he deserves it plentifully. You may see by this what a miserable thing it is when buying and selling comes into the Church, for it stays not till they sell one preferment, if they may be able to buy another, as it seems Sutton did.

The Bishop of Waterford was ever full of jests, and would at any time lose a friend rather than spare it. And therefore it is no wonder, if he spare not the Earl his kinsman. But a passing good jest it was that he broke upon him, and as like him as could be. I could find in my heart to forgive him some errors, so he would petition me about Lismore; but 'tis so easy a thing for the Earl to keep him from it, that I shall not believe he will do it, till it be done; for if the Earl will feed him with a little money, farewell Lismore, and the petition too.

I have given my Lord of London[z] thanks from your Lordship, though neither myself nor he expect any such compliment from you[1], where the justice of your cause challenged all we did[b], and where I conceive the King was more concerned than your person; and howsoever, where you serve the Church so heartily, we Churchmen were much to blame if we should not serve you. This is true, by St. Dunstan and his tongs: for my Lord Cottington tells me he hath got a precedent of a Bishop that dares take the devil by the nose without them, which St. Dunstan never durst do. But wot you what? He tells me of another civilizing precedent in as fair and handsome a way as the Court hath any: but I believe neither the Attorney[c], nor himself will be much the better by it. Yet I cannot tell; now his wife is dead[d], what he may

[1] You must take this in answer for your great love expressed to me in the conclusion of your letter[a].

[y] [Henry Sutton, who, it appears, had been guilty of some simoniacal transaction.]

[z] [William Juxon.]

[a] [This appears to refer to the conclusion of the letter of Jan. 31, 1633.]

[b] [This refers to an information brought against Sir David Foulis in the Star Chamber for a libel against Wentworth. The case is referred to by Wentworth himself (Letters, vol. i. pp. 143, 189), and is given more fully in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 215—220. Rushworth erroneously places the decision of the case in Feb. 163¾. It must have been decided the previous November, or early in December. See Garrard's letter to the Lord Deputy, Dec. 6, 1633. (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 167.)]

[c] [William Noye.]

[d] [Anne, daughter of Sir William

do, for the little Secretary[e] says the original precedent did not begin till he was left a widower[f]. You see how merry these gentlemen are, while I am fain to drudge at Lambeth.

Thus far concerning your outworks; now to the serious business of your larger letter[g]. And first, concerning the reformation of that Church to the Church of England. It is certainly deeply seated in his Majesty's thoughts, but your Lordship is very right, that the material church must be built, and an abler clergy in some measure provided, or else it will be vain to attempt it. And since you desire not only my counsel, but his Majesty's resolution, you shall here have it, as far as he is pleased to give it.

And first, the anatomy which you make of the Irish ecclesiastical disease, makes it apparent that it is spread so universally over the body, that a very wise physician can scarce tell where to begin his cure. But if you will have my foolish judgment, thus it is. I would set upon the repair of the material and the spiritual Church together; and first, I would have a general and a strict command issued out, that every minister should read all Divine Service wholly and distinctly, in a grave and religious manner, to their people; and this, I take it, may be presently done without any noise, because they have the English Liturgy already. And at the same time would I have an Act made, that no man, of what degree soever, should hold above two benefices with cure, and those within a limited distance, that they may the better take care of them. If these two were once settled, the rest would follow in order, especially if your Lordship can reduce some more of their temporalities for maintenance, and keep them (especially the Bishops) from their sacrilegious alienations, about which you are in a very good way, and his Majesty commands me to thank you for that care.

For the schools, if your Lordship will remedy anything,

Meredith, and widow of Sir Robert Brett. She had only recently died. See Cottington's letter to Wentworth, March 11, 1633. (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 214.)]

[e] [Sir Francis Windebank. He styles himself, in a letter to Strafford, 'Your little, but most true servant.' (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 215.)]

[f] [This refers to the change which took place in Wentworth's politics, after his second widowhood.]

[g] [This was the despatch written by Wentworth on the 31st of the previous January, and which he sent, together with other important papers, by Sir George Wentworth, his brother. See Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 187–189, 194, 218.]

you must take the same way for restoring their temporalities, without which reward no man will take pains, and there are not many men which deserve better or worse of a state than schoolmasters. And where abuses are grown so many and great, I do not see any reformation possible, without some severity. Therefore if your Lordship will rectify this, you must turn out the insufficient, and especially those which train the youth in Popery.

For the third thing your Lordship mentions, I conceive the remedy is more easy; for there you have nothing to do but to turn the money given to charitable uses to the use intended by the donor; to reduce such patronages as are unjustly gotten from the Crown, and to enter into the first-fruit office all such benefices as are not there already, and yet are valuable in that account; which I mention so, because with us in England no benefice pays any subsidy, that is not above 6*l.* value in the King's books [1].

[1] I will inform your Lordship more certainly in this point.

As for the College, I am very sorry they have chosen me Chancellor[h], and if they will follow the directions I have given them by my Lord Primate, I hope they will send me a resignation, that I may give it over, and your Lordship be chosen, being upon the place, and able to do them much more good. As for their Statutes, if they need any mending, I shall not refuse that pains. But before I can enter upon that service, if they have a confirmation of their Statutes under the Broad Seal of that kingdom, or this, I must have a commission under the same seal, to authorize me to alter or do what I think fit with them, else I may not meddle. If this shall be thought fit, I will presently send for a copy of their Statutes, and such exceptions as the wisest men in that Society can make against them, and so proceed. For the Provost [i], if he be a weak one, the fault is not mine. For when the Bishop of Kilmore was preferred from that government [k], I was resolved to make the Dean of Cashel that now is [l], his suc-

[h] [Laud was elected Chancellor Sept. 14, 1633.]

[i] [This was Dr. Robert Ussher, son of Henry Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, who obtained the Charter of Trinity College, Dublin. He had been proposed as Provost by the Junior Fellows, at the time of Bedell's election.]

[k] [Bedell was appointed Bishop of Kilmore, May 1629, and consecrated Sept. 13.]

[l] [William Chappell, originally of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he

cessor; and though my Lord Primate writ very earnestly for a native and his kinsman, that now is Provost, with assurance of his sufficiency[l m]; and though two of the Fellows came over and petitioned his Majesty, yet all this should hardly have taken me off, had not the Dean of Cashel at that time absolutely refused me; and if now your Lordship think him as fit for the place as I do, I will join with you for the preferring of the present Provost, and to be revenged of his former refusal, put in the Dean of Cashel, alway provided, that for his better encouragement he may hold his deanery. And in the meantime, for the prohibiting of the teaching of Arts abroad in the country, I think that must proceed from your authority, and the sooner it be done the better.

[l] Yet now his Grace writes to me, that the Provost is too weak for the government, and the Statutes too[n].

For the 1,000*l.*, &c., your Lordship is in as good a way as can be; and if you can get the 600*l.* back, it is an excellent work; if you cannot, the next best is, to keep the 400*l.* there, where you will have means to bestow it very well.

Your Lordship is likewise in a very right way for the commutations, for I do not see as yet, how you can go further than the taking of their own accounts, both for receipts and layings out. And you do very nobly to keep off scandal from their persons, as much as you can; for it will reflect upon the Church. And I am afraid that many of them will be found guilty. You give me one shrewd instance in the Bishop of Waterford; and truly, my Lord, I must needs say, if but half the articles, which you send with the petition against him, be proved true, I should give my consent to make him an example. How fit it may be to do so, I leave to your judgment, who are in authority, and upon the place. But your Lordship need not make such a preface, when you begin with him, for you may remember I told you, when you went out of England, what you should find of him, though I must confess I did not think he could have been so bad as this

had been Milton's tutor. He had been appointed Dean of Cashel, 1633, was appointed Provost of Dublin, 1634, and Bishop of Cork and Ross, 1638. See his Life in Biogr. Britann.]

[m] [This testimony is given in Letter cxlv. in Parr's Collection, p. 412. It appears also by Laud's Letter of June 25, 1629, that Archbishop Ussher had previously given like testimony in his favour. (See above, p. 262).]

[n] [See Letter clxxiii. in Parr's Collection of Archbishop Ussher's Letters. It is wrongly placed in 1632. Dr. Elrington has restored it and the preceding Letter (also to Archbishop Laud) to their proper places. See Elrington's Ussher, vol. xvi.]

petition doth represent him. But your Lordship is very sorry to tell the truth, but only that it will out. A St. John's man you say he is, and of Oxford; your Cambridge panniers never brought such a fairing to the market. Yes, my good Lord, but it hath; for what say you of Dean Palmer [o]? who besides his other virtues, sold all the lead off from the church at Peterburgh, yet he was brought in your Cambridge panniers; and so was Bishop Howland [p] too, who used that Bishopric, as well he did the Deanry. I must confess this man's baseness hath not many fellows, but his bribery may have store. And I pray, is that ever a whit the less fault, because it is gentleman-like for hundreds and thousands? Whereas this man deals for twenty shillings and less. I hope you will not say so, and if you do not, then I pray examine your Cambridge panniers again, for some say such may be found there, but I for my part will not believe it, unless your Lordship make me.

I thank your Lordship for your love to the Dean of Cashel; I hope he will deserve it all: and for the Bishop of Kilmore, I make no doubt, but that you will find him very ready and constant in the King's service: and then I know his other worth will merit your love.

For the Bishop of Cork [q], I dare not say *sententias loquitur*, for fear of what follows; but having given you my former judgment of him and his letter, I must needs advise you now to answer him in such a style, as may leave him and his sentences free form that sentence, which may otherwise come upon him. But I must needs say, his pieces of Latin were like the old ends of gold and silver, which you see both he and his brother love very well.

Thus much in answer to your Lordship's letters, or rather to the outside of them. The other businesses of moment I can say nothing to till I have spoken with his Majesty again,

[o] [John Palmer, Dean of Peterborough, Dec. 2, 1597. He died 1607, and left but an indifferent character behind him for embezzling the lead, and dying much in debt. Willis's Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 511.]

[p] [Richard Howland, originally a Fellow of Peterhouse, afterwards Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, July 20, 1577, consecrated Bishop of Peterborough March 16, 1584. He died June 23, 1600.]

[q] [Richard Boyle, Dean of Waterford, was appointed Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, 1620. He was son of Michael Boyle, uncle to the Earl of Cork, and was brother to the Bishop of Waterford. He was, in 1638, appointed Archbishop of Tuam.]

and made off some other difficulties (if it be possible), of which I will give you a true account, and the best I can. So I leave your Lordship to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's
Loving poor Friend to serve you,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, March 11th, 1633.

LETTER LXVI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 211.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The King is yet at Newmarket, so I can give you no account of anything that relates to him.

I here enclosed send you an answer to all those things which are in my power or knowledge, the rest must come after, as I can get despatch for them.

I heartily thank your Lordship for your noble favour, care, and pains, in sending me the duplicates; if you be at the pains to write, I will certainly be at the pains to read, and thank your Lordship. I carry the business as you wish me, and know nothing but what is told me by others. In the general, I can say this, I find my Lord Cottington and Mr. Secretary Windebank very careful for the despatch of all your proposals; but the King hath referred them to the consideration of a Committee, and my Lord Treasurer[r] hath not his health very well, but I hope that will not cause any long stay.

Two things there are which I heartily pray you to take into serious consideration; the one is my Lord of Cork's tomb. I have received, since your brother's coming, letters about it, not only from the Earl himself[s], but from my Lord Primate[t] and my Lord Archbishop of Dublin[u]. Both of

[r] [Richard Weston, Earl of Portland.]

[s] [The Earl of Cork's Letter is given in Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 83, 84.]

[t] [See Letter clxxii. in Parr's Collection. It is wrongly placed by him in 1632, but is restored by Dr. Elrington to its proper place in 1633. It was most probably written, as well as those of the Archbishop of Dublin and of Lord Cork in Feb. 163$\frac{3}{4}$.]

[u] [See Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 84, 85.]

them justify, that the tomb stands not in the place of the altar, and that it is a great ornament to that church, so far from being any inconvenience. That your Lordship may see how they plead for him and it, I here send you a true copy of both their letters. I confess I am not satisfied with that they say, yet it is hard for me that am absent to cross directly the report of two Archbishops. But this is not it, for which I desire you to take it into consideration. This it is: the copies of these letters sent to me, I am informed, are sent to my Lord Treasurer. He takes it very highly, because of his kinsman the Lord Chancellor Weston[x]. You must have daily use of his Lordship here, and I would not, both in regard of the King's service and your own good, that this should occasion a breach between you. For myself, I am not considerable, and can bear the jealousies that are upon me; but I would have your Lordship keep all great friends entire. This I know, you are beholden to Mr. Secretary Windebank for a great deal of care of your despatches.

The other is, I hear you intend to make Mr. Philip Mainwaring[y] Secretary there. I hope you know what opinion I have of the gentleman, and I profess I should be right glad to hear of any good come to him. But I cannot put him in the scales with you, and rather than that you should run upon a rock, I will speak plainly that which I cannot tell whether any of your other friends will signify, and I presume you will burn this letter, and let no man know what I write. You writ this to my Lord Cottington, and he purposes to move the King as you desire; but I know he is very much troubled at it, and I know to whom he said, that of his knowledge, if you meddled with making him Secretary, you would burn your fingers, with some other expressions, which I cannot think fit to write.

I can scarce keep open my eyes, it is so late; therefore I end abruptly, and with hearty wishes for your good, answer-

[x] [Dr. Robert Weston, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was great-uncle to the Lord Treasurer. His granddaughter, Catherine Fenton, was the second wife of the Earl of Cork (her mother being Alice Weston, who married Sir Geoffrey Fenton). She died Feb. 16, 16$\frac{49}{50}$, and was buried in the same grave with her grandfather, over which the monument spoken of in the text was erected.]

[y] [Wentworth's Private Secretary.]

able to that you do for God and His Church, I leave you and yours to His blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's

Very loving Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, March 11[z], 1634.

I had almost forgotten to tell you, that all this business about demolishing my Lord of Cork's tomb is charged upon you, as if it were done only because he will not marry his son to my Lord Clifford's[a] daughter, and that I do it to join with you; whereas the complaint came against it to me out of Ireland, and was presented by me to the King, before I knew your Lordship was named for Deputy there. But jealousies know no end.

LETTER LXVII.

TO WILLIAM NOYE, ESQ.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 488[b].]

S. in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I foresee there are some troubles likely to arise about my metropolitical visitation, my Lord the Bishop of Lincoln and myself differing as yet in some circumstances about it; but by a letter which I lately received from his Lordship, I understand that he hath referred the examination of his right in this business to you[c], and so shall I mine too with all my heart; praying you, that you will take some time, betwixt this and the next term, for the perusal of our records on both sides; and whatsoever you shall find to be just and fitting, I shall promise for my part very readily to yield unto;

[z] [It would almost appear as if the date of this letter should be March 31, 1634.]

[a] [Richard Boyle, the son and heir of the Earl of Cork, was married July 5, 1635, to Elizabeth, sole daughter and eventually heiress of Harry Clifford, then Lord Clifford, afterwards Earl of Cumberland. Wentworth had married as his first wife Margaret Clifford, the aunt of the lady whose matrimonial prospects appeared at this time to be in danger. Richard Boyle was, Nov. 4, 1644, created Lord Clifford of Lanesborough, and on March 20, 166$\frac{3}{4}$, Earl of Burlington.]

[b] [From Reg. Laud, fol. 113 a.]

[c] [See Williams's Letter to Noye, in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 487, 488, from Reg. Laud, fol. 112 b.]

yet as I would be loth to offer wrong to his Lordship's lawful jurisdiction in anything, so I am resolved to defend and maintain the ancient rights of my archbishopric, as far as in me lieth, to the uttermost, and I doubt not but herein you will give me all just assistance. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.[a]

Lambeth, March 12, 1633.

Address:
To my much honoured friend, Mr. William Noye, Esq., his Majesty's Attorney-General, at Lincoln's Inn, These.

LETTER LXVIII.

TO LANCELOT BULKELEY, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN[c].

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 85, 86.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—It is most true that I have taken offence at a tomb erected by the Earl of Cork in the Cathedral of St. Patrick; but I did not take that offence lately only, but before ever my Lord Deputy that now is was named to the place. And I took that offence by a complaint thence sent unto me (for I was never there), though I cannot recall who it was that complained. And I am sure that the complaint came then unto me with a full cry, that it was built in the place where the high altar first stood, and the communion-table afterwards.

Your Lordship, at the Earl's entreaty, hath signified to me your knowledge (for so you say) that the tomb stands in a great arch at the end of the quire, which was plastered up to keep out the wind, and that the high altar stood at the end of the Lady Mary's Chapel, which is beyond it, and that the east window is at the top of the arch, and not darkened.

[a] [Noye undertook the office of referee, and gave his decision in favour of the Archbishop. See his opinion in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 488—490, from Reg. Laud, fol. 113 a, b.]

[c] [Lancelot Bulkeley, the youngest son of Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Beaumaris, in Anglesey, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin October 3, 1619. He died in 1650.]

My Lord, it will be hard for me to speak anything contrary to your Lordship, who hath been so often upon that place, where I never was; yet I shall deal freely, and tell your Lordship what I think.

And first, my Lord, I am satisfied that the tomb darkens none of the east window. But I am no way satisfied that the altar stood at the upper end of the Lady Mary's Chapel. That an altar stood there, I easily grant, for in those times there were divers altars in one cathedral, and every by-chapel had one at least. But that the high altar did ever stand in any cathedral in other place than the east end of the quire, is quite out of my knowledge, nor did I ever hear it till now by your Lordship's letters.

That the place before the arch was an earthen floor, and often troubled with a fresh, I do again really believe your Lordship, and the Earl hath done very well to raise it, and pave it with stone. But that the swelling of the tomb, the iron grate before it, the taking in of some ancient monuments on either side, the erecting of a screen, before which you say the communion-table should stand, would take off little or no room from the quire; that, I must confess, I do not very well understand.

Your Lordship adds, that when the screen is built, and the communion-table placed before it, it will much beautify the quire, and be like other cathedrals. To that I can say nothing, but must leave it to their eyesight and judgment that are upon the place. And whereas your Lordship says, that my Lord had leave of the Dean and Chapter with their unanimous consent to erect a monument in that place;—if the place be fit for a monument, the consent was very well asked, and given. But if it appear the place were inconvenient, then my Lord of Cork did not very well to ask a consent, and the Dean and Chapter did very ill to grant it; and the more unanimous the consent was, the worse. And whereas you write, that there are other honourable personages, whose memory is preserved in that monument: to that I say, if the monument stand where it ought, God forbid it should be touched; if it stand where it ought not, it may be fairly and decently removed, and set up in some convenient place upon the side of the quire, or elsewhere, where it will as well preserve

the memory of those honourable personages which you mention, as now it doth. And God forbid any violence should be offered to that, in any kind.

And last of all, whereas your Lordship desires I should take into consideration the merits of that noble Earl; I am very willing to do that. And first, I am very glad to hear from your Lordship his zeal for the advancement of true religion; but I may not conceal from your Lordship, that I have likewise heard from others, and that some years since, that he hath gotten into his hands no small proportion of the Church's means; and if that be so, any man may see his end in advancing true religion. But such a zeal that poor Church hath little need of, and God bless every part of the Church from it. As for his Lordship's building of churches, schools, and hospitals, I know nothing of that, and can say as little to it. Only this I can say, that if he take from the Church in one place, to build church, school, or hospital in another, 'tis no zeal, nor the way which Christian bounty uses to tread. And if his Lordship hath done any public work for strength and fortification to the kingdom, I pray God that be not done with the Church's money too. But howsoever his Lordship hath got a very full estate in that kingdom, and he doth very wisely to fortify it as well as he can. But besides these, I have long since heard, though you now mention it not, that his Lordship hath done greater service to the Church in some other particulars; as, namely, to the Bishopric of Lismore, and the College of Youghall, for which it is great pity but that his Lordship's memory should be preserved in the Church.

Thus I have given your Grace a distinct answer to all the particulars in your letter. But for the tomb, which occasioned all the rest, I will not take upon me to judge (unless I were upon the place) how fitly, or unfitly, it stands there, but shall wholly leave it to the view, and resolution, which shall thereupon be taken in that place. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend
and Brother,
WILL. CANT.

Lamb, March, 1633.

LETTER LXIX.

TO RICHARD BOYLE, EARL OF CORK.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—It is very true that I have taken exceptions to the monument which you have built in St. Patrick's Church, and I hope your Lordship will easily conceive I could not prophesy of any such thing, and therefore must needs have the knowledge of it from thence, as I assure your Lordship I had, and from good hands; though I cannot now recall from whom. My Lord, the report that the tomb was built in the place where the high altar stood, and the communion-table should now stand, did not come lately to me, as your Lordship supposes; for, I assure you, I heard of it, and complained of it to the King, and desired remedy, before ever my Lord Deputy that now is was so much as named to that place. And therefore, whereas your Lordship writes, that you built it three years since, and never heard any mouth opened against it; it seems some mouths, which durst not open there, did open fully here; for I assure you, upon my credit, the information before-mentioned came unto me. I had then just cause to doubt, considering the forms of all other cathedrals which I had seen, that the east window was darkened by it; but that it is not so, I am fully satisfied. For the other exception, that it stands where the high altar stood, and the communion-table ought to stand, I must clearly confess to your Lordship, I am not satisfied: nor whether it will not take off too much room from the quire, when the screen is built as you intend it. Neither can your Lordship think, that I shall make myself judge of these or any other inconveniences, having never been upon the place to see it, but shall leave it wholly to such view and consideration as shall there be had of it, yet wishing with all my heart that you had erected that monument upon the side of the quire, or any other convenient place, rather than where you have now set it. And I must needs tell your Lordship, such an erection as that would have asked very good deliberation where to have placed it. As for the Dean and Chapter's

consent, if they had understood themselves and the Church better, your Lordship had been free from these fears. I have received, together with your Lordship's letters, two other; one from my Lord Primate of Armagh, and the other from the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, but neither of their reports do fully satisfy me, as will appear by the answer I have given their Lordships; neither can I give your Lordship such an answer as I see you expect. For as yet I did never see that cathedral church where the high altar stood in the Lady Mary's Chapel, and not at the upper end of the quire; which place, under favour of better judgments, I cannot say is a fit place for any man's monument. And whereas your Lordship writes at the latter end of your letters, that you bestow a great part of your estate and time in charitable works, I am heartily glad to hear it; but withal, your Lordship will, I hope, give me leave to deal freely with you, and then I must tell your Lordship, if you have done as you write, you have suffered strangely for many years together by the tongues of men, who have often and constantly affirmed, that you have not been a very good friend to the Church in the point of her maintenance. I hope these reports are not true, but if they be, I cannot account your works charitable, having no better foundation than the livelihood of the Church taken away to do them. I am sorry I cannot give your Lordship any other answer to your letters than what here I have written; and therefore leave the tomb to be viewed and ordered by my Lord Deputy and the Archbishops there, as they shall find fittest to be done. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, March the 21, 1633.

LETTER LXX.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb mxxx. p. 23.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, —I must ever acknowledge your Grace's just proceedings with me in the referring of the business of your metropolitical

visitation unto the arbitrement of Mr. Attorney-General, upon whose opinion I shall satisfy myself, submit unto your Grace, and leave all further impleading of this cause to the the next ages.

I shall only in the last branch, which concerns your Grace's inhibiting of me and my officers, wherein Mr. Attorney forbears to deliver his opinion, humbly leave it to your Grace's consideration whether, if your Grace expects we should obey the same at all (which was never done in this diocese before), yet in that case we should do it before such time as your Grace hath fully visited your diocese of Canterbury. And withal, however your Grace shall resolve therein, I do humbly desire your Grace to take the poor officers of the diocese, whose livelihood depends upon the exercise of the jurisdiction, unto your gracious consideration; and with the remembrance of my duty to your Grace, I shall never fail to remain

Your Grace's most humble
Servant and Suffragan,
JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, this
27th day of March,
1634.

To the most Reverend Father in God my very good Lord the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c. Present these.

LETTER LXXI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT SCUDAMORE[f].

[In the possession of the Rev. J. F. Russell[g].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am glad to see by your letters, that you are returned safe to your own home; where God bless you, your lady[h], and your son with health. I remember you told me when you were lately here, you thought your sister's[i] business would bring you to London again in Easter

[f] [See vol. iii. p. 175.]

[g] [This letter Mr. Russell obligingly informed me, when favouring me with the transcript, was formerly in the possession of the Duke of Sussex.]

[h] [Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Arthur Porter.]

[i] [Mary Scudamore, the wife of Sir Giles Brydges.]

Term; if it do, I shall be very glad to see you, and though I have little leisure left me, yet I shall find enough, I hope, to give you as many turns in my stone-gallery, if you have any occasion to see me, as I did at your late being here; for which your company and kindness, I thank you heartily.

About a week before I received your Lordship's letters, I had a letter sent me from the party, whose long sickness you give me such an account of as you can. And though Mr. Parry express little to you; yet I doubt, I can give a shrewd guess at his disease; not that he hath expressed in his letters anything to me, but all that I guess, is by some expressions upon the bye. And truly, my Lord, if I mistake not, all his disease is discontent, but for what, is nowhere expressed; but if I collect right, it is for that which I cannot remedy, and which, were I as pettish as some men are, would give me just cause of offence. For your Lordship knows, no man better, how ready I was, when you were in treaty for him for the Chancellorship of Gloucester, to do him all the favour, and give him all the assistance I could. Besides, you know how careful I was, to fit him nearer you than so, by all my endeavours for Hereford, till it appeared plainly that no good could be done that way. Since that, I would have given him (and your Lordship knows that too) a Principality of a Hall in Oxford[k], had not his necessary attendance upon you made him incapable of it, which I could not help. Yet he writes, that he is almost obliterated out of my memory. Your Lordship shall take no notice of this, but it is not well. Perhaps he thinks, I might in all this space have given him some such place in mine own gift; but he would have done very well, before he had drunk in his discontent, to have asked me whether any such place had fallen void or no, and I would have answered him as truly, as easily, that I was never yet so happy, as to have any such place to give. And for those which are now in my power, they are for the greatest and ablest lawyers in the kingdom, if ever they should fall void in my lifetime, which I know not whether they will or no. I am willing to give your Lordship this large account, that you may see how little cause I have given

[k] [This appears to have been the headship of St. Mary's Hall, which was vacant in 1632.]

of discontent. And if that which I cannot do, or not do, with my credit, be thus expected from me, it will make me shrink up indeed, and not lie so open to my friends as I have done. So in haste, I leave your Lordship to the grace of God, ever resting

Your Lordship's loving Friend
to serve you,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, March 29th, 1634.

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the Lord Viscount Scudamore, at Cradock, in Herefordshire. These.

LETTER LXXII.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 24.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letters by the hands of your ancient officer, Mr. Prigeon, and thank your Lordship for your fair respect in them; and as I was willing to refer the examination and censure of my right to Mr. Attorney-General—for I assure your Lordship, if I had not seen a fair way in mine own judgment and good evidences for my right, which by my forbearance might in time have been lost, I should not have troubled your Lordship with it at this time; but now I am glad 'tis settled, and I hope your Lordship shall have little cause to complain of it.

My Lord, concerning my inhibitions, I did not send them to your Lordship without very good advice; for though I have not fully made an end of the visitation of my own diocese of Canterbury, yet no law that I know or hear of forbids my inhibitions before. And though I have been thus careful to keep the strictest rule, and visit none of my brethren till I have visited myself, yet I believe were the acts of my registers thoroughly scanned, there are some hundreds of years past in which scarce any one Archbishop hath kept himself so close and so strict to the Canon as I have done in this. And whereas your Lordship says, that

Mr. Attorney hath forborne to deliver his opinion in this particular; I do not, under favour, conceive it so; for though he does not so positively express himself as in the former, yet I suppose he hath laid down those reasons in a fair and a modest way, which make that part more strong for me than any of the rest which he hath formally declared. And, therefore, since your Lordship, in the beginning of your letter, submits unto me, and afterwards desires me to express myself in this particular, Whether I would have my inhibitions obeyed, till the visitation of my own diocese be past? I must needs tell your Lordship, I would have them obeyed, for I hold my inhibition, and the citations also that are to be sent forth, to be the necessary preparatories to the actual visitation that is to follow.

For the last passage of your letters, concerning your officers, I shall be ready to do all that your Lordship desires, and will charge my officers to use them as fairly as they do the officers of any other diocese, if they, or any of them, do not by their own default make themselves uncapable of favour. So wishing your Lordship all health and happiness, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother.

Lambeth, Mar. 31, 1634.

Endorsed: 'March ult. 1634.
The copy of my letter to the Bishop of
Lincoln concerning my visitation, &c.'

LETTER LXXIII.

TO THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 492, 493[1].]

S. in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c. His Majesty, out of his princely care, not only of St. Paul's Church, London, but of that city, and the kingdom in general, hath been graciously pleased to write unto me, that against all base and unworthy rumours, he is not only resolute to cause the work to go on, but, further, to take upon himself and his own

[1] [From Reg. Laud, fol. 200 b.]

charge the repair of the whole west end of the church [m]; which as it will be a great work in itself, so will it also be an excellent memorial to all posterity of so pious and gracious a prince. In these his Majesty's letters, there is an express command upon me, that I should send a copy of them to your Lordship, and the aldermen your brethren, that ye may see not the King's bounty only, but the clearness of all his royal intentions in and concerning that pious work; and, in obedience to the command which I have received, I here send you a true and perfect copy of his Majesty's gracious letters sent to me; not doubting but that you will cheerfully receive them, and cause them to be registered among those things, which you keep with greatest care in that city. And further, I hope that this piety and great munificence of his Majesty will stir up your Lordship, and the rest of that honourable city, to extend your charity, that so the work may go on, to the great honour of yourselves, and this whole kingdom. Thus with my prayers to God, that He would open and enlarge your hearts to this work of His service, I leave you to His grace, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, April 28,
1634.

LETTER LXXIV.

TO ADAM BALLANDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Baillie's Letters and Journals, Appendix II. No. viii. p. 432 [n].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am right sorry for the death of the Bishop of Edinburgh [o], the loss being very great both to the King and the Church. I acquainted his Majesty how needful it was to fill that place with an able successor; and when mention was made of divers men to succeed, I did, as you desire, show his Majesty what your desires were, and

[m] [See the King's Letter in Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 492, from Reg. Laud, fol. 200 a.]

[n] [This Letter is taken from Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. num. 15. It is also mentioned in Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 149.]

[o] [Wm. Forbes, the author of the 'Considerationes Modestæ.']

what necessities lay upon you. After much consideration of the business, his Majesty resolved to give the Bishopric of Edinburgh to my Lord of Brechin [p]; and for yourself, he commanded me to write expressly to you that he did not take it well, that, contrary to his express command, you had omitted prayers in his Chapel Royal, according to the English Liturgy, with some omissions there, which pleased him not; besides, his Majesty hath heard that there have lately been some differences in Edinburgh about the sufferings of Christ, &c., and that your Lordship was some cause of them; or, at least, such an occasion as might have bred much disturbance, if the late Bishop of Edinburgh's care and temper had not moderated them; and this his Majesty is not well pleased with neither; and this hath been the cause, as I conceive, why his Majesty hath passed you over in this remove; and you shall do very well to apply yourself better, both to his Majesty's service and the well ordering of that Church, lest you give just occasion to the King to pass you by, when any other remove falls [q]. I am very sorry that I must write thus unto you; but the only way of help lies in yourself, and your own carriage, and therefore, if you will not be careful of that, I do not see what any friend can be able to do for you. Therefore, not doubting but you will take these things into serious consideration for your own good, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 6th, 1634.

To the Rt. Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, at Edinburgh, These.

Endorsed: 'Anent the Liturgie and his Sermon.'

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[p] [David Lindsay.]

[q] [This censure of Bishop Ballanden was brought as one of the charges against Laud by the Scotch Commissioners. See above, vol. iii. p. 303.]

LETTER LXXV.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 253—256.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received from you a very large packet, and three letters in it, besides the duplicate; for all which I thank you, and will make my answer as short as I can.

I'll begin with your brother[r]. I pray deliver him the letter which is herein directed to him. I never had so much thanks for so little service, all that I did being rather duty than kindness. If it please your Lordship, I would desire the letter herewith also sent, may be delivered to the Lord Mountnorris by your own hand, or your brother's, that I may be sure they are come to his. I take myself very unworthily used in Croxton[s] by that Lord. But though I am angry, my letters are not so, and may fairly be delivered, as you may see by the copy of them, which I here send you open. But I heartily thank your Lordship for taking him into your care, for what you have done, and what you mean to do; and do heartily pray you to let him bear your name, for he shall have no more relation at all to that other Lord, but to pay him the money, which necessity hath made him borrow of him.

I am sorry Dr. Bramhall found Munster in so ill case[t].

I hope you will make the Dean of Londonderry[u] know himself and his fault, before you let him loose again; and 'tis great mercy to do it, for by that you will keep many out of that danger.

In the next place, you begin to be merry with your heifer, and I wonder you have so little pity, as not to let it rest, when I have ploughed with it. By St. Dunstan (if it were not for swearing), I see you guess unhappily that your friends can tell how to be merry, as well as serious together, and you shall not need to entreat us to continue it, for we have no other purpose, only I am in ill case by it. For your Spaniard[x], and the gravity which he learnt there, while he went to buy

[r] [Sir George Wentworth.]
[s] [See above, p. 302.]
[t] [Bramhall's melancholy account of the Irish Church, given to the Archbishop in his letter of Aug. 10th, 1633, may be here referred to. See Bramhall's Works, vol. i. pp. lxix. —lxxxii.]
[u] [See above, p. 353.]
[x] [Lord Cottington.]

pigeons, hath tempted my old friend, the Secretary[y], from me, and he is become his man. So I have need to look to myself, when the relation is grown so near between them. As for that which you desire me so earnestly to let Mr. Secretary know, I protest I writ it in merriment, and did merely put it upon him, and cannot now recal what it is; you may, because you have my letter.

From your mirth you leap into those directions, which at your entreaty I gave; and I am glad you will so soon take order, that Divine Service may be read throughout in the churches, be the company that vouchsafe to come never so few. Let God have His whole service with reverence, and He will quickly send in more to help perform it.

For the holding of two livings, and but two with cure, since you approve me in the substance, I will yield to you in the circumstance of time. Indeed, my Lord, I knew it was bad, very bad in Ireland, but that it was so stark naught I did not believe. Six benefits not able to find the minister clothes; in six parishes scarce six to come to church. Good God! Stay the time you must, till there be more means, and some more conformable people.

Yet, in this sober discourse, I pray what means this Johnnism[z] of yours, 'till the rights of the Pastors be a little more settled?' You learned this from old Alvye[a], or Billy Nelson[b]. For where, I pray, in all the ancient fathers do you find Pastor applied to any but a Bishop? Well, I see the errors of your breeding will stick by you; Pastors and Elders, and all will come in, if I let you alone.

Well, 'tis no matter for the old trot that kept the goodwife while she lay in; look you to the Bishops, lest they make

[y] [Sir F. Windebank.]

[z] [Referring to his education at St. John's College, Cambridge.]

[a] [Richard Alvey was appointed Master of the Temple, Feb. 13, 15$\frac{8}{9}$, and the first Prebendary of the 5th Stall in Westminster Abbey, on its erection into a Collegiate Church by Queen Elizabeth, June 21, 1560. He died in 1585, and was succeeded in his Mastership of the Temple by Rich. Hooker. Mr. Keble (Hooker's Works, vol. i. p. 65, note 14) observes, "Mr. Alvie himself appears to have been inclined to Puritanism, as his name occurs in 'Troubles at Frankfort,' among the signatures to the Discipline, 1557. (Phœnix, vol. ii. 142.) This may partly account for Travers's appointment." Alvey was much followed as a preacher in his day, as is noticed in Walton's Life of Hooker.]

[b] [William Nelson was one of the protestors against the doctrine of universal redemption, preached by Baro at Cambridge. See Strype's Whitgift, book iv. chap. xviii.]

themselves or their successors lie out. And in the care for the schools, it was passing well thought on, that they might be taught English, not only to soften the malignity and stubbornness of the nation, as you write, but also because they will with the more ease and sooner be acquainted with English fashions, which yet can do no harm in that country.

On with your care for monies given to charitable uses; for righting the Crown in patronages; for entering the benefices into the first-fruit office. But I have done speaking of under six pounds. Do what your judgment leads you to upon the place, and where six will not find the minister clothes, the King's first-fruits will buy no lace. And while you prohibit Arts to be taught in this country, God send you art enough to get back your monies out of the friars' hands. I doubt it much.

Concerning the college at Dublin, since they have made me Chancellor, and your Lordship approves them in so doing, I will begin to take them to task; and if I have so much leisure, there comes a letter with these to the college, which I pray command be delivered.

The draught about the Commission for commutation monies, &c., was the last I could finish, and I sent it back with our Civilians' notes upon it, when your brother returned; and therefore I hope you have received it, and that the passage in your letter which now calls for it, was written in some mistake; for I assure you I have sent back all you sent me.

I have received the petition, and a letter from the Lord Bishop of Waterford; I here send you back the petition, accompanied as it ought to be. The King said, as soon as I had read it to him, God forbid, but that I should grant that. As for the other complaint against *, 'tis stark naught. But I hope you will make use of all that number, before you proclaim him.

Now you are merry again. God hold it. And what? Dr. Palmer acted like a king [c]. Be it so. But he was another card in the pack. As for Bishop Howland, you never heard of him. What? Nor of Jeames's wife neither [d]? Good

[c] [See above, p. 357.]

[d] [Does this refer to the widow of William James, Bishop of Durham? There was a dispute between his heir and his successor, Neile, respecting dilapidations. (See Diary, Jan. 31, 1623. Works, vol. iii. p. 146.)]

Lord, how ignorant you can be, when you list. Yea, but you have taken St. John's, Ox. *flagrante crimine*, and I put you to your memory. Is it so? Come on then, you know there is a cause in the Star-Chamber, some were to answer, and they brought their answers ready written. If the Bishop of Lincoln sent them ready for his turn, hath he not an excellent forge[e]? What if this appear? I hope you will not then say, I put you to your memory. 'Tis now under examination, and is not this if, &c. *flagrante crimine?* Go brag now; yet for your comfort I'll tell you, suppose all this, I doubt all will come to nothing.

I hope you will join Sir Thomas Fitz-Edmonds to the rest of his fellows, and make him vomit up Cloyne[f]. As for the building of a new church at Lismore[g], I will believe it when I see it; yet this I must needs say, none so fit to build a new one by repentance, as he that pulled down the old by sacrilege; and it is a fine pretence to speak of a new, when he is ready to be questioned for the old. And for Sir Beverley's tale, I have told it the King, who shook his head, yet could not but laugh at the cooks and the sculls.

Now, my Lord, to your great business: since the Bishop of Derry is dead[h], I have (though against the rule which I have lodged with his Majesty) moved earnestly for Dr. Bramhall to succeed him, and given him the reasons why, for his own service, and the good of the Church in that kingdom, he should dispense in this particular for the Doctor's being a little too young[i]. His Majesty, after some arguing of the business, and with great testimony of your

[e] [This refers to the case of Bishop Williams, mentioned above, p. 71. It will be remembered that Bishop Williams was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge.]

[f] [The Bishopric of Cloyne had been reduced in value to five marks a-year. See Bramhall's Life, in Biogr. Brit. note F.]

[g] [This refers to a proposal made by the Earl of Cork to rebuild Lismore Church. See above, p. 363.]

[h] [George Downham, of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was appointed Bishop of Derry in 1616. His treatise on 'The Covenant of Grace,' published at Dublin in 1631, was suppressed by royal authority, which Prynne (Cant. Doom, p. 171) ascribes to Laud's interference. Elrington (Life of Ussher, p. 130) suggests that the letter of Ussher on which this statement was grounded is probably a forgery.]

[i] [There appears some mistake as to the date of Bramhall's birth. For if, as stated in his Life, he was born in 1593, which agrees also with the statement in his Will, he was at this time more than forty years of age, which Laud had laid down in a previous letter (see above, p. 322) as the age he should adhere to in recommending those who were to be promoted to bishoprics. (See Life of Bramhall, p. iii. note [a]. Works, vol. i.)]

Lordship's good service to himself and the Church, granted him the bishopric, as you will see by the letters which accompany these. This I have readily done to serve you, with some departure from my own judgment in matter of age, hoping the Doctor will supply it with temper, and then he hath the more strength for his business, which, he says, he will not, and I say he must not leave, till that Church be better settled, which I dare say must be now, when a King, a Lord Deputy, and a poor Archbishop set jointly to it, or never.

What Dr. Bramhall holds in England he must leave [k]. The bishopric being good needs no commendam; if it did, it must be helped there. For I foresee marvellous great inconvenience, and very little less than mischief, if a way be given to Bishops there to hold commendams here. And, I pray, let Dr. Bramhall send me present word, what the names of the preferments are, which he is to part with.

The King hath now commanded me to write thus; and the Provost ere long may be fitted with a bishopric, if he make himself fit.

The sequel which your Lordship draws out of this is very good; That the Provost may have his Archdeaconry [l], (so then less than a little bishopric will fetch him off, contrary to your fears,) and the Dean of Cashells may be Dean and Provost, if the Fellows will elect him; if not, the King, I know, will give it him. I would willingly do nothing to disserve you, and so send me word, whether all deans and inferior clergymen to them be not in your own preferment, without moving the King, and only Bishops reserved to himself. But one thing more there is, which you must not deny me, and I hope you shall thank me for it. Dr. Bramhall, being once Bishop, though he stay a good part of the year with you, and attend the more general service of the Church, yet he cannot stay always with you, nor perform all those inferior services, which one in your house must do; I pray take Croxton into that under-service, I will answer for his sufficiency to do it.

I have showed to his Majesty that passage in your letters which concerns *, and his coming over; and the reason

[k] [The English preferment, which he still retained, was his Prebendal stall at York, which he did not vacate till Aug. 6, 1634. (See Life of Bramhall, p. vi. note [r]. Works, vol. i.) His stall at Ripon, and the Rectory of Elvington, seem to have been resigned by him when he first came to Ireland.]

[l] [Dr. Robert Ussher was appointed at once to the Archdeaconry of Meath, vacated by Bramhall's promotion. He was consecrated Bishop of Kildare, Feb. 25, 1635.]

why neither your Lordship nor myself can think fit that way be given to him at this time, being to attend in the great service of the Parliament there. His Majesty likes this proposal well, and promises to give no way to such his desires. But you know the workings of a Court, what they are; yet I hope the best. I have likewise acquainted his Majesty what a considerable business that must needs be, which, besides the fine to him, may be forty thousand pounds in point of restitution [m].

Now I have done with all your large letters, have at you a little for your harangue to that Council about the Parliament. I thank you for that duplicate. Young Windebank [n] (for whom I thank you also) came hither on Saturday, May the 3d. The next day, at Greenwich, your despatch to Secretary Coke [o] was read to the Committee, the King present, order given for us to meet, and for speed of our answer to you. If speed be not made to your mind, I am not in fault, and I hope you will have all things in time. Everybody liked your carriage and discourse to the Council, but thought it too long, and that too much strength was put upon it; but you may see what it is to be an able speaker. Your old friend says, he had rather see you talk something into the Exchequer; but he pleases himself extremely to see how able Brutus is in the Senate House; and wot you what? When we came to this passage in your despatch: 'Again, I did beseech them to look well about, and to be wise by others' harms; they were not ignorant of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years, &c.' Here a good friend of yours interposed, *quorum pars magna fui.* I hope you will charge this home upon my Lord Cottington, he hath so many Spanish tricks, that I cannot tell how to trust him for anything, but making of legs to fair ladies.

I have received a letter from Croxton, and do here send you one passage of it, that you may see how the Lord Mountnorris stands affected to the Church, and your courses for redeeming it out of misery: *Cæterum, quod ad Præcento-*

[m] [It seems probable that this paragraph refers to the Earl of Cork. See above, p. 333, note [p].]

[n] [This was Francis Windebank, who was afterwards elected, through Strafford's interest, a Member of the Irish Parliament. (See Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 118.)]

[o] [See the despatch in Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 236—241.]

riatus illius dignitatem attinet, nunquam monere desiit honoratissimus meus Dominus Dominus de Monte Norrisio, ne quid de ea ad tuam referrem unquam Sanctiss. Paternitatem. Certe ille non omnino probare videtur rationem istam privilegialem, qua una ratione tamen res, nullis aliis continenda legibus, felicissime jam tandem cœpit restitui, &c. If he be as good a friend to the prerogative in other things, he was well preferred, and is like to do good service shortly.

It is more than time to end, and so I do, wishing your Lordship all health and happiness; and so rest

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 14th, 1634.

LETTER LXXVI.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 27.]

S. in Christo.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—I took the first and best opportunity I could get to present your Lordship's petition to his Majesty; and I did it to the best advantage I could to yourself and your cause, or, to use your own words, I did labour to improve it as far as I might. His Majesty, after he had read and considered it, commanded me to return this answer: That he was not yet satisfied concerning your business, but would not do your Lordship nor any man else wrong. And that there was one part of your petition which he did much dislike, namely, the pleading of his gracious remission of all that was past at several times formerly granted unto you, &c. And his Majesty gave me special command to let you know, that when he, upon earnest entreaty, gave you leave to kiss his hands, he did not thereby give any remission of anything which he knew not, as then he did not know that for which you are now questioned; and that if such interpretations be made of it by your Lordship or any other, either the wrong will be in his Majesty, who in that way may be thought to remit that which is no way fit for a King to pass over, or may make him more strange to

delinquents in that kind. So this his Majesty utterly dislikes, and bids you not to trust unto it. This is all the answer I can give you. And I profess I did not expect that his Majesty would have pitched here of all parts of your petition. I have dealt truly and really with you, but am not able to do you any more service. I take my leave, and rest

Your loving Friend and Brother.

Lambeth, May 16, 1634.

Endorsed: 'May 16, 1634.

The copy of my letter to my L^d. Bishop of Lincoln, about his petition, &c.'

LETTER LXXVII.

TO SIR WILLIAM BELLASYS.

[Christian Remembrancer, Dec. 1841 [p].]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—Now I know to whom I am beholding for two young roebuck pies, and I thank you heartily for them. They came not as you intended; but I will take leave to tell you how they came. The two pies came to me a little before Christmas, as mouldy as if they had been sent from a far country. No direction at all came with them, but only that they came from Durham; so I thought they had been my Lord Bishop's sendings, and I either did give him thanks for them, or intended so to do. Now in the middle of May came your letter, by which I understand the pies came from you; and, truly, I thank you as heartily as if they had come to me in very good case, for so I know you intended them. And with these thanks I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, June 3, 1634.

To my loving friend, Sir William Bellasys, Sheriff of the Bishopric of Durham, These.

[p] [From MSS. Harl. 7001, Art. 38.]

LETTER LXXVIII.

TO THE MERCHANTS AT DELFT.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 407, 408.]

After our hearty commendations, &c. — We are commanded by his Majesty to signify unto you, that this bearer, Mr. Beaumont [q], chosen by joint consent of your Company to be your preacher at Delft, or where else you shall at any time reside, is a man learned, sober, and conformable to the doctrine and discipline established in the Church of England; and that you are to receive him with all decent and courteous usage, fitting his person and calling, and to allow him the usual ancient stipend, which Mr. Forbes [r] lately, or any other before him, hath received. And, further, we are to let you know, that it is his Majesty's express command, that both you, the Deputy, and all and every other merchant, that is or shall be residing in those parts beyond the seas, do conform themselves to the doctrine and discipline settled in the Church of England; and that they frequent the Common Prayers with all religious duty, and reverence, at all times required, as well as they do sermons; and that out of your Company you do yearly, about Easter, as the Canons prescribe, name two churchwardens and two sidesmen,

[q] [Heylin describes him as 'reputed for a learned, sober, and conformable man.' (Cypr. Angl. p. 259.)]

[r] [Concerning this person there is the following notice in William Whiteway's Diary, printed in 'Willis's Current Notes,' for July 1853: —"1633, Jan. 1.—This winter Mr. Forbes, a Scotchman, minister of the English Church at Delft, in Holland, having been sent for over by the King returned back into Holland. The King sent for him to employ him about the English Discipline in the English Churches in the Low Countries, which he flatly refused to do, but said he would hinder it to his power. Whereupon the King told him that, if he would do it he would make him a bishop; and he rejecting the offer the King dismissed him of his charge at Delft, having power from the States to appoint ministers and discipline for the English Churches there. In this conference Mr. Forbes told the King that King James a little before his death sent for him out of Holland, and told him very seriously that he desired him to give him a reason why it came to pass that he had found the Scotch Church good and left it bad, and that he found the English Church bad and should leave it far worse. Forbes said it proceeded from the bishops whose government was anti-Christian. Then King James craved his advice how it might be remedied. Forbes told him it might easily be altered in Scotland, where that Government was not yet so strongly settled, and in England it might be done, so it were wisely managed. King James promised to think upon some course to effect it, and to advise farther with him about it, in the meantime he charged him to conceal this their conference. The next news that Forbes heard of the King was of his death. How he came God knows."]

which may look to the orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. And Mr. Beaumont himself is hereby to take notice, that his Majesty's express pleasure and command to him is, that he do punctually keep and observe all the orders of the Church of England, as they are prescribed in the Canons and the Rubrics of the Liturgy. And that if any of your Company shall show themselves refractory to this ordinance of his Majesty, (which we hope will not be,) he is to certify the name of any such offender and his offence to the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, who is to take order and give remedy accordingly. And these letters you are to register and keep by you, that they which come after may understand what care his Majesty hath taken for the well ordering of your Company in Church affairs. And you are likewise to deliver a copy of these letters to Mr. Beaumont, and to every successor of his respectively, that he and they may know what his Majesty expects from them, and be the more inexcusable if they disobey. Thus, not doubting but that you will show yourselves very respectful of these his Majesty's commands, we leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,
W. CANT.

June 17, 1634.

LETTER LXXIX.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 268.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—After I had sealed my letters, I received one from the Dean of Cashells[8], with another enclosed, from some friend of his unknown to me. That letter enclosed importunes the Dean very earnestly to get a letter from me to your Lordship, in the behalf of one Mr. Chadwick, that he may succeed, as a Baron of the Exchequer, in the room of Sir Gerard Lowther. That which moved the Dean to send me the letter, is not any

[8] [William Chappell.]

forwardness of his to meddle in businesses of this nature, but only, as himself expresseth it, a fair respect, fearing lest if he should speed, and he seem backward, he and his causes for the Church might fare the worse, which made him choose rather to put me to the denial than himself, and I am very well contented with it. But I, my Lord, choose rather to grant in part than to deny for all; and out of this reason, the letter which came to the Dean tells him, that your Lordship hath a very good opinion of Mr. Chadwick as a fit man for this place; and if he be so, and you think so, these are so far to second his desires, as they may therein fulfil your own; but I cannot write to you according to all that is desired of me, not so much by the Dean, as by him that writes in behalf of Mr. Chadwick, because he desires from me an effectual letter to your Lordship for Mr. Chadwick against all competitors. And truly, my Lord, I do not use to write so to any friend, where I do know the man and his sufficiency, much less when I know him not; nor am I indeed well pleased, when any man writes so to me. Therefore, my Lord, all that I'll write is this, if Mr. Chadwick be as fit a man as any other for the King's service and your own, and as able and well set for the Church, I think you shall do the poor Dean of Cashells a great deal of favour, if you pitch upon him for this place; and I doubt not but the Dean (whom you are now drawing into a more public way) will both deserve it, and make good use of it for the Church. But if you have no such opinion of Mr. Chadwick, as the letter to the Dean pretends, then these letters of mine are not written. And I know you will order the matter so, whoever have the place, that the Church businesses shall proceed with favour enough, wherever they be just. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's

Very loving Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.[t]

Lambeth, June 23d, 1634.

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[t] [Wentworth, in his letter of Aug. 23, gives his reasons for being unable to comply with this request. (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 299.)]

LETTER LXXX.

TO ADAM BALLANDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Baillie's Letters and Journals, Append. II. No. viii. p. 433 [u].]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—My haste at this time forces me to write very briefly: and these are to let you know, that I writ nothing in my former letters but as the King was informed, and myself by him commanded. I have now read your Lordship's letters to his Majesty, which hath in some part satisfied him, but not altogether. And for the first, his Majesty saith, that though the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal did absent themselves for fear of arrests, having not to pay, and though that might hinder the service in the Chapel in a solemn and formal way of singing by them; yet his Majesty thinks you might have got a Chaplain of your own to have read the English Liturgy, that so the work for the main part of it might have gone on. And for the payment of those men, I think your Lordship knows, I have done all the good offices I can, but have it not in my power to mend all the difficulties of the time.

Concerning the disturbance that was in Edinburgh, if any wrong was done your Lordship, that must lie upon those who misreported you to the King, whoever they were. And, howsoever, the King took it not ill you advised the then Bishop of Edinburgh to appease the differences, for that was very worthily and deservedly done by you. But as far as I remember, the charge laid upon you to the King was, that in your own sermon, which you preached about that time, you did rather side with one party, than either repress or compose the difference [x]. Though I must needs confess to your Lordship, that by reason of the multitude of businesses which lie upon me, I cannot charge my memory with the particular.

You have done very well to acquaint the Lordships of

[u] [The original is in Wodrow MSS. folio, vol. lxvi. num. 16; and it had been previously printed in Dalrymple's Memoirs.]

[x] [This probably is the passage of the letter referred to in the 1st Art. of the Scottish Commissioners. See above, vol. iii. p. 304; and also Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 149.]

Council and Session, &c. with his Majesty's resolution concerning the Communion in the Chapel Royal. And I doubt not, if you continue to do that which his Majesty looks for in the course of your Church, and which is most just and fit to be done, but that you will easily recover his Majesty's favour, and find the good of it. So in haste I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 1st, 1634.

To the Rt. Reverend Father in God, my very good Lo. and Brother, the Lord Bp. of Dunblane, These.

Endorsed: 'Anent Reading of the Liturgie, and his Sermon at Edinburgh.'

LETTER LXXXI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 271.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your letters of June the 23d, and the duplicate in them. It pities me to think how you stay for our answers. You will by the date of my former letters see, how long mine lay in Mr. Raylton's[y] hands, before others that were to go with them could be got in. My cypher is packed up for Croydon, whither I am going this day, else I would tell you what little rest I am like to have at my country house, till the King be gone in progress, and somewhat else.

Since my letters were sealed, your long despatch about the Apostiling[z] was read to the Committee, the King present. Order given to Mr. Secretary Coke for answer; and I hope you have it. The old man is exceeding diligent; and the truth is, so are we all, if you will believe us. I beseech your

[y] [William Raylton is frequently mentioned in Wentworth's letters, as also in those of Sir George Radcliffe. He was Wentworth's agent.]

[z] [This is the despatch of May 13, 1634. Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 244—251.]

Lordship for favour. I do most heartily thank you for your short letter; and, I pray, remember I do so, that your threatening to make the next a souser may blow over. I was fain to write nine letters yesterday into Scotland. I think you have a plot, to see whether I will be *universalis episcopus*, that you and your brethren may take occasion to call me Antichrist.

Well, whate'er I am, or am called, I thank you for the Church with all my heart; and I hope so doth my Lord of Clonfert[b] too. If I thought he did not, I would send him a link to see his benefactors. Mr. Raylton calls, and I doubt it is for these letters, which are as short as yours. The Lady Mora[c] commends her to you, and tells you she would make more haste, did she not stay to accommodate private ends. I rest

Your Lordship's

Faithful Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 3, 1634.

LETTER LXXXII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 272.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The bearer hereof[d] hath been with me at Croydon, and these are both to give your Lordship thanks for your favour to him, and to certify you, that my opinion concerning his worth is the same that it was at first; and I doubt not, but that he will every day improve himself for the service of the Church and your Lordship, in which way I shall heartily thank you for any encouragement you shall please to afford him. And for the Mastership of the College at Dublin, the sooner he shall be settled there the better.

[b] [Robert Dawson, appointed to the Bishopric in 1627. The remark relates to a proposed augmentation of his Bishopric. See below, p. 400.]

[c] [Laud and Wentworth use this phrase to reprobate the dilatoriness of the English ministers.]

[d] [Wm. Chappell, the Dean of Cashel.]

I have only one more thing to trouble your Lordship with at this time, and that is concerning one Mr. Cressy [e], a Divine who is lately arrived in Ireland. I have received good testimony of his sufficiency, as a younger man, and had thought to have recommended him to your Lordship a good while since, but that other businesses have caused me to slip it. I pray you, when he comes in your way, will you be pleased to take notice of him from me? And as he shall approve himself by his good carriage, so let him stand or fall in your Lordship's estimation. Thus far in haste, that Mr. Dean might not return empty-handed. Of other things I will, God willing, give your Lordship an account by the next return. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's

Very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Croydon, July 10th, 1634.

LETTER LXXXIII.

TO DR. RICHARD ASTLEY, WARDEN OF ALL SOULS.

[Tanner MSS. vol. cccxl. fol. 115 b.]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—When the Fellows came to me the last year about the money which was to be divided among them at the end of their audit, I was willing the first act that I did as Visitor of that College should be with as much favour as could well be showed to the Company, preserving the state and government of the College. And to that end I spake to the Fellows which were trusted, that they should not fail to let the Company understand how careful I then was, that the exercise of the House should be duly performed, as well as all other moral and civil duties.

[e] [This was Hugh Cressy, who had already been Lord Wentworth's Chaplain when in the North. (See Wentworth's reply to this letter, Aug. 23, 1634; Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 300.) In 1642 he became, by the interest of Lord Falkland, Canon of Windsor, and about the same time Dean of Leighlin. In 1646 he joined the Church of Rome, and was the author of the 'Church History of Britanny,' and other books on the Romish side, which involved him in controversy with Lord Clarendon and Stillingfleet. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 1011—1016.)]

Since this time I have had as watchful an eye as I might upon that government; and do find that some things are very much out of order there, both against the local statutes and all other common rules of reason and government, which I must desire may be amended fairly. And, first, I understand that in the yearly choice of your Deans (an office of great consequence for upholding, or perverting, the discipline of a College), you, and the rest of the electors, are quite departed from the statute and ordinance of your Founder. For your statutes require that your Deans should be chosen *de discretioribus, et maturioribus sociis*[f]. And surely none but such are fit to be joined with the Warden in giving consent to punishments. But contrary to this, you choose your Deans not by worth or judgment, but only by ordinary course of seniority; and by that means descend to juniors, who are very unfit to govern such a College. And from hence it is, that some of the students neglect not only public exercise, but even their private studies also. Beside, when you, as Warden, would willingly, I conceive, punish not only these neglects, but other excesses in apparel and miscarriages in conversation, these young Deans refuse to concur to the punishing of such delinquents: and I doubt a great reason of it is, because themselves are equally culpable with the offenders, and so might be thought to punish themselves in others. And all this comes by departing from your Founder's statutes, in not choosing these officers according to worth and merit.

Secondly, I am informed that you, and the rest of the Fellows Electors, are run into the same error in the choice of your Bursars by seniority too, and not putting a difference. Whereas your statutes require that the Bursars should be *aptiores, et magis circumspecti*[g], a quality not easily found in younger men, who usually are too profuse to be trusted with the estate of a College, and too often prove not responsible.

These are therefore to require you, Mr. Warden, to call the Fellows together, and to take notice yourself, and communicate to them, especially such as have voice in the choice of officers, that I give it as a strict charge, that hereafter you make neither Dean nor Bursar by seniority only; but that you choose such as are seniors, or others that are very

[f] [See Statutes of All Souls College, cap. viii.] [g] [Ibid. cap. vii.]

deserving by their studies and conversation. And that you keep all those from being elected Deans, which have been defective in their studies, or are otherwise obnoxious in life and conversation. And if any man being once chosen Dean shall refuse to join with the Warden in the punishment of any excess whatsoever, where just proof is made against the delinquent, I shall take such course with him upon complaint made to me, as I hope shall remedy that notorious kind of maintenance by a governor against government.

Next, that I lay the same charge upon yourself and the Electors, that such Fellows only be chosen Bursars as are known to be provident, and fit for that place; for if the stock of the dead College be not well maintained, the state of the living College, which are yourself and the Fellows, cannot be upheld, which would turn to the great dishonour of a bountiful Founder. And, particularly, I do require of you and them, that no man be elected to the office of a Bursar, or any other office, that hath misbehaved himself in the office of Dean. Besides, I do hereby particularly give in charge, that every year one of the Bursars at the least be chosen out of the ancientest Fellows of the House, against whose carriage in former offices there hath been no exception. And this I do because I understand the College revenues have been in some later years in younger men's hands in this office, whence they have not been recovered without difficulty.

And this charge I require you, Mr. Warden, to deliver to all the Fellows, but especially the officers, that they use not long, undecent hair, nor wear large falling bands, nor boots under their gowns, nor any other like unstatutable novelty in their apparel. For these kinds of excesses, I understand, are much grown into that College; and that some officers, especially the Deans, who should punish these faults in others, are too usually themselves seen in such uncomely habits. And now, Mr. Warden, I desire you both to let the officers and the Fellows in general know, that though I think fit to send yourself and them this admonition by letter, being most unwilling to fall upon the sourest way at first, yet I shall assure you, that if your elections shall not hereafter be regularly made according to your statutes, or that these and

the like abuses shall continue without reformation, I shall, God willing, use that power which your honourable Founder hath left, and commended to me, and not suffer either the discipline or the thrift of that College to decay or be impaired. But I hope this fair admonition will amongst such ingenuous men produce all such good effects as are desired. In which hope I leave you to the grace of God, and shall ever rest

Your very loving Friend and Visitor,

W. CANT.

Croydon, August 1, 1634.

LETTER LXXXIV.

TO EDMUND GRIFFITH, BISHOP OF BANGOR.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 493 [b].]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Whereas his Majesty, in a princely consideration of the several bishoprics of this kingdom, hath, amongst others, written to your Lordship, to take care that hereafter the lands belonging to your See be let for one-and-twenty years, and not for three lives, for the benefit of the Church and your successors; I make no doubt but you will carefully observe that his gracious pleasure: but in that diocese I hold it requisite you enlarge your care concerning the lands of your bishopric already demised. I pray, therefore, and do hereby require you to call upon every tenant that holds lands of your bishopric, that he make a survey of the lands he holds, and set the quantity of acres, the particular names of the closes and other lands as they are and have been called, and in what township, parish, or county the same and every part thereof lieth; and if it be possible, that they do this before Michaelmas day next; also, that they certify you how long they and their ancestors have held the said lands now in lease to them, and what houses they, or their ancestors, have suffered to decay, and what remain in repair upon the same; and whether the rents answered unto

[b] [From Reg. Laud, fol. 207 a, where it is said to be addressed to the Bishop of Bangor, which Wilkins does not specify. The King's letters to the Archbishop on this subject are registered Reg. Laud, fol. 202 b, and to the D. and C. of Cant., Reg. Laud, fol. 203 a.]

the bishopric, be out of the lands they hold by the said several leases respectively, or out of any other lands held from the archbishopric, which they do receive of the bishop's freeholders as a chief; and that they express by what right they receive such rents, and how much the rents are, if they be not issuing out of the lands demised unto them. And though this course be taken, yet it is not intended that you shall be concluded thereby; but the end is, to prevent the concealment of the Church's land, and to discover such as go about to conceal the same[1]; and if you make it appear that any tenant of your Lordship doth hold more lands than he doth acknowledge upon this survey, I will inform his Majesty of him, and his course against the Church, that such further order may be taken with him as shall appertain to justice. But I hope they will all deal fairly and conscionably with you. Thus recommending to you in this the care both of yourself and successors, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

Croydon, August 16, 1634. W. CANT.

LETTER LXXXV.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 28.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—These are only to remember my love to you, and to prevent any mistakes which may arise about my visitation, which now draws towards an end in your Lordship's diocese, and I am most willing it should end as it began, without any the least unkindness put upon you.

When your Lordship's servant, Mr. Prigeon, was last with me at Croydon, he desired, in your Lordship's name, that he might have my relaxation ready drawn by the eleventh of September next, about which time he said my half-year expired. I told him I could not foresee my necessary occasions of absence, which might fall as well upon that day as

[1] [There appears to have been much concealment of Church lands in this diocese, for William Roberts, Archdeacon of Anglesea, was promoted to this Bishopric on its next vacancy 'for discovering Church goods to the value of 1,000*l.*' (Wood, Ath. Ox. ii. 888.)]

any other, but I promised it should be ready for him within two or three days after his then coming, and that he should have it with him; or upon the very day he desired, if I were not necessarily hindered.

My Lord, this promise, as well as any other I have hitherto made, I am most willing to keep; but then I must desire of your Lordship, that all like fair respects may be used towards me; for if I hold my visitation but just my half-year, yet the procurations from the six several Archdeacons must be due to me, either for Our Lady-day, or for Michaelmas. Now, my Lord, I know not whether my Vicar-general have received them for Our Lady-day or not; if he have received them, or that your Lordship will undertake to me that they shall be paid unto me, I shall most willingly make my relaxation accordingly; for I have no purpose to continue my visitation to gain both half-years; and the one which is my due, I presume you will as freely allow me. That which makes me move this to your Lordship is, because I know not whether you will acknowledge my visitation to begin from the date of my inhibition, or from Mr. Attorney's publishing his award. If from my inhibition, then Our Lady-day's procurations are payable unto me; if from the award, my half-year comes not out till Michaelmas, and then the procurations due at that time will be to me. I pray your Lordship to take which you will, so you leave one to me, that all things may end as fairly as they began, and that I may have cause still to continue

Your very loving Friend and Brother,

Croydon, August 25, 1634. W. CANT.

Endorsed: 'August 25, 1634. The Copy of my Letter to my Lord Bishop of Lincoln concerning my procurations, &c.'

LETTER LXXXVI.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 29.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Being at Lambeth this day upon some necessary occasions, my secretary acquainted me that he

received a letter from your Lordship's servant, Mr. Prigeon; the contents were concerning your procurations of your Archdeacons, which I conceive to be due to me by reason of my visitation, and to that purpose I wrote my letters unto your Lordship about some three weeks since or more, and if they came not to your Lordship's hands I have been ill-used. But, upon the whole matter, all that I shall say is briefly this: I shall use my best endeavour to uphold the rights of that place where it hath pleased God and his Majesty to set me, but shall be very careful not to do your Lordship, or any other of my brethren, wrong, willingly I certainly will not; and for this particular, if the procurations for the half-year be not due to me, I shall very easily and readily quit my claim to them whenever that shall be made apparent. But if it appear to be otherwise, and that they are due to me, your Lordship will give me leave in a fair way to preserve my rights; and that your Lordship may perceive how ready I am to show you what courtesy I may, I have without more ado sent you down by this bearer your relaxation, which you had received sooner, but that I expected every day your Lordship's letters in answer of mine. So in great haste I leave you to God's grace, and rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend
and Brother.

Lambeth, Sept. 15, 1634.

Endorsed: 'Sept. 15, 1634.
The Copy of my second Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln about the procuration money, &c.'

LETTER LXXXVII.

TO THE CLERK OF HIS MAJESTY'S SIGNET.

[Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 355[k].]

SIR,—You are to prepare a Bill for his Majesty's signature after the usual manner, containing a grant of the Bishopric of Limerick, in Ireland, now void by the death of the late

[k] [There is in the same place a similar letter to Secretary Windebank on a like subject, but it has not been considered worth while to print it.]

Bishop there[l], to George Webbe, Doctor in Divinity[m], and one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. And for so doing these shall be your warrant.

W. CANT.

September 22, 1634.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 31.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, My duty and respects unto your Grace remembered,—

I have not indeed received any letter from your Grace since my coming down unto this country, before that which was delivered unto me upon Saturday last at night, together with the relaxation, for which I humbly thank your Grace. Your Grace hath all the reason that can be to receive those procurations mentioned in your Grace's letters from any parties which by law or practice ought to pay them, but truly I cannot hear or find that ever any sum of money was paid at all, or any such sum demanded from any Bishop of this See by any of the Lords your Grace's predecessors in their visitations, under what power or letters of association soever they were performed. The procurations which the Archdeacons pay unto me are valued in the King's books to a penny in the corps and temporalties of my bishopric, for the which I answer firstfruits, tenths, and subsidies.

Nor are they paid unto me half-yearly by the Archdeacons, but as it happeneth once within the year, when their visitations are despatched, for want whereof they have yet forborne to pay me anything all this year. Thus I conceive the case to stand, if it please your Grace; but if either by your Grace's records or mine own I may be otherwise informed,

[l] [Francis Gough.]

[m] [George Webbe, of C. C. C. Oxford, inducted to the Vicarage of Steeple Ashton, Wilts, May 15, 1605 (Churchwardens' Books); in July 28, 1621, to the Rectory of St. Peter and St. Paul, Bath. He christened the eldest son of King Charles, who died soon after his birth. On Dec. 18, 1634, he was consecrated Bishop of Limerick. He was imprisoned in Limerick Castle by the Irish rebels, and died there in 1641. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 29.)]

I will not in any matter of money be found obstinate, but remain always, with my prayers to God to bless your Grace with all health and happiness,

Your Grace's most humble
Servant and Suffragan,
Jo. Lincoln.

Buckden, this 22d of Septemb. 1634.
To the Most Reverend Father in God and his very good Lord, the Lo. Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c. Present these.

LETTER LXXXIX.

TO PATRICK FORBES, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY [n].

[Fasti Aberdonenses, pp. 400, 401.]

S. in Christo.

My very good Lord,—I was very sorry, at my being in Scotland, that your want of health denied me the sight of you with the rest of my brethren there. For I had heard so well of you, that I was desirous to know you; but it pleased God to dispose otherwise both of me and you. For the business which you have recommended to me, Doctor Gordon hath been with me, and delivered me a copy of all those things which he hath to move to the King. I have already spoken to his Majesty about them, and shall continue to do him all the kindness I can to help on his despatch, and to show all the favour I can to the University. But I doubt, the particular suits being many, and the King not being well acquainted with some of them, there must some reference be made before you can have his Majesty's full answer to your demands; howsoever, I shall do you all the service I can. So wishing you health and comfort in

[n] [Bishop Forbes held these offices from 1618 to 1635. He had requested Laud's good services in order to re-establish the University of Aberdeen "in hir jurisdictioun, conservatorie, and priviledges, according to hir ancient rightis grantit thairanent."

The Bishop of Aberdeen was *ex officio* Chancellor of the University.]

your infirmity, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Croydon, Sept. 23, 1634.

I pray you commend me to your son, Doctor Forbes[o], from whom I received a letter about the same business, and therefore by you return the same answer, with thanks to him for his kindness.

LETTER XC.

TO ADAM BALLANDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Baillie's Letters and Journals, Append. II. No. ix. p. 434[p].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have a second time moved his Majesty concerning them that obeyed or disobeyed his commands in receiving the Communion in the chapel at Holyrood House[q], and you shall not fail to receive his Majesty's answer by my Lord [of Rosse]; so that I shall not need to be further troublesome to you in that parti-[cular].

His Majesty is fully satisfied that the English . . in . . the Chapel Royal before my Lord of Rosse . . . . . and in all things else, onl . . . . . satisfied me concerning . . . . . his Majesty such satisf . . . . . doubt not but your L . . . . . so much to your fi . . . . . Your . . . . . Gentlemen of the Chap. . . . . to move his Majesty conce . . .

[o] [Dr. John Forbes, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in King's College, Aberdeen, the author of the 'Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ.']

[p] [The original is in Wodrow MSS. fol., vol. lxvi. numb. 17.]

[q] [This letter is referred to in the first charge of the Scottish Commissioners. See above, vol. iii. p. 305; and Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 150.]

. . . . . and he told me that a little before his . . . d since the . . . . your Lordship half the money was paid unto them. And that the other half was paid before to one, I think, of their company, whom themselves employed to receive it: who, it seems, was a bankrupt, and either ran away with their money, or misspent it, or else served his own turn with it. Now, what to say to this I cannot tell, for the chequer is not in that case that I can think it fit, or if I do, I am sure the Lord Treasurer will not think so, that the King should pay the same sum twice; and yet I must confess, it falls very hard upon the poor men to bear the loss; but they should have been wiser in the choice of their agent. Notwithstanding, if there can be any hope in this case to relieve them, I shall do my best; and for the future, my Lord hath promised that they shall be duly paid. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

Croydon, Octobr. 4, 1634. W. CANT.

To the Rt. Reve
my very good L
Lo. Bp. of Dun
Endorsed: 'Against these the
. . . . municat.'

LETTER XCI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 329—331.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—To the answer of your letters[r], and as briefly as I can. I like your resolution well, not to mention things *in fieri*, but where you would have advice, of which God be thanked you need little, and I am not able to give much.

I knew how you would find my Lord Primate affected to the Articles of Ireland; but I am glad the trouble that hath been in it will end there without advertising of it over to us. And whereas you propose to have the Articles of England

[r] [This was the letter of Aug. 23. See Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 298—301.]

received *in ipsissimis verbis*, and leave the other, as no way concerned, neither affirmed nor denied, you are certainly in the right, and so says the King (to whom I imparted it) as well as I; go, hold close and you will do a great service in it[s].

I am glad Streatch hath refused, since the Bishop hath the land[t].

Now, fie upon it, if the salmon of that river be bad, yet your loss is the less, since you have so many trouts that may be tickled into anything, or anything out of them. And I see you owe me much for that praise and commendations, which works upon the dullest capacities. And the more because it works not only on them, but on all *Parsons* and their children, and them that marry them, especially where praise is *Lowder* than ordinary, and hath it entailed[u].

Your letters, you tell me, came by so safe a hand, as frees us both from the trouble of cypher. Be it so. And I am always glad in this kind to have but little arithmetic; yet was your letter written by so safe a hand too? Your own hand it is not; whose it is I know not; nor will I cast any jealousy causelessly on any. But I'll tell you a tale, which I assure you comes from very good hands, and I will for all this sure hand tell it you in arithmetic, and enjoin you silence. The Lord Treasurer says, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Deputy of Ireland are very great; and the Lord Deputy poisons me by letters, and then the Archbishop doth him all the ill offices that may be to the King. If ever I hear of this again I will call you blab, and never write more.

Now for that great matter which you trust so freely; you see what you great men do with us Churchmen and our certificates. But if now the Earl will take down the tomb[x], to prevent pulling of it down, all is well.

Sir Philip Mainwaring hath paid me thanks enough; but I hope he will not be known that he owns me any. I take it all for compliment.

[s] [This refers to the adoption of the English Articles, as well as the Irish, in the Convocation.]

[t] [See above, p. 308.]

[u] [The two words in italics in this sentence refer to Sir Gerard Lowder, who was about to marry Sir William Parsons's daughter, and are in allusion to a remark in Strafford's letter.]

[x] [See above, pp. 358, seq.]

As for my marginal note, I see you deciphered it well; and I see you make use of it too. Do so still, thorow and thorow. Oh that I were where I might go so too! but I am shackled between delays and uncertainties. You have a great deal of honour here for your proceedings. Go on, a God's name.

The next passage in your letters, concerning the great man that hath engrossed so many parsonages, &c. as are mortgaged for four thousand and eighty pounds[y], I read over to his Majesty, who bids you be sure your ground is good, and then spare none.

Since you would fain know in good earnest who it was that took so much pains to abuse you about your speech, certainly it could be none but that old companion of Lerma and Rotherigo[z]; and I verily think he got some one or other in the house by brachygraphy to take your speech, or some notes of it, and send it over in haste; if this were not it, I am at a loss.

I thank your Lordship for the Dean of Cashells; I hope he will play the Provost well; and that he may do so, I will do the best I can to set their statutes right; they are now in my hands, and I will perfect them before I return them if God say 'Amen' to it. And I thank your Lordship as much for dispensing with his oath, as for the Provostship; for there are very good reasons of his refusal[a]. I have received a letter from the Archbishop of Tuam, that he is willing to leave his *commendam* which he hath in Dublin[b]; and I thought to be an earnest suitor to you, that now Dr. Bramhall is better fitted[c], you would give the Deanery of Christ Church to the Dean of Cashells, that so he might be nearer the College, and make another Dean of Cashells. But asking about this, I am told you are resolved upon another[d], and if it be so, there's an end of that business, for I love to be modest with my friends.

[y] [Lord Clanricarde.]

[z] [Lord Cottington. This refers to an expression in Wentworth's letter.]

[a] [The oath of the new Provost was dispensed with in order that a way might be left for the introduction of the proposed new Statutes. (See Chappell's Life in Biogr. Brit. note C.)]

[b] [Dr. Randolph Barlow held up to this time the Deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, in commendam. See above, p. 258.]

[c] [Recently appointed Bishop of Derry.]

[d] [Henry Tilson, one of Wentworth's Chaplains, afterwards Bishop of Elphin. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iv. 814.)]

I like your proposal to have half-a-dozen good scholars sent over to help fill that College, and the hopes you put them in, *cæteris paribus*. For that, none so fit to think of it as the new Provost; and when he shall send me word of what degree they may or must be, I will give him the best assistance I can.

I am very glad you are so confident for Youghall[e]; and for Lismore you have all the records which the rats have left uneaten. If any Nemesis have a better stomach to the Earl, than the rats had to the records, let her eat on. And I think your Lordship is very right, that one great example will do much good on that side; and so it would on this too, could we light upon the making of it. I spake both with his Majesty and with Secretary Coke; to the one to grant, and to the other to hasten a new Commission for the Castle Chamber. Mr. Secretary told me at Nonesuch it was ready, so I hope you have it by this time. And God speed you.

Well, you have given me freedom, where I dissent in judgment; I will make use of it, and not deny you that which you so kindly challenge to yourself, and give to me; and as long as you shall retain the obedience of a son, I will take upon me to be your ghostly father. If, therefore, from henceforward I take on me to command, lay down your sword for the time, and know your duty.

For the Lady Mora I have said all, and I see you will not let me be alone in that opinion. In too much earnest here is such delay and uncertainty, that I know not where I am, if I step never so little out of myself, as needs I must, having so much to do and with many.

As concerning Mr. Chadwick[f], he is a stranger to me; I writ upon entreaty, and I think I sent you such word. But to me you shall not be answerable for him, if he answer not your judgment of him there.

So soon as ever the King returned from progress, I stepped to him, and read over that part of your first letter to me,

[e] [Wentworth desired to recover for the Churches of Youghall and Lismore the property of which they had been despoiled by the Earl of Cork. (See above, p. 332.)]

[f] [See above, p. 382.]

which concerned the keeping of the subsidies on that side for the necessities of that kingdom, and that they might not by any art be drawn over hither[g]. His Majesty liked the motion very well, and promised me you should order them there according as you have proposed. Yet, finding in these your last, sent by Secretary Mainwaring, another passage large and full to the same purpose, I took an occasion to second the motion I had formerly made, and read that over to his Majesty, not sparing either 'the raising up of a kind of emulation,' as you there wish; nor this, 'that they on this side are driven to such straits, that, like sinking men, they catch hold of each twig to keep themselves above water, &c.[h]' His Majesty gave the same answer, that the money should not be called thence. So I have done in that, all that you desire, and all I can.

I have before given you all the account I can, how the Lord Cottington got so many passages of your speech, and so soon. But I thank you for giving me warning of a man that hath traded twenty years with Lerma and Rotherigo. If he deceive me after such a warning, he hath good luck; yet I cannot tell what he may do, if he fall to pray upon his beads again[i]. I have got him to tell me the tale. I assure you, it is the most exquisite piece of hypocrisy that ever I heard of, and what 'tis else your letters have told me already.

I here send you back letters signed for the Bishop of Clonfert[k]. God's blessing be upon you; 'tis an excellent work. Mr. Secretary Windebank told me, he would remit his fees; and if it be not done, somebody is in fault; but I hope it is.

So I am come to the end of your letters. Now I shall first thank you for the duplicate of the despatch you sent me. Next I am to tell your Lordship, that the King hath given the Bishopric of Limerick to Dr. Webbe, one of his ancient

[g] [This was Wentworth's letter of July 19. (See Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 273.)]

[h] [See Wentworth's letter of Aug. 23. (Ibid. p. 300.)]

[i] [This refers to a story told by Wentworth of Lord Cottington. (Ibid.)]

[k] [This was a warrant for the restoration to the See of Clonfert, of the Abbey of Portu-puro. (See ibid. pp. 302, 308.)]

chaplains, who I hope will discharge that place well, and give you content. For Dean Lesley [l], I think him one of the fittest on that side, and shall be ready to assist him, when you shall find it fit. I received a letter from the Dean of Limerick, Mr. Geo. Andrews [m], that he might now succeed in the bishopric; but his letters came too late, and had they come sooner they could not have varied his Majesty's resolution for Dr. Webbe. I did formerly receive a letter from the Lords Justices of that kingdom in Mr. Andrews's behalf, with a great testimony of his sufficiency. And truly, my Lord, I should have done any reasonable thing for him upon their testimony, had not the King been settled upon another. Now my thoughts do a little stagger, and by the letters which he hath sent me that staggering is occasioned. I send you herein his letters, that you may see what fustian they are; but when you have read them, I pray you burn them, (for I would not publicly disgrace him,) and send me word in your next what esteem you have of the man for honesty and sufficiency.

My Lord of Derry writ unto me, what good might be done by buying in impropriations [n]. And he conceives a stock might be raised to do it out of the fourth part which is to come to the King upon Mr. Porter and Mr. Murray's patent; and he writes further, that your Lordship approves of it. I have acquainted his Majesty with this, and he likes it well, and bid me tell you, he hopes if you turn this from him to the Church, you will be so circumspect as that you will not fail to find some other thing, as good or better for his profit. And I pray of this be careful, else some great mountain or another may be made of it, I know by whom [o].

I herein likewise send you a letter of the Bishop of Waterford, in which he desires your Lordship's favour towards him for the bettering of his means. I pray let him

[l] [Henry Lesley, Dean of Down. He was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor, Oct. 4, 1635, on the death of Bishop Echlin. "He is recorded as a man of vigorous intellect, and large acquirements." (Mant's Hist. of Irish Church, vol. i. p. 514.)]

[m] [George Andrews, of Magd. Hall. He was consecrated Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, May 14, 1635. He retired to London during the Rebellion, and died in 1648. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iv. 806.)]

[n] [This was one of the great services performed by Bramhall for the Irish Church. See Life of Bramhall, reprinted from Biogr. Brit., Works, vol. i. p. vii., and Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Funeral Sermon, ibid. pp. lix.—lxii.]

[o] [As it was, this was made one of the charges against Laud at his trial. See above, vol. iv. p. 176.]

know I have written; and I know you will do what is fitting, according to the merits of Churchmen, and that's all I can ask.

When I had written almost thus far, in came your letters of Sept. 22, with a duplicate in them; and truly I made just account at my next coming to Court to see as much as I might (your own rules being observed) what became of your suit[p]; but I fell very ill, and have not seen the King this fortnight. Now I am going to Court again, and if I find anything worth the adding, you shall be sure to find it at the close of these. Yet whatsoever become of your suit, or anything else, I love my master's service, the common good, and your own person so well, that I here take the liberty to desire you not to guide yourself so much by that compass, but to go as resolutely on, be the suit denied, as if it were granted. I have weighty reasons for this, but for the present want strength to express them to you. All my comfort is, I assure myself you understand me fully, and can give reason enough to yourself for what I say.

After this I received your Lordship's letters of the 1st of October, in which you do not complain without cause; and if at any time I meet with any opportunity, I will do you and your services there all the right I can to the King; so shall I do in this, if any hint be given me.

'Tis true, the Primate hath recommended Dean Andrews to me, but 'tis upon the old stock, and very fairly, and I have returned him my answer, fit for me, and true from the King. I came to know that man's zeal before these last letters of yours described him, and I doubt it is not much according to knowledge[q].

This 19th of October, at Hampton Court, (where I was in great faintness,) the Irish Committee was called by the King, and in his presence your despatches[r] read, and Secretary

[p] [This was a request made by Wentworth for some mark of the King's favour. See the King's reply in Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 331, 332.]

[q] [Dean Andrews incurred Wentworth's severe displeasure for his conduct in the Convocation held shortly afterwards. Wentworth writes to Laud, 'If your Lordship thinks Dean Andrews hath been to blame, and that you would chastise him for it, make him Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin . . . to have it without any other commendam than as the last Bishop had, and then I assure you he shall leave better behind him, than will be recompensed out of that Bishopric.' (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 343, 344.)]

[r] [See Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 304—310.]

Coke directed to all the haste that might be for return of answer to each particular respectively. To that I refer you. Only your matter of the tallow is put off to further consideration. But it is strongly alleged, that there is no restraint upon it. My Lord Treasurer was in the house, but very ill-disposed, and came not up to the Committee.

I am very weary, therefore here's an end for this time. To God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Oct. 20, 1634.

LETTER XCII.

TO THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF NORWICH.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 494, 495 [s].]

S. in Christo [t].

After my hearty commendations, &c.—I do very well remember the late alteration of your Statutes [u], and the settlement of them in Bishop Harsnet [x] and Dean Suckling's [y] time; my predecessor and myself, among other, being employed in that service. At that time it troubled me very much, as it hath since done, upon the consideration of other Churches, to see the weakness of that quire, and the small means that was left to make it better; considering that neither the quire, nor anything else about the Church, can flourish without some proportionable reward to service. The good old Dean, to help things on as far as he might, projected two things; the one was some proportion of corn to be allowed them, which I think was then settled, and I hope continues; the other I do not well remember that it was settled by statute, the more the pity, but it was generally thought fit and approved by all of us, to whom the consideration of the Statutes was then recommended; that is, that such small benefices, or cures, within the city and suburbs as are in the Church's gift, should, as they fell void, be given to the petty

[s] [From Reg. Laud, foll. 213 b, 214 a.]

[t] [This is printed 'Domino' in Wilkins. The other variations from Wilkins, are the result of a collation of the Register.]

[u] [See a copy of the Statutes in Rymer, Fœd. VIII. iii. 40, 41.]

[x] [Samuel Harsnet, successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and Archbishop of York. See vol. iii. p. 152.]

[y] [Edmund Suckling.]

canons respectively, and to no other; and that the Church should be very careful, from time to time, to choose such petty canons into vacant places, as might be fit and able to discharge both duties, both to sing in the quire, and to catechise and preach in the parish. This custom of giving those small cures to the petty canons is usual with other Churches, where the quire is as mean as yours, and it being great help to them; and fit and able men will never be wanting, if this course for their preferment be held constant.

I write this unto you, because I am informed that there are divers very sufficient men already in expectation of those places, whensoever it shall please God to make any void, so that you need not be to seek to furnish yourselves. But I hear withal there is a purpose amongst some of you, without any regard of the honour and good of the Church, to bestow these livings, when they fall, upon their private friends, without any respect had to the quire; which, if it be, will utterly overthrow the quire service, and you will not be able to retain either voices or skill amongst you. I would be glad to hope this information were not true, but it is so constantly affirmed to me, that I cannot distrust it altogether. These are, therefore, to pray and require you to be careful in this business, as you have any care of the Church's good, or of any good opinion that I shall hold of you; and this I assure you, that if I shall find, that you do at any time put other men in those cures, and leave the petty canons destitute, to the utter prejudicing of the quire, I shall take all the ways that wisely I can, to make you see your error; but I hope you will do your duties, and so preserve my love to you, and my care for you, which I shall be glad to extend to the utmost, if you shall make yourselves capable of it. Thus, not doubting of your obedience to this direction, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth, December 3, 1634. W. CANT.[z]

To my very loving friends, the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Norwich, These.

[z] [In the reply of the Dean and Canons, they promise at their next grand Chapter to settle a particular and perpetual provision for every one of the canons. See Reg. Laud, foll. 214 b, 215 a; and Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. fol. 495.]

LETTER XCIII.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 32.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,—My humble service and all due respects remembered, I humbly beseech your Grace to excuse me for this year's representation, and to receive the account of my diocese from your Vicar-general. I hope he will assure your Grace, as he hath done me and others, that all things are here practised, required in his most excellent Majesty's instructions.

And so they shall be, (by God's grace,) as far as my unworthy ministry can advance that service.

I humbly beseech your Grace not to cease your mediation unto his most excellent Majesty, for his mercy towards me. I do endeavour, by my life and conversation, to make myself a vessel not altogether uncapable of that sacred oil; and will be ever as ready to acknowledge, as I am now to implore, your Grace's mediation; and shall never cease to pray unto God for your Grace's health and happiness, as well becometh

Your Grace's most humble Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Westmr. Coll. 18vo. Decembr. 1634.

To the most Reverend Father in God my very good Lord the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER XCIV.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 33.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I lately received a letter from your Lordship by the hands of Mr. Ireland[a], to the first part whereof I can give you full satisfaction, namely, That I shall, according to the time prefixed, give his Majesty an account from the Bishops within my province. And I shall for this

[a] [Richard Ireland, Master of Westminster School. See vol. iv. p. 317.]

year take it for your diocese, being one of them which I visited, from my Vicar-general's report, and shall not fail to represent it so to his Majesty, as he hath done it to me [b].

The second part of your Lordship's letter is fuller of difficulty, to me especially, who have been employed twice at least already in the same business and without success. Yet I resolved to put it once more to his Majesty, which I did yesterday. And, because I found your Lordship had expressed your desires very briefly and yet very effectually, and in fair terms of respect to his Majesty's goodness, as in other of your Lordship's letters you had formerly done, I did not only move your suit, but obtained liberty to read that part of your letter to him; but all the answer I could gain from his Majesty was, that he had answered me already to that particular, and could not as yet say any more to it. If I have any fair opportunity these holidays to move his Majesty again, I shall not fail to do it; but the present answer given me I have truly related to your Lordship. So wishing you health, I commend you to God's blessed protection.

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother.

Lambeth, Decemb. 22, 1634.

Endorsed: 'December 22, 1634.
The copy of my letter to my Lord
Bishop of Lincoln, to move the
K. &c.'

LETTER XCV.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 34.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, —May it please your Grace to accept of my most humble thanks for that letter of your Grace's which I received from Mr. Ireland this last week, and especially for laying my humble petition for grace and mercy with so much expedition, at his Majesty's feet.

Indeed, if I should believe either the vain reports of that man that is appointed relator against me [c], or the surmises of

[b] [See Accounts of Province for 1634. Works, vol. v. pp. 325—327.]
[c] [— Kilvert. See above, pp. 81, 82.]

greater persons, I should not dare to hope so much upon your Grace's favour. But finding in mine own bosom no want of true affections unto your Grace, nor of taking all opportunities to express the same when I had some power, and withal calling to mind of what small consideration it were unto your Grace (though disaffected unto me) to suffer a Bishop to end his days in a private manner, amongst books and papers, without shame or undoing, I have resolved with myself, to make (beside my private prayers unto God) no other mediation unto his Majesty for his mercy and goodness, than by your Grace, and to reserve my greatest obligations and acknowledgments unto your Grace, for any comfort I shall receive thereby, submitting in all humility the effect to God's good will and pleasure, whom I beseech, with all my heart, to bless your Grace with all health and happiness, remaining

Your Grace's most humble Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, this 29th of Decemb. 1634.

To the Most Reverend Father in God his very good Lord the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c. Present these.

LETTER XCVI.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 35.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I perceive my late letters came safe to you, because you gave me thanks for them; and truly, my Lord, I did present your humble petition to his Majesty with the expedition mentioned in those my letters. And I read that passage of your letter over, so that he might see your suit in your own expression.

But whereas it follows in your letters now sent, that you could not hope for much upon my favour, if you did believe either the vain reports of your relator, or the surmises of greater persons; my Lord, here I take myself bound to say something to you both of and for myself, especially since in one of your former letters to me, dated Dec. 3, 1633, you are

pleased to say that other men had made me formidable to you, which I took to be some slip, till now I see it in a manner repeated.

First, therefore, the relator, he is a mere stranger to me; I do not remember that ever I spoke with him in my life but once, and that was about a reference from the King. But, concerning you or your cause, I never spake word with him. As for his tongue, I have no bridle for it, nor for other men's who have taken this liberty with me. Secondly, for the surmises of greater persons, I can say as little: though the greater the men be, the less liberty should they take to speak otherwise of me than they know; for if to surmise be enough, I know not that man that may not be made guilty of anything. But, my Lord, this is truth, and I will avow it. You did never put letter or petition into my hand about your business, but I did (and with all the expedition I could) present it carefully, and with all due respects, to his Majesty, and returned you from time to time such answer as I could obtain.

Thirdly, since there are such surmises upon me (as you write), I will take this occasion to express myself clearly to your Lordship. What I have formerly done both upon your letters and petitions I have above related, and shall at any time do the like, for I find not myself under surmises for it. But, my Lord, as I should be glad, with the preservation of the King's honour and justice, to do your Lordship, or any Bishop, all lawful favours, and give you or them my best assistance for mercy where they deserve it; yet, if my suit for mercy be not heard and received, I shall not hold myself so bound to any Bishop, as for his sake to forget the duty which I owe to the King's honour and justice, where and when it shall appear they are alike concerned. Therefore, if your Lordship, upon any greater persons' surmises, shall think I have not performed towards you all I undertook, you wrong me; but if you think I shall forsake any just cause of the King's to assist you, you deceive yourself; for it is one thing to sue for favour, and another to do justice, if proofs arise, and you be left unto them.

The rest of your Lordship's letters expects no answer from me, further than that, in the way of asking favours, I shall

at any time be ready to do your Lordship such service as is fit for me to undertake. But what you mean by ending your days in a private manner, amongst books and papers, without shame or undoing (for so you write), I confess I know not. Thus, wishing you a happy new year, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Endorsed: 'January 10th, 1634. The copy of my Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln in answer to his about surmises, &c.'

LETTER XCVII.

TO ADAM BALLANDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Baillie, Letters and Journals, Append. II. No. x.[d]]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am very glad to hear your resolutions for the ordering of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, and that you are resolved to wear your whites, notwithstanding the maliciousness of foolish men. I know his Majesty will take your obedience and care very well; and being fully satisfied both concerning your sermon, and all things else committed to your trust, you may, as opportunity serves, expect from his Majesty all reasonable things; and I shall not be wanting to give you all the assistance that I can upon all occasions; of which I heartily pray you not to doubt.

My Lord the Earl of Traquair[e] is now come, and I shall take care, the first opportunity I can, to speak with him once more about the Gentlemen of the Chapel, and shall show him what your Lordship writes concerning one Edward Kelly, whom you mention; and what answer soever I can get, you shall receive from me. So in haste I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Jan. 12, 1634. W. CANT.[f]

I have spoken with my Lord Traquair, and he tells me (if I mistook him not) that payment was made to Kelly with

[d] [The original is in Wodrow MSS. fol., vol. lxvi. numb. 14.]

[e] [Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.]

[f] [This letter is referred to by Prynne, Hidden Works, p. 150; and in Art. i. of the Scottish Commissioners. See above, vol. iii. p. 301.]

relation to the Gentlemen of the Chapel [g], and that your own hand, as well as others', is to some agreement that was made thereabout. The paper was not then about him, else he had showed it me. Your Lordship, therefore, shall do very well to speak with him again about this particular. As for the time to come, he hath assumed to me they shall be duly paid.

To the Rt. Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, at Edenburrowe, These.

Endorsed: 'Anent wearing of the whites.'

LETTER XCVIII.

TO JOHN DURY.

[Benzelii Dissert. de J. Duræo, p. 127; Helmst. 1744.]

Salutem in Domino.

Reversus e Germania in Britanniam, literas mihi attulisti gratissimas a quibusdam venerabilibus Theologis, Augustanam Confessionem profitentibus. Per illas intelligo, quam studiose, non sine sudore et periculis, pacem Ecclesiæ sis prosecutus: ex iisdem etiam facile perspicio, quam misere sit afflicta ibidem bellis et tumultu facies Ecclesiæ. Et certe quod ad has miseriarum angustias redigatur, dissensionibus propriis nimium debet, Deo meritissimè religionis dissidia bellis (dolet dicere) plusquam civilibus vindicante; eo magis necessarium illis pacis studium, eo magis in te laudandum simul et fovendum pacis Christianæ desiderium. Quod et in illis summis viris, et in te ipso non solum ipse (qualis qualis sim) medullitus approbo, sed (audeo dicere) tota etiam Ecclesia Anglicana; publicè tamen nihil possum, priusquam

[g] [Mr. D. Laing, in his note to this letter, states, that Edward Kelly was appointed by writ under the Privy Seal, Receiver of the Fees of the Chapel Royal, Nov. 26, 1629. He adds, that "there is an original and interesting paper preserved in the General Register House, entitled, 'Information touching the Chapel Royal of Scotland,' dated at Whitehall, 24th of January, 1631, which has been printed in the Appendix to Mr. Dauney's Ancient Scottish Melodies, Edinb. 1838, 4to."]

constiterit de pace inter partes per Germaniam dispersas amplexanda. Interim ne optime inceptos tuos labores frustra reassumeres, ne tot et tam docti Theologi te nihil egisse putarent, salutes meo nomine dilectos in Christo fratres, significesque, me esse et semper fore paci reconciliandæ paratissimum, facturumque, quod in me est, ne Christianum nomen ubique male audiat ob rixas, pene dixerim, fœmineas plusquam. Literæ hæ testes sint, te fideliter literas, tuæ curæ commissas, mihi in manus dedisse, meque opus hoc, Deo et Ecclesiæ gratissimum, tibi illisque omni nisu commendare; neque tamen singulis singulorum, licet eximiorum, Theologorum literis, præ mole negotiorum prementium, respondere, in hoc velim me illis excusatum. Vale et sis memor, pacificos ipsius Christi inter beatissimos reponi.

Tui et horum Fratrum
meorum in Domino amicus,
GULIELMUS CANTUARIENSIS.

Datæ ex ædibus Lambethanis,
10 Febr. 1634.

Viro Doctiss. D. Jo. Duræo.

LETTER XCIX.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. cxcviii. pp. 125, 126[h].]

Cl. Ger. Jo. Vossio S. in Christo.

Accipies hic, mihi merito charissime, unam, eandemque brevem epistolam. In ea tribus tuis mihi exoptatissimis responsionem, sed qualem moles negotiorum, qua pene opprimor, permisit, rudem scilicet et incultam, sola brevitate gratam, solo amore candidam. Reliqua tota una litura sunto.

Et primis literis tuis, de tempestate, quæ domum tuam invisit, et filium prostravit[i] tam meritis quam natura chariorem, consultius non respondi, ne manus meas in crudum adhuc vulnus immitterem. Spero jam cicatricem contraxit. Et tu, quod decet, teque dignum est, fecisti, patienter te,

[h] [Exstat etiam, maxima vero parte sui mutila, apud Præst. ac Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dxxxiii. pp. 788, 789.]

[i] [Dionysium sc., de quo plura apud Patris sui Epistolas.]

et tua Deo (qui suis, quæ optima novit, impertire solet,) permittendo. Ibi enim aut acquiescendum, aut in hac vita nullibi. Sed opera quædam filii tui si placet edere, quibus ille etiamsi mortuus luce fruatur, aut perfecta des nobis, aut nulla.

De Novatoribus nostris apud vos quæ scribis vera sunt; quæ contra illos conaris pia, et pro pace Ecclesiæ. Si nolint se ad pacatiora studia recipere, (et certe nolunt,) sint quod esse cupiunt, inter pusillos gigantes, modo sint, quod et esse et haberi merentur, inter doctos scioli, et inter prudentes temerarii.

Literæ tuæ secundæ causam Blauii tantum exponunt, patris, filiique, et quo consilio Twissum typis mandarit[k]. Certe prudenter Farnabius, qui mentionem privilegii sui fecit[l]; sed valde inconsulto Londinenses typographi privilegia sua silentio damnarunt. Unde enim exteri caveant quod nesciunt? Num prophetas volunt typographos esse? Sed responsum his literis retulit diu abhinc Blauii Filius, utpote quem statim post literas tuas acceptas, sine ulteriori processu, sumptibusve, dimisi e curia in tui solius gratiam. Responsum putavi illud scripto melius, præcipue cum tunc nihil mihi daretur otii. Et video ex subsequentibus literis tuis, fidum se fuisse narrando tibi parentique suo, quid in ea re fecerim. Gratias enim literæ tuæ referunt et tuas et patris. In literis autem tuis novissime scriptis[m] non solum lego gratias mihi supra meritum repensas, sed hoc etiam, te labores tuos Grammaticos ad finem perduxisse. Gaudeo certe, et eo magis, quia semper cogito de Baronio. Librum etiam una cum literis misisti, tradidit mihi Goffius, qui et ante hæc literas has ad te detulisset, si citius redire potuisset. Goffium antea non vidi, de eo, modestia, et doctrina ejus, ab aliis, ut etiam e teipso sæpius audivi. Si pergat, nil dubito, possit pro meritis præmium et expectare et recipere.

Consilium tuum in Editione horum librorum, nempe ut sub nomine et auspiciis, aut Principis Walliæ, aut Eboracensis, prodeant, valde probavi. Necessarium tamen duxi

[k] [Prodierant Amstelodami, A.D. 1632. 'Vindiciæ Gratiæ,' &c., auctore Gul. Twisse, cujus vitam legas apud Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 169—173.]

[l] [Vide Privilegium Thom. Farnabio concessum apud Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 214.]

[m] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. ccxxxix. p. 249.]

illud cum serenissimo Rege Carolo communicare. Partim ut intelligat, quam memor et gratus sis pro Beneficio in te collato[n]; partim ut sciat obsequium tuum non sibi solum, sed et suis, paratissimum, præcipue vero, ut penes illum sit eligere utri horum Principum Illustrium liber iste tuus inscriberetur, an utrisque? Gratiose quidem accepit Rex optimus, quod intendis. 'Et forte aliquando' (inquit) 'nomen fronte inscriptum invitabit filium meum ad ejus lectionem, licet forte minus seriam.' Hoc vero jussit, ut tibi rescriberem; velle se, ut libri hujus dedicatio (quando ita tibi placuerit) sit Illustrissimo [Principi [o]] Walliæ Carolo. Perge nunc, et librum hunc habeamus publici juris.

De Novatoribus iterum in his literis scribis. Certe quod vellent turbare omnia, suum est, quod non possunt, Dei. Interim miserrime laceratur Ecclesiæ Christi facies, corpusque; neque, disciplina penitus fracta et concussa, videt ipsa prudentia, quibus artibus vulneribus hisce possit succurri.

De Johanne tuo doleo quod nequeas in eo illum studiorum amorem, quem desideras, excitare. Sed quum res ita se habeant, alia aggrediendum est via, et sapienter meo judicio facis, si alia animo tuo agitare incipias. De reditu autem ejus in Angliam noli cogitare. Nam mensis vix præteriit, quo publica fama Cantabrigiæ increbuit, illum non solum fidem dedisse mulieri illi, de qua antea scripsi, sed cum ea solennia matrimonii publice in facie Ecclesiæ celebrasse. Nominatur locus tempusque. Præpositus et Socii Collegii Jesu consilia ineunt, de alio in ejus locum, utpote sic vacantem, surrogando. Fama etiam in aures meas volat. Ego ad Ecclesiam Parochialem nominatam mitto, Registrum Matrimoniale (quo in singulis Parochiis utimur) inspiciendum curo; nihil ibi reperitur de solennizatione matrimonii. Desistunt ergo ab intentione sua Socii, nec alium eligunt. Sed vides, quæ sit opinio, quæ expectatio; et si redierit filius, certo certius aliquid eveniet, quod nolis. Et, ut finis sit huic malo, optime opinor consules et famæ et saluti filii tui, si ibi eum retineas, disponasque, ut ei magis congruum esse inveneris. Resignatio autem Societatis in Collegio

[n] [Canonicatu sc. Cantuariensi.]
[o] [Vide Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt. p. 789.]

Jesu, in forma Juris manu propria subscripta, si ad me mittatur, ut in manus Præpositi illius Collegii tradatur, quamprimum curabo, ut sic honeste a Collegio discedat. Aliter probabile est, illos tam diu absentem ulterius non expecturos, sed locum ejus vacuum pronunciaturos, quod nollem factum.

Quod reliquum est, gaudeo te vinculis morbi tui liberatum, ut possis iterum Ecclesiæ, Reipublicæ, et amicis inservire. Valeas. Ex animo sic optat

Amicissimus tibi,
GUIL. CANT.

Dat. ex ædibus meis
Lamb., Febr. 27, 1634.
Stilo nostro.

LETTER C.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 374—376.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I was never so busy as I am at this present, and am very heartily weary, and therefore to your short letters [p] I shall give as short an answer.

This business is settled, and you shall have your act to your contentment.

And, first, this afternoon we are to sit at the Irish Committee, where I purpose, God willing, to press the passing of the statute concerning the Bishops in Ulster [q], with all the strength I have. For I confess I was not only absolutely satisfied concerning the business before my last letters went out of my hands, but did further think, that there was a great mistake both in myself and the rest of the Lords. For, for myself, I ingenuously acknowledge, that though I did much wonder why that favour should be showed to four or five bishops, and not the rest, and that the Bishop of Derry was one of them, yet all this did not make me reflect upon the plantation; which thought alone, had it come into me, would have suggested all the reasons your Lordship gives for

[p] [These letters are not preserved.]

[q] [This was a statute for confirmation of leases made by the Primate and other prelates of Ulster, of the endowment which had been granted by King James to the sees of Armagh, Derry, Clogher, Raphoe, and Kilmore. It was the Irish Statute 10 Charles II. sess. iii. capp. 1 and 5. See Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. i. p. 482.]

the statute. Well, I am glad you have sent it back again, and I hope to give your Lordship and the Bishops content; I have already possessed the King that there is great reason in it, so I hope well.

Concerning Dr. Bruce[r], the King hath heard nothing of him yet, neither have I, nor hath any man in Court spoken to me concerning him or his cause, which is more than a wonder, should he be in England. For his appeal, I think it will hold, if it be made within fifteen days; but I purpose shortly to speak with Sir Henry Martin, and other civilians here, about it; and you may be sure I will do whatsoever I may against that palpable simony. The King thinks, as your Lordship doth, that there is great reason that it should be tried there, upon the place where the witnesses are at hand.

I have now a very great suit to your Lordship; 'tis this. Sir William Paddy[s], our old St. John's man, is dead, and hath left the College money to purchase land, to set up the quire and maintain it. Perhaps you will think it no wisdom to sue for a particular purchase, lest we be made pay unreasonably for it; yet there is such a convenience to the house in a particular following, as that we are resolved, if the land may be had, to overbuy it, so we be not put to extremity, and herein I must heartily pray your Lordship's assistance in your full strength. Sir William Rives, his Majesty's Attorney in Ireland, hath land within two miles of the College, and less. It lies in several portions, all intermixed with the College land, no house upon it, nor do I know that Sir William hath any other land near it, so it's far fitter for the College than anybody else, and we are well content to give the very utmost value. Sir William offered the sale of it some five or six years ago, and it may be would part with it yet. I hear of late he hath richly married his son in Ireland, and stated this land upon him; but I doubt not but his son and his father-in-law will be well enough content to part with it, so there be money enough given, and as much other land in value stated upon his son. And to the end my letters may come with the more credit to Mr. Attorney's hands, though

[r] [This was, probably, Thomas Bruce, Archdeacon of Raphoe. The nature of the cause here mentioned has not been ascertained.]

[s] [See vol. iii. p. 136.]

it be somewhat unmannerly, yet I shall pray your Lordship to receive them here enclosed, and to let one of your gentlemen deliver them to him.

One word more for Croxton, and I have done. I hear from my Lord of Derry that my Lord Primate is not very well pleased with him, nor his manner of preaching. I am sorry if the young man hath given any just offence, but I hope he hath not; and I doubt this is some foolish business of Arminianism. I see that sin of his, in speaking freely in the Convocation [t], will not be forgiven him; yet I hope your Lordship will not be brought to join in the punishment, but that you will give him the living which you intended to him. I see you can conceal your infirmities; for your brother tells me you are in the gout, but there's not a word of it in your letter. This 'tis to write with your fingers, and not with your toes; had you been to write with these, I should have heard some complaints, or discovered it by your manner of writing. I promise you, you can make haste, that can get the gout so soon; I thought you had been contented to stay till you had been nearer threescore first; 'tis no such lovely companion, and I know you would be glad to be rid of it. Well, now there's work for Dr. Williams [u], and I know, if he had not been so near you, you would have sent to me for my counsel, who have more skill in those things than you are aware of. And though he be there, I'll venture to prescribe to you. Take heed of applying any medicine to it that may beat it back, but draw it out into public as much as you can, and now while you have so good an advantage, follow it, use your power in both Houses, make an Act of Parliament against it; that if ever it comes to lay hold of you again, especially when you are so busy in the King's service, it shall incur your high displeasure, and be expelled the Castle, so soon as ever you can be rid of it, and not return again, under pain of being endured there against your will. Indeed I do much marvel how it durst venture upon you in a Parliament time, and do verily think, it would hardly have been so bold, had it not had the suffrages of some mutineers in the House. Well,

[t] [Croxton, in his letter to Archbishop Laud, speaks of his opposing singlehanded the decree of Predestination which was obtruded on the Convocation. (Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 194, 195.)]

[u] [Afterwards Sir Maurice Williams, Wentworth's physician.]

I pray, while you are wrapping of this foot of yours, commend me to the Master of the Rolls [x], or the Mistress rather, and let them enrol it, that the more you make of it, the longer it may continue to do you service. I hope now the sentence is passed in the Star-Chamber for the King [y], and that your Lordship is to take care of the Plantation, you will be sure to send it to Culmore; it will be an excellent thing to bestow upon some one of the warders there, for it will be sure to keep him within the Castle, and not suffer him to go a gadding to Coleraine, while he should guard the Castle. Well, I wish you health, and hope I shall hear of it in your next letters. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, March 4, 1634.

LETTER CI.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. pp. 516, 517 [z].]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—It hath pleased his Majesty, out of his princely compassion towards the distressed estate of the Ministers of the Palatinate, to grant them his letters patents for a collection throughout this kingdom of the charitable contributions of well-minded people towards their relief; and though not many years past they have had some former collections in this kind, yet having lately suffered sundry calamities by the continual incursions of their enemies, they are now in very low and dangerous estate, and with the same fears attending. These are therefore heartily to pray your Lordship, that you will take care by some of your officers, that the Briefs, which are herewith sent you by his Majesty's command, be diligently dispersed into the several

[x] [Sir Christopher Wandesworth.]

[y] [This relates to a decree of Star-Chamber, concerning the plantation of Londonderry.]

[z] [From Reg. Laud, fol. 224 b, which has been collated.]

parishes within your diocese, and that the collection which shall be made thereupon be duly, carefully, and with all convenient speed returned to me, according to the tenor of his Majesty's said letters patents. Thus not doubting of your best assistance and furtherance in a work so pious and full of charity, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

I pray your Lordship, upon the receipt of these my letters, to take care that the Briefs be presently dispersed, and thereupon to give me notice in writing accordingly.

Lambeth, Maii octavo, 1635.

LETTER CII.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter clxxxiv. pp. 476, 477.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I thank you heartily for your letters, and am as heartily glad that your Parliament and Convocation are so happily ended, especially for the Church; and that, both for the particular of your letting leases, which is for maintenance [a], and for the quiet, and well ordering and ending of the Book of Canons [b]. I hope now the Church of Ireland will begin to flourish again, and that both with inward sufficiency and outward means to support it. And for your Canons, to speak truth, and with wonted liberty and freedom, though I cannot but think the English Canons entire (especially with some few amendments) would have done better; yet since you, and that Church, have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it, and you shall have my prayers that

[a] [There were two Acts of Parliament passed in the last session, relating to the Church. The one limited the time for which leases might be granted by ecclesiastical persons, and the other permitted restitutions of impropriations, &c. to the Clergy. See Irish Statutes, 10 and 11 Charles I. chap. 2 and 3.]

[b] [See an account of the differences between the English and the Irish Canons, in Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. i. pp. 495, seq.]

God would bless it. As for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that article closely. And God forbid you should, upon any occasion, have rolled back upon your former controversy about the Articles. For if you should have risen from this Convocation in heat, God knows when or how that Church would have cooled again, had the cause of difference been never so slight. By which means the Romanist, which is too strong a party already, would both have strengthened, and made a scorn of you. And therefore ye are much bound to God that in this nice and picked age you have ended all things canonically, and yet in peace. And I hope you will be all careful to continue and maintain that which God hath thus mercifully bestowed upon you.

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 10, 1635.

LETTER CIII.

TO ADAM BALLANDEN, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE.

[Baillie's Letters and Journals, Append. II. No. xi.[c]]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The King hath been acquainted with your care of the Chapel Royal, and is very well pleased with the conformity that hath been there at the late reception of the blessed Sacrament; and, for my part, I am heartily glad to see in what a fair way your Church businesses now are in those parts. I hope, if the Bishops be pleased to continue their good example and their care, all things will settle beyond expectation.

The King hath declared his pleasure concerning the bishoprics now void, and hath given you the bishopric of

[c] [The original is in Wodrow MSS. fol., vol. lxvi. numb. 19.]

Aberdeen[d], as you will hear more at large by my Lord of Ross[e]. But being an University, and a place of consequence, he will have you reside there, and relies much upon you for the well ordering of that place. I am very glad the King hath been so mindful of you, and given you so good a testimony upon this occasion of your remove. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT[f].

Lambeth, May 19, 1635.

To the Rt. Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Dunblane, at Edenburrowe, These.

Endorsed: 'Anent their encouragement.'

LETTER CIV.

TO THE PROVOST OF EDINBURGH.

[Steven's History of Heriot's Hospital[g].]

S. in Christo.

After my hearty commendations,—I thank you all for the kind letter which I have received from you, in which you are pleased to acknowledge more favour than I have done, and to give me more thanks than I have deserved; yet I have done what I can for the furtherance of your hospital. I have likewise, since the receipt of these your letters, moved his Majesty again, but the occasions of the time are so necessary and pressing, that I have not been able to do you the good I intended; but, God willing, I shall omit no opportunity in this or any other particular, to do that city all the service I can. And now very lately what I have done, in another great

[d] [Void by the death of Patrick Forbes.]

[e] [John Maxwell.]

[f] [This letter is referred to by Prynne, Hidden Works, p. 150.]

[g] [This letter is printed in the place here noted, but the present copy has been transcribed from the original in the Charter-room in George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, by the author of the above-mentioned volume, expressly for this Edition, and varies in one or two points from the copy published by himself.]

business concerning you, I leave to the Lord Register's report, to whom ye are all very much beholding. So having not further to trouble you, I leave you all to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 19, 1635.

To the Right Worshipful my very worthy Friends the Provost, and the rest of his Brethren, of the City of Edenburrowe, These.

Endorsed: '8 Junii, 1635, producit in Consilio.'

LETTER CV.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 431.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am bold to trouble your Lordship with this short letter after the making up of the packet, and upon this occasion: the business about the Impropriations, by the King's gracious favour, and your Lordship's nobleness, is now in so fair a way[h], that I hope, ere long, by God's blessing, to see it fully settled; and I assure myself you will not vary from what you have formerly written. But I have lately understood of some practising on the Queen's side about portions of tithes[i], to keep them still alienated from the Church. I am bold to give your Lordship notice of this which I hear, that if there be any such thing, you would be pleased to make stay of it, till his Majesty's pleasure be further known, whose royal intendments I make no doubt are alike gracious touching the portions of tithes, as the im-

[h] [The King restored all impropriate livings as the leases expired, and Wentworth restored several livings which his predecessors held for the endowment of their office. See Mant's Hist. of the Irish Church, vol. i. p. 508.]

[i] [These were probably portions of tithes which formed part of the Queen's dowry. Such portions of tithes in England were granted to the Queen. (See Rymer, Fœd. VIII. ii. 50, seq.)]

propriations themselves. So not doubting of your Lordship's care and favour herein, I leave you to God's grace, and rest in haste

Your Lordship's

Very loving poor Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, June 17th, 1635.

LETTER CVI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 438, 439.]

Salut. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have not much to write to your Lordship, and 'tis well I have not, for I never had so little leisure in my life, as I have had since I was a Commissioner of the Treasury [k], and so have still; yet I must find somewhat to write to you, that your Secretary may not go empty from me.

I will not offer to write any foreign news, because I assure myself you know as much as I do, and at home I know little, and inquire after less; yet, if you know it not already, let me tell you, that, as the last year there was money raised upon the ports, according to ancient precedent, for the setting out of the navy, which is now at sea, and there God bless it, so we are now going on to prepare for a greater navy against the next year; and because the charge will be too heavy to lay it upon the ports or maritime counties only, therefore his Majesty hath thought fit, *a paritate rationis*, and for the like defence of the kingdom, to extend it to all counties and corporations within England and Wales, that so the navy may be full, and yet the charge less, as coming from so many hands. I pray God bless this business, for if it go well the King will be a great master at sea, and in these active times we, by God's blessing, may be the more safe at land. But of this I shall write more to you as it proceeds [l].

[k] [See Diary, March 14, 1634. Among the Treasury papers in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, is a record of the Archbishop's proceedings as Commissioner of the Treasury.]

[l] [Hence arose the celebrated case of ship-money, which the majority of the judges decided against John Hampden.]

There's no speech here, but who shall be Lord Treasurer; and I would to God the King would name one, that our troublesome Commission were at an end; and yet I cannot be so ill a servant to my master and the public, as to wish an end to this Commission for my own case, till the King resolve of a good one; for certainly such an one he will need, and perhaps more an honest than a cunning one[m]. I would write more at large to you in this argument, were I at leisure for my own hand, which at present I am not; yet let me tell you, here is no speech at all for any but 29, 16, and 110[n]; but which of these will speed, I know not; if either of the former speed, they will be as empty in the place as cyphers; the third is able enough; but I would fain hear from your Lordship, how you think business would be carried by that hand. For what I think both in regard of King and Church, I have written to you already.

About a year since, your northern neighbour, Sir Arthur Ingram[o], took many occasions to apply himself to me, insomuch that Sir Edward Osborne[p], and some others, were doubtful of his getting too near within me, and I thank them, not without some fear (as I have heard) of my safety, in case I should admit him to any nearness. What danger is in the man, I do not know; but for any nearness with me, I shall give him leave to hurt me with it if he can. But here, I pray, let me ask you a question; I know you have known the man long. Do you not think him fit to be a Chancellor, if the party above figured be preferred? I promise you, we do here; and it is in many men's mouths, that it shall be so; the rather, because 'tis thought that Chancery is no court of conscience, as may be proved both by ancient and modern precedents. Two little circumstances I have of late observed concerning Sir Arthur, and they be pretty ones; the one is, that since the Lord Treasurer's[q] death, by which he conceived the other way open, he never came at me; the

[m] [Bishop Juxon was ultimately appointed to the office. (See above, vol. iii. p. 226.)]

[n] [Knowler in his note on this place, states that this was Lord Cottington.]

[o] [The son of the elder Sir Arthur Ingram, who purchased the manor of Temple Newsome, in Yorkshire, which made him a neighbour of Wentworth's.]

[p] [He was Vice-President of the Council of the North, and on the breaking out of the Rebellion, was General of the King's forces in those parts. His son, Sir Thomas Osborne, was the first Duke of Leeds.]

[q] [Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, died March 13, 163⅞.]

other is, that I having interest in the Master of University College[r], and writing to him in your brother's behalf, that he might be tenant to the land given that College by Sir Simon Bennet[s], I know not by whose motion, but Sir Arthur was desired to write too, and, as I am informed, did so in your brother's behalf. But when the Master came to speak to his daughter[t], the Lady Bennet, she answered directly, that she intended it for a servant of her own. I doubt not but you can make English enough of this.

I have lately received a letter from Sir William Rives; there is nothing in it, but that he means to come into England this summer, or the next spring at furthest, and then give me satisfaction about the sale of his land to the College[u]. I heartily pray your Lordship to excuse my not writing to Mr. Attorney, and to thank him for his love and care in that business; but if he hath no other occasion to bring him into England, he shall not need to stir for this, for that land of his is held *in capite*, and the College Mortmain makes them capable of no tenure but soccage, so we must look other, and may not think of that land.

So for this time I will cease to be further troublesome to you, but wish you all good success in the plantation of Connaught, where while you are, the King's express pleasure is, that you take consideration of this enclosed paper[x]; it concerns a Lord of Scotland that is a tenant to the Londoners, but to tell you the truth, his name is too hard for my memory; and when you have considered it, the King would have you return me your answer, and then he will grant or deny, as you hold the thing and conditions fit. I leave your Lordship to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 6th, 1635.

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[r] [Thomas Walker, sometime Fellow of St. John's College, a kinsman of the Archbishop's, and as such left, after the death of his more immediate relations, the executor of his will. The Archbishop bequeathed him his ring with a sapphire in it.]

[s] [He was created a Baronet, July 17, 1627. He died in 1631, and bequeathed lands in Northamptonshire for the foundation of additional Fellowships and Scholarships in University College.]

[t] [Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram, and wife of Sir S. Bennet.]

[u] [See above, p. 415.]

[x] [A letter from Lord Kirkudbright, appended to this letter in the Strafforde correspondence.]

LETTER CVII.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 36.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, My duty and service unto your Grace remembered,—Being to ride this visitation in person (if it shall please God to preserve me in any reasonable health), the rather for the advancing of some especial services which your Grace hath recommended unto my care, I beseech your Grace to give me leave to crave your Grace's opinion in some few particulars.

If peradventure your Grace hath already spent any thoughts upon them, and not otherwise either to give your Grace any offence, or create unto your Grace any molestation.

First, concerning the contribution to Paul's. If I find any brethren of the Clergy, that either have not given at all, or have given nothing to the purpose, willing to contribute annually, though in lesser sums, towards that repair, whether may I safely run that way without any disservice to that great work, or shall I call upon them to present their respects at one entire payment? I do conceive (under reformation) the former way in a poor Clergy will be more willingly entertained, and, at the last, make up a greater produce.

Secondly, in that most gracious intention of his Majesty, (for the which God Almighty ever bless him in this, and crown him, but after many years, with an accumulation of all happiness in the other life,) to better the poor vicarages of the kingdom with an augmentation of their compositions, which all Diocesans are supposed able to effect *jure communi*, and some of them *jure particulari*, by special pacts and reservations in the compositions themselves;—I humbly beg your Grace's advice in two points, being so cordially addicted to the service, that I would willingly spend the remainder of my life to bring it into any hope of perfection.

First, whether your Grace hath not heard from the lawyers, grounding themselves upon 32d Hen. VIII. c. 7, and some other statutes and judgments at common law, that the impropriations now, as they stand in England, to all intents and purposes, except only the recovery of their tithes, are translated (as it were) into lay fees or uses (as the statute terms them), and so put out of our cognisance in courts ecclesiastical; howbeit, I should conceive the statute cited to aim only at the conveyances and assurances in law of the said impropriations, but not at any transubstantiating (as it were) of their essence into another nature, than they were of in the Abbots' or the King's hands, from whence they were purchased or obtained by the subject. If your Grace have received any notes or directions in this particular that may be imparted, I will promise to improve them to the best of my poor endeavours for the advancement of the service.

The second point is of vicarages endowed upon such rectories as are possessed by Colleges, Bishops, Chapters, Prebendaries, and some other particular persons, who have but small rents reserved upon the same, the corps (and, consequently, the fat and the profits) being in the hands of lessees for long terms of lives or years. I humbly crave your Grace's direction, whence the Diocesan shall expect an increase for the Vicar's composition in this case? If he fall upon the lessors, he shall sink many Colleges, Bishoprics, Chapters, and (in a manner) all the Prebendaries of most Churches of the old foundation in this kingdom which are erected upon tithes. If upon the lessee, quere whether in this case he will be denied a prohibition? Also, it is very considerable, if it may please your Grace, what shall be done in that other case, which falls too too often in this diocese, where there is no vicarage endowed at all, but a bare and dry pension, and that of a miserable poor value, such as peradventure the religious house did allow to a member of their own, or to some poor secular priest, that for this service had his chamber and corrody at their convent. Is there any law whereby the Diocesan may help in such a case?

Another question, but of a meaner alloy, I presume to

move unto your Grace; that is, whether your Grace doth conceive the Injunctions of the late Queen Elizabeth to be of any binding, but only of a teaching and directing, force in the present Church of England? I conceive the doubt lieth in this: first, whether they needed not a revival; and then, whether they obtained any such from the late King of famous memory? I do not trouble your Grace with this question for any fancy I have to all of them, but only that I found the Lord Chancellor, whom I served[y], much taken with two of the number. The one, that all Rectors or parsons of one 100*l.* a-year and upwards, should allow somewhat to maintain poor scholar in one of the Universities (which that Lord always, and I have sometimes, caused the King's presentees in that nature to do, giving them the nomination of their own scholars); and the other, that every non-resident who kept no house at all upon his benefice, should allow the fortieth part thereof unto the poor, which is a very small allotment, if we look into that collop which the ancient Councils do cut out as due unto the poor from every benefice ecclesiastical.

Lastly, I beg your Grace's leave to make not a complaint, for it is not of such a moment, but a representation only of one particular to your Grace. Your Grace knoweth well how things stand between Sir John Lambe and me at this time, though neither of us peradventure will confess himself in an error. I am informed from good hands, that no inhibitions have used to issue forth heretofore to stay proceedings in acts despatched by any Bishop in person, without first acquainting your Grace's predecessors; and I am sure I have continued thirteen years a Bishop, and in all that time I saw but one inhibition, which was deserted presently by the party who procured it. But, in the compass of this last year, I have been saluted with them *sans nombre* in matters of no moment or effect. If your Grace will be pleased to take notice thereof, whatsoever your Grace shall determine shall be acceptable unto me, who am by nature not very unwilling to be rid of businesses. And so, craving your Grace's pardon for this tedious paper, whereunto I expect no answer, but at your Grace's best leisure, I humbly take my

[y] [The Lord Chancellor Egerton, to whom Williams was Chaplain.]

leave, and besecching God to bless your Grace with all happiness, do rest

Your Grace's most humble Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, 15 July, 1635.

To the Most Reverend Father in God, his very good Lord the Lo. Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER CVIII.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 37.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I pray God bless you and speed you in your visitation, nothing doubting but your personal presence there will give good satisfaction to your Clergy, and be otherwise beneficial to the Church[z]. For the particulars contained in your letters, though you are pleased to leave me free from giving any answers till I may have leisure, yet, because there is scarce any one of them which I have not in some measure thought on before, I am willing to strain upon my other occasions, and give your Lordship present answer, reserving my fuller answer to further consideration. And I do the rather give this answer present, that no opportunity may be lost in this your visitation.

And, first, concerning the contribution to St. Paul's Church. As I thank your Lordship heartily for the profession of your love and care to that great work[a], so I give you hereby to understand, that it was provided at the first, and hath been practised since in divers dioceses, that our brethren the Clergy might contribute by annual payments, which will be more ease for them, and all one for the work; and therefore I pray your Lordship to proceed in that way, being most agreeable also to your own judgment. Only I desire that a book may be kept, and one copy of it sent to the Chamber of London, according to which those annual payments may be demanded.

[z] [See Accounts of Province for 1635. Works, vol. v. p. 333.]

[a] [See Hacket's Life of Williams, par. ii. p. 59.]

Secondly, we have all great reason to bless God and his Majesty, as your Lordship doth, for his care over the Church, and particularly for the bettering of the poor vicarages throughout the kingdom, according as by care and industry it may be effected. And your Lordship is very right, that the several Diocesans are supposed able to effect it *jure communi;* and, in some cases, that they have further power by reservations in the old compositions; neither doth his Majesty intend to proceed any other way than that. Upon this your Lordship is pleased to crave my advice in two points. First, whether the statute of Hen. VIII., which your Lordship mentions, or any other statutes and judgments at the common law, do so put these impropriations out of the cognisance of our courts ecclesiastical, as that the Bishop may not increase the Vicar's stipends where he finds just cause, as well as he might have done when those tithes were in the Abbeys' or the King's hands? To this I have heretofore received different answers from some lawyers of good note; and though they, upon whose judgments I have most relied, were of opinion that these statutes did neither alter the nature of the tithes (which indeed is impossible for them to do), nor vacate the Bishop's power *quoad hoc,* (and this was Mr. Attorney Noy's judgment, with others'[b],) yet all my counsel here are of opinion, that the best way is not to have these last meddled withal. Your second point is, what course shall be held with vicarages endowed; whether an augmentation of them; and if so, whether to be laid upon the lessors, being Bishops, Colleges, Chapters, Prebendaries, &c., or upon the lessees? My Lord, in this case you do rightly observe, that the lessor's rent is small, and that the lessee goes away with almost all the profit; therefore, the course thought on is, that the lessors be desired, as leases determine and come within their power by renewing, to make addition to the several vicarages, endowed or not endowed, and charge it upon the lessee. And this, upon notice given, takes well; and I, for mine own part, God willing, shall carefully pursue it; and where the leases

[b] [Noy was supported in his opinion by the Lord Keeper Coventry and Sir Henry Martin. Bishop Morton, who was anxious for the augmentation of small vicarages, had obtained their joint opinion. (See Biogr. Brit., Life of Morton, note P.]

are in lives, or great number of years, there the Ordinary may proceed, and *de jure communi* lay the augmentation upon the lessee ratably to his profits above his rent, and with such moderation as he thinks fit. And so my Lord the Bishop of Salisbury did make an augmentation this very last year in the vicarage (as I remember) where Sir Francis Seymour[c] dwells, who showed himself a very noble friend to the business. The lessees fled to the Common Pleas for help. There the prohibition was denied, and so was another prohibition not long before in the King's Bench. So we have gained two precedents in the strengthening of *jus commune* in the Ordinary. And all my counsel are of opinion, that this is the best way to go on and gather strength. But then I must tell your Lordship, that this augmentation made by the Bishop of Sarum was upon the corps of a Prebend, and upon such kind of lessees will be your Lordship's best beginning, and then we may go on to the laity after, if the law shall so far favour us in this very Christian cause; and for the poor stipendiaries, where there are no vicarages endowed, I am not so certainly informed what law there is for the Diocesan to make increase, but methinks, *a paritate rationis*, the Diocesan should have as much or more power here to preserve a poor Churchman in livelihood, where there is less allowance than any endowment makes. But for this your Lordship, when you come to any such particular, may advise further, and I shall give you all assistance that I may be able.

Thirdly, concerning the Injunctions of the Queen. I doubt they are hardly of a binding force. Most of the best of them are received in the Canons, though I confess there are some omitted of very good consequence, for which omission I could never yet receive any satisfactory answer by any of the Bishops which were then of the Convocation House; yet perhaps this omission is recompensed by the passing by of some others not so fit for a revival, and which had special reference to those times.

[c] [Sir Francis Seymour was third son of Edward Lord Beauchamp, and younger brother of William Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset. Sir Francis was created Lord Seymour of Trowbridge, Feb. 19, 1641.
He resided at Preshute near Marlborough, where he subsequently erected a mansion, now forming part of the buildings of Marlborough College. The sentence for the augmentation of Preshute Vicarage, is recorded in Bishop Davenant's Register, and bears date Sept. 23, 1634.]

For the two which your Lordship mentions, I shall give you one and the same answer to both. And truly, my Lord, though the Councils of old allow a larger portion to the poor[d] than that which you mention out of one of these Injunctions[e], yet, both for that, and for the allowance to any poor scholars, which is the other, I do conceive, as the chargeableness of the times now are, and the many contributions by subsidies to shipping, and otherwise, which the Clergy in those ages and places felt not, and the great difference in housekeeping, between the diet and manner of living in those hotter countries and these of ours, that it will be best, till it shall please God better to furnish this Church with means, to leave the Clergy free masters of their own charity; for certainly, as the times now go, I cannot, for my part, hold it fit to impose upon the Clergy according to either of those Injunctions; and I hope, for the reasons given, your Lordship may be of my opinion.

For your Lordship's last passage concerning inhibitions, I am sure I have taken greater care than any Archbishop hath done these twice forty years, and particularly that no inhibition should issue out for acts despatched by any Bishop in person, without my knowledge. And I suspended three Proctors but this last term about that and such like disorders; and, therefore, if your Lordship have received any hard measure that way, it is more than I know, and I shall take the best care I can for prevention hereafter. Besides, at this very present, before I make a release of my visitation of the Arches, I am proceeding against all inconveniences of inhibitions as far as I can foresee them[f]. And for Sir John Lambe, and his particular, if he hath done anything towards your Lordship otherwise than just and fair, he deceives my trust and weakens his own discretion; I shall speak with him about it at my next opportunity. In the meantime I pray

[d] [As, for instance, in Gelasius's Epistle, one-fourth is directed to be given to the poor. See also Pope Gregory's Answer to S. Augustine of Canterbury. Johnson's Canons, vol. i. p. 66.]

[e] [By the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, all non-resident incumbents of benefices above 20*l* annual value, were required to give one-fortieth to the use of the poor; and every incumbent of 100*l*. a-year was to give in like manner the sum of 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. as an Exhibition to a poor scholar. See Injunct. xi. xii. Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 183.]

[f] [Laud's Injunctions to the Court of Arches are reprinted in vol. v. pp. 501—505, from Wilkins' Concilia.]

God bless your Lordship with health and a good journey. So I leave you to His protection, and rest, in haste,

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother.

Croydon, July 17, 1635.

Endorsed: 'July 17, 1635. A copy of my answer to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the Endowments of Vicarages, &c.'

LETTER CIX.

TO THE DUTCH AND WALLOON CONGREGATIONS AT NORWICH.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 406, 407.]

His Majesty was resolved, that his Injunctions shall hold, and that obedience shall be yielded to them by all the natives after the first descent, who might continue in their congregations, to the end the aliens might the better look to the education of their children, and that their several congregations might not be too much lessened at once; but that all of the second descent born here in England, and so termed, should resort to their several parish churches, whereat they dwell.

And thus I have given you answer fairly in all your particulars, and do expect all obedience and conformity to my Injunctions; which if you shall perform, the State will have occasion to see how ready you are to practise the obedience which you teach. And for my part, I doubt not, but yourselves, or your posterity at least, shall have cause to thank both the State and the Church for this care taken of you. But if you refuse, (as you have no cause to do, and I hope you will not,) I shall then proceed against the natives according to the laws and canons ecclesiastical. So hoping the best of yourselves, and your obedience, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your loving Friend,

August 19, 1635. W. CANT.[s]

[s] [The Injunctions referred to are printed above, p. 28. The foreigners had petitioned the Bishop against them, and had also addressed a similar remonstrance to the Archbishop. (See Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 402—406.) Laud's treatment of the foreign Congregations was brought against him as one of the charges on his trial. See above, vol. iii. pp. 421—425; vol. iv. pp. 307, seq.]

LETTER CX.

TO DR. ROBERT PINKE, WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE.

[Reg. Laud, fol. 146 b.]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—You cannot but know that I am in my visitation of Winchester College, where, though I have not been so well used as I might, yet I shall for some reasons pass by some carriages of the Warden [h], which otherwise I would not endure. And as occasion serves, you shall do very well to let him know, that immediately after your founder's death, that college was visited metropolitically by Thomas Arundel, my predecessor, during that vacancy, and by that power which he delegated into an inferior hand [i]. And this the Warden, at his late being in London, might have seen in my records, if it had pleased him to make any search. And this visitation, with others, was without tender of any protestation [k]. Nevertheless, though his carriage hath been thus towards me, I shall not prejudice any act that is to be performed by yourself, or the Fellows of St. Mary New College in Oxon, towards that other society, be it election, visitation, or aught else which your statutes require [l]. These are, therefore, to give you express leave and warrant to perform any or all the said acts, at your time, or times appointed. Provided that if you speed any act of visitation, or rather survey of that house, you do expressly mention therein this leave which I have given you during the continuance of my visitation, that they may not hereafter object this power of yours against mine and my successors'. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

From the Court at Woodstock,
Sept. 2, 1635.

To my very loving Friend, Dr. Pinke,
Warden of New College, and
Vice-Chancellor of the University
of Oxford.

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[h] [John Harris. See above, p. 289.]

[i] [Winchester College was visited Oct. 22, 1404. See Reg. Arundel, fol. 501 b.]

[k] [Which the Warden and other members of Winchester College made to Archbishop Laud's Visitation. Reg. Laud, foll. 145 b, 146 a.]

[l] [The election is directed to be held at Winchester, between the Translation of S. Thomas the Martyr (July 7) and Oct. 1.]

LETTER CXI.

TO DR. JOHN MAXWELL, BISHOP OF ROSS.

[Baillie's Letters and Journals, Append. II. No. xii.[m]]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—My Lord Sterling[n] is not yet come; but I have acquainted his Majesty in what forwardness your Liturgy there is, and with what approbation it is like to come forth. And by the King's command I have sent for Yonge, the printer, the better to prepare him to make ready a black-letter letter, and to bethink himself to send to his servants at Edinburgh, that so, against the Lord Sterling's coming, all things might be in the better readiness, which is all the service I can do till his Lordship come.

I am very glad your Canons are also in so good a readiness; and that the true meaning of that one Canon remains still under the curtain[o]. I hope you will take care that it may be fully printed and passed with the rest. 'Twill be of great use for the settling of that Church[p].

I thank you for your care of Dr. Wedderburne[q]. He is very able to do service, and will certainly do it, if you can keep up his heart. I was in good hope he had been consecrated as well as my Lord of Brechin[r], but I perceive he is not; what the reason is [I know] not; but 'tis a thousand pities that those uncertainties abide with him. I pray [commend] my love to him, and tell him I would not have him stickle at anything, for the King will not leave him long at Dunblane, after he hath once settled the Chapel right, which I see will settle apace, if he keep his footing. My letters are gone to the Bishop of Aberdeen[s], by the King's command, to desert his protestation concerning the Chapel, [and] to leave the rents presently to Dr. Wedderburne; and 'twill not be long ere letters come from the King to take off the

[m] [The original is in Wodrow MSS. fol., vol. lxvi. numb. 20.]

[n] [The Secretary of State for Scotland.]

[o] [This refers to chap. viii. canon iv., and was expressly urged against the Archbishop by the Scotch Commissioners. See vol. iii. pp. 321, 322.]

[p] [The Canon is printed above, vol. v. p. 596.]

[q] [See above, vol. iii. p. 374.]

[r] [Walter Whitford, promoted to that See on the removal of Bishop David Lindsay to Edinburgh.]

[s] [Dr. Adam Ballanden, just promoted from the See of Dunblane.]

annats from the bishoprics; and Dr. Forbes[t], being the late Bishop's[u] executor, being a worthy man, may be better considered some other way. As for the annats of the ministers, the King is resolved not to touch them at all.

Concerning that which you mention about fitting of the Chapel, both with silver vessels and other ornaments, upon the sale now to be made of some stuff of the King's, I think my Lord of St. Andrews will very shortly receive a letter, under the King's hand, to give power for all that you desire; and then if you do not see the Chapel well furnished, the blame for ever be yours.

The Bishop of Brechin is come, and my Lord of St. Andrews hath written at large by [him], and I have given my Lord's Grace answer to all the particulars as well as I can. Indeed, my [Lord, I hold no]thing certain in Court till it be done; yet I have that affiance in my Lord Marquis[x], [that I am confi]dent, he will pass Arbroth, full and wholly, precinct and all; and [his Majesty is of the] same opinion with me. Therefore I hope that both my Lord of St. Andrews' fear [and yours is cause]less.

[The next passa]ge in your letter is only an expression of an apprehension which you [have for your over]throw; and that if they can bring you into disgrace with the King, [they will find easier passa]ge to damnify the Church. I pray trouble not yourself with these [conceits, but s]erve God and the King, and leave the rest to their protection. It may be such [a fear were] fitter for me; and, perhaps, I have juster cause of apprehensions, would I give way to [such thoughts.]

In the next passage you are more confident; hold you there, and let no man stagger [you in the ser]vice of God and the King. But whereas you write, that some which have promised, and [protested f]air to me, concerning the Church, have in all judicatures, since your last return, gone [against] the Church, I pray name them; for I am loth to mistake persons; and then I shall not [spare] to acquaint the King with what they do: and in the meantime, you have no cause

[t] [See above, p. 395.]

[u] [Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen.]

[x] [The Marquis of Hamilton. This refers to the annexation to the see of Brechin of the lands formerly belonging to the Abbey of Arbroth. See above, vol. iii. p. 313.]

to doubt, either the change of the King's countenance, or his giving full credit to any against the Church, till the Church be heard.

You need not fear anything in my Lord of Roxborough's business[y], for I do not believe the King will erect any other bishopric in haste. God bless him, and make him able to better those which are already, and stand in need of help. I do not hear of any alteration to the loss, or anything more about the Exchequer there; but should there be any, I have moved his Majesty that nothing be concluded till my Lord of St. Andrews' judgment be known, according as you desire. As for the instance you make, in the commuting of tithes, I read that also to the King: and you cannot but remember that the King hath said enough to you in that par[ticular. Let this] be enough.

My Lord, for the close of your letter, all that I can say is this, my assistance you shall have in all just and honourable ways for the Church; but the King is so gracious of himself, that you may be better able at any time to do your own business with him, than I am to do it for you, being not able to understand many difficulties of your businesses. Yet, considering my presence is here, where yours cannot always be, I shall be ever as ready to serve you as I have been, that is, to the utmost of my power. So wishing you all health and happiness, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.[z]

Croyden, Sept. 19th, 1635.

To the right reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Ross, at Edenburrowe, These.

Endorsed: '19 September, 35.
His gladness for their being at the press, especially that one Canon under the curtain.'

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[y] [See above, vol. iii. p. 314.]

[z] [This letter is referred to in the second Article of the Charge of the Scotch Commissioners. See Hist. of Troubles and Trial, chap. iii. Works, vol. iii. p. 321.]

LETTER CXII.

TO DR. RICHARD ASTLEY, WARDEN OF ALL SOULS.

[Wood, Ath. Ox. vol. iii. col. 782 [a].]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—These are on behalf of an honest man, and a good scholar. Mr. Osborn, being to give over his Fellowship, was with me at Lambeth, and, I thank him, freely proffered me the nomination of a scholar to succeed him in that place. Now, having seriously deliberated with myself touching this business, and being willing to recommend such an one to you as you might thank me for, I am resolved to pitch upon Mr. Jeremy Taylor, of whose abilities and sufficiencies every ways I have received very good assurance. And I do hereby heartily pray you to give him all furtherance by yourself and the Fellows at your next election, not doubting, but that he will approve himself a worthy and learned member of that society. And though he hath had his breeding, for the most part, in the other University [b], yet I hope that shall be no prejudice to him, in regard he is incorporated into Oxford, *ut sit eodem gradu et ordine, etc.*, and admitted into University College. Neither can I learn that there is anything in your local statutes against it. I doubt not but you will use him with so fair respects, as befits a man of his rank and learning, for which I shall give you thanks. So I leave him to your kindness, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth House,
Octr. 23, 1635.

W. CANT.

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[a] [From Tanner MSS. vol. cccxl. fol. 116 a, by which the present copy has been corrected.]

[b] [Jeremy Taylor, after leaving Caius College, Cambridge, (where he was matriculated, August 18, 1626,) was, for a short time, Divinity Lecturer in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was incorporated into the University of Oxford, Oct. 20, three days previous to the date of this letter. (Wood, F. O. i. 480.)

Archbishop Sancroft adds the following note to the copy of this letter in the Tanner MSS. :—'The College, it seems, accepted the resignation, but did not fill up the place at the election. And so the Archbishop, by devolution, put in Jeremy Taylor, Nov. 21, 1635, as appears by the instrument, the copy of it endorsed with his own hand, and by the original itself.' This instrument is registered in the Archbishop's Register, fol. 234 b, and is printed in Bishop Heber's Life of Taylor.

It appears from Bishop Heber's account of the proceedings, that the Fellows were almost unanimous in their election of Taylor; but that the opposition arose on the part of Sheldon, who was afterwards Warden.]

LETTER CXIII.

TO JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 150, 151.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—For the particulars entrusted by the Church to the Lord Bishop of Brechin, and namely about the Abbacy of Lindores [c], you must expect them from the Lord Bishop himself, and from such relations as you will receive by my Lord, and the Earl of Traquair [d]. Now at this time you shall receive nothing, but that which is commanded me by the King, and must be my part to act in the present and future business for the Church of Scotland.

My Lord, for the present the King is resolved, upon some great reasons of state which have prevailed with him, not to meddle with the Abbacy of Lindores, or any other of that nature, as yet, but to leave them in that state in which they now are, till such time as he may consider the Decrees, and the Act, or Acts, of Parliament which concern them, and till he can find a way to order them better, both for his own profit, and the contentment of his people there; assuring you in the meantime, that both in this and all other business, he will be very careful, both of the credit, and of the maintenance of the Church; whereof, if yourself, or any other bishop or clergymen, shall make doubt, I am commanded to tell you, that therein you will not only do his Majesty wrong, but hurt yourselves, and the Church which you seek to benefit. And in this very particular you are to know, and make known to others, that it is not the dislike of any person or persons, or of the thing itself, that causes this present stay, but reason of state only, and the care which the King hath, that all proceedings may go on according to law. As for the bishoprics, his Majesty will take their wants into as provident care as he can, and hath settled Arbroth upon the Bishopric of Brechin, but in what form I am not able to tell you, as not being so well acquainted with the customs and

[c] [See this case referred to by Laud in his Defence against the Scotch Commissioners, vol. iii. p. 312.]

[d] [Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.]

constitutions of that kingdom; and, therefore, lest I should mistake in any circumstance, I leave that wholly to the Bishop's own relation.

For all the business of that Church in future, which must come to the Exchequer, or any other public audience, or any other business that may reflect upon the Church, or anything that belongs to the King's service, in which Churchmen are trusted, you are immutably to hold this rule, and that by his Majesty's strict and most special command; namely, that yourself, or the Lord Ross, or both of you together, do privately acquaint the Earl of Traquair with it, before it be proposed in public, either at the Council-table, or the Exchequer, or elsewhere; and the Earl hath assumed to the King in my presence, that he will strictly observe and hold the same correspondency and course with you; and further, that he will very readily and faithfully do all good offices for the Church, that come within his power, according to all such commands as he shall receive, either immediately from the King, or otherwise by direction of his Majesty from myself. And if at any time your Lordships, and my Lord Traquair, shall upon any of the aforenamed businesses so differ in judgment, that you cannot accord it among yourselves, let it rest, and write up either to his Majesty or to myself, to move his Majesty for further direction, which once received you are all to obey. That so this little unhappy difference, which lately arose about Lindores, may be laid asleep; and that no other may hereafter rise up in the place of it, to disturb either the King's or the Church's service, or disorder any of yourselves, who are known to be such careful and discreet servants to both. And to the end this may go on with better success, his Majesty precisely commands, that this mutual relation between the Earl of Traquair and you be kept very secret, and made known to no other person, either clergy or lay; for the divulging of these things cannot but breed jealousies amongst men, and disservices in regard of the things themselves. And therefore the King bids me tell you, that he shall take it very ill at his hand, whoever he be, that shall not strictly observe these his directions. This is all which I had in command to deliver to you, and I shall not mingle with it any particulars of my own; there-

fore, wishing you all health and happiness and good speed in your great affairs, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Novemb. 10, 1635.

Endorsed: 'A copie of my Letters sent by the King's command into Scotland, concerning Church-businesse there to be agitated betweene my Lord of Saint Andrewes and the Earle of Traquare."

LETTER CXIV.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 479, 480.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Your letters to me are very large, and what with an indisposition by wind in my body, and the multitude of pressing occasions, I have yet had no leisure at all so much as to read them. But your letters, which came with mine to his Majesty [c], I had the happiness to deliver to his gracious hands, within one hour after I received them. His Majesty was pleased to read them over, though to himself, yet while I was present. I humbly besought him, that since no other letters were at this return come to Mr. Secretary's, he would be graciously pleased to say nothing of these; and that such answer as he thought in wisdom fit to send, his Majesty would be pleased to entrust to me. Hereupon the King was pleased to tell me, he would write himself, and send it by me. So I am heartily glad you shall now receive his Majesty's resolution under his own hand, to which I know your Lordship will conform yourself (as 'tis most fit you should) in all things. For I find his Majesty very careful that the Church should have all her own restored to her, and that the Earl [f] be fined answerable to that, which upon publication his cause shall merit; and that the ordering of this shall be by your Lordship, and your experience upon the place, and of the fact. All that I can perceive is

[c] [See Strafforde Letters, vol. i. pp. 477, 478.]

[f] [The Earl of Cork, so often mentioned before.]

earnestly desired, is the declining of a public sentence, and saving of the Earl, for his place and alliance sake, from the stain, which a sentence would leave upon record both on himself and his posterity; which, when you have taken into serious consideration, I leave to your wisdom.

My Lord, I am the bolder to write this last line to you, upon a late accident, which I have very casually discovered in Court. I find that, notwithstanding all your great services in Ireland, which are most graciously accepted by the King, you want not them which whisper, and perhaps speak louder where they think they may, against your proceedings in Ireland, as being over-full of personal prosecutions against men of quality; and they stick not to instance in St. Albans[g], the Lord Wilmot[h], and this Earl. And this is somewhat loudly spoken by some on the Queen's side. And although I know a great part of this proceeds from your wise and noble proceedings against the Romish party in that kingdom, yet that shall never be made the cause in public, but advantages taken, such as they can, from these and the like particulars to blast you and your honour, if they be able to do it. I know you have a great deal more resolution in you, than to decline any service due to the King, State, or Church, for the barking of discontented persons; and God forbid but you should. And yet, my Lord, if you could find a way to do all these great services, and decline these storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on. I heartily pray your Lordship to pardon me this freedom, which I brought with me into your friendship, and which (though sometimes to my own hurt) I have used with all the friends I have; for I profess I write this to you out of a great deal of sense what clamorous reports may work in time, though I am most confident they cannot wrong you with the King our master, who looks upon the services which are donehim, with his own eyes, and not through other men's reports.

My Lord, in this particular, I leave you to follow his Majesty's own directions, which I presume are such, as shall always preserve your honour in the great place you bear

[g] [Richard de Burgh, Earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde.]

[h] [Charles Wilmot, Visc. Wilmot. He was accused of garrisoning Athlone, and sentenced to death. Wentworth's treatment of him was one of the charges brought against him at his trial.]

under him, and withal give yourself advantage. To your own wisdom and God's good blessing herein I leave you, being always ready to show myself

Your Lordship's very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

November 16th, 1635.

MY LORD,—When the King delivered me this inclosed, I took occasion to show him your duplicate of your answer to the two Lords Chamberlain[i], and Salisbury[k], wherein is mention of the Lord Clifford's[l] judgment concerning the Earl of Cork's coming over; whereupon his Majesty commanded me to add thus much more to my letters, namely:—

That notwithstanding these his letters, if the Lord Clifford do change the Lords' minds, that they desire not the Earl of Cork's coming, then the King is satisfied, and your Lordship may go on.

As also, if he do not make a clear submission, then your Lordship is not to suffer him to come; but, if he do this, and make full restitution to the Church, and submit to such fine as you shall proportion, then his Majesty is willing so far to gratify these two Lords, as that he would have leave given him to come over, as these his letters express.

These in great haste, my Lord; but I do solemnly protest to you, I have not yet had leisure to read half your letters to me, though this day they have been a full week in my hands, therefore you must not look for an answer suddenly. In the meantime take this: Cottington is bringing off the Bishop of Lincoln, which certainly, among other good causes and considerations him thereunto moving, is to do me a great kindness, for he knows he loves me heartily.

I have not been able to take a copy of these letters myself, and I did not think them fit to be trusted to any servant.

[i] [Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.]

[k] [William, second Earl of Salisbury. He was the brother of Frances, wife of Henry Clifford.]

[l] [Henry Clifford, Baron Clifford, and Earl of Cumberland. He was brother-in-law to Wentworth, who married his eldest sister, Margaret; and father-in-law to the Earl of Cork's son, who married his only daughter, Elizabeth. See above, p. 360.]

LETTER CXV.

TO JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 152.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have but one thing at this present to trouble you with, but that hath much displeased the King, and not without very just cause; for now while the King is settling that Church against all things that were defective in it, and against the continuance of all unwarrantable customs unknown to, or opposed by the ancient Church of Christ, the new Bishop of Aberdeen [m] hath given way to, and allowed a public fast throughout his diocese to be kept upon the Lord's day, contrary to the rules of Christianity, and all the ancient Canons of the Church [n]. I was in good hope that Church had quite laid down that ill custom; but since it appears the new Bishop of Aberdeen hath continued it, and perhaps others may follow his example, if this pass without a check; therefore his Majesty's express will and command to your Grace is, That you and my Lord Glasgow [o] take order with all the Bishops in your several provinces respectively, that no man presume to command, or suffer, any fast to be upon that day, or, indeed, any public fast upon any other day, without the special leave and command of the King, to whose power it belongs, and not to them. And further, his Majesty's will and pleasure is, that if the Canons be not already printed, (as I presume they are not,) that you make a Canon purposely against this unworthy custom [p], and see it printed with the rest; and that you write a short letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen, to let him understand how he hath overshot himself; which letter you may send together with these of mine, if you so

[m] [Adam Ballanden.]

[n] [This passage was urged against the Archbishop by the Scotch Commissioners. See vol. iii. p. 307.]

[o] [Patrick Lindsay, promoted from the See of Ross.]

[p] [See Canons of the Church of Scotland, chap. xiv. printed above, vol. v. p. 599.]

please. This is all which for the present I have to trouble you with; therefore, leaving you to God's blessed protection, I rest

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Dec. 1, 1635.

Endorsed: 'A copy of my Letters to the Lord Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, for the prohibiting of all Fasts on the Lord's Day throughout the Kingdome.'

LETTER CXVI.

TO DR. RICHARD ASTLEY, WARDEN OF ALL SOULS.

[Ayscough Cat. (Brit. Mus.) Numb. 4274, p. 47.]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—I have considered of the letters which you sent me, and I should have been altogether to seek what to do for your treasury, or for yourselves, out of this year's allowance, had not Dr. Sheldon[q], who brought me your letters, been able to tell me in what state your tower and treasury is, for that is not so much as mentioned in your letters, but he acquainted me with it, and I am reasonably well satisfied. In hope, therefore, that both yourself and your Fellows will be careful to treasure up and increase the honour of your worthy Founder, and of your society, by all studious and sober carriage, and particularly by your observance of those things which not long since I writ unto you, I am very well content to allow to yourself and your Fellows a full livery for this present year, which is two hundred fifty-four pounds ten shillings. And the surplusage which remains, I would have you put into the tower, towards the increasing of your stock; which, were it more than it is, you may perhaps find means enough to spend it, though not presently. I am sorry to hear that your weakness

[q] [Dr. Astley's successor as Warden, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.]

continues[r]. I pray God send you that comfort, which you have most need of. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth, Decemb. 18, 1635. W. CANT.

To my very loving Friend, Dr. Astley, Warden of All Souls College, in Oxon.

LETTER CXVII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. ccxxvii. pp. 150, 151.]

Salutem in Christo.

Strena sunt literæ hæ, vir clarissime, quam calendis hisce Januariis mitto morè et fide antiquis. Tres, ni fallor, apud me sunt literæ tuæ et omnes gratissimæ, pro tribus unam reddat vel ipsa inurbanitas. Nec tamen inurbanitas adeo me gravat, quam negotium; nec tam illam affecto, quam hoc premor. Veniam dabit, scio, humanitas tua singularis amico nimium extra se viventi.

Ad literas tuas quod attinet, lego in secundis[s] tibi a Dello[t] significatum, (jussi enim ut scriberet ipse tum occupatior) opus vestrum grammaticum egregium quidem, et quod supra vulgaria sapit, de manu mea in optimæ spei Principis transiisse. Quod tibi gratum fore spondere mihi ausus sum, etiamsi literis supervenientibus de ea re siluisses. Sed quid Princeps? Illud enim puto adhuc audivisti. Quum post mensem mentio Archiepiscopi coram ipso facta est, 'Novi,' inquit tenerulus, 'sed quando mihi alium allaturus est librum?' Spero futurum, ut tam libri sit tenax, quam afferentis memor.

In his etiam lego me unam Epistolam tuam non legisse, imo ne vidisse quidem. Intercidit enim, sic scribis, incuria eorum quibus dederas; forte præmissa est in Sueciam, quo non sum secuturus. Huic ut respondeam non expectas.

Si Sternius meus[u], sic enim est, rationem tibi reddidit

[r] [Dr. Astley died shortly after this time.]

[s] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cclxvi. p. 271.]

[t] [Guil. Dello, Archiepiscopo a Secretis.]

[u] [Rich. Sterne, Coll. Jes. Cantab. Magister, et Archiepiscopo a Sacris.]

gratam rerum Cantabrigiensium, fecit, quod se decuit, et mihi pergratum fuit. Nolui enim tibi deesse, quia sibi defuit filius tuus. Spero nunc meliora referet ab Indiis, quo advocati fiscalis dignitate ornatus abiit. Det Deus, ut se te dignum gerat.

Quod de Scipionis Gentilis filio [x], nepote Alberici [y] scribis, mihi grata sunt omnia. Commendatus enim venit a doctissimo amico meo Joan. Seldeno. Et valuissent apud me facile vota vestra et Seldeni, quin et vel nomen Alberici mihi virtutibus suis abunde noti, si quidquam in ea re potuissem. Sed aditus qui olim patuit nostris, jam in rem suam et literariam attentioribus multo obstructior est. Nec possum ea præstare, quæ, facultas si daretur, mihi in summis votis semper fuere; erigere scilicet afflictos, et bene merentium, inter quos Albericus non infimus fuit, etiam seros nepotes fovere.

Auctum dignitate Legati Suecici [z] Hugonem nostrum Grotium jam antea audivi, et simul gavisus sum; non ita, quando revocatum apud nos sparsum fuit. Sed invidiæ tuba cecinit illud, et quamprimum audivi famam mentitam, lætitia auctior rediit. Literis enim suis e Gallia me decoravit, sic enim de doctissimo illo viro sentio, cui opto summa. Tragœdias et Poemata alia, quæ ille dicaverat tibi, tu mihi dedisti, optatissime ad manus meas pervenerunt. Pauca legi, utinam otium daretur, ut reliqua possim.

De expeditione vestra una cum Gallo prima æstate suscepta vere scribis et graviter. Nolo ea de re quicquam adjicere præter hoc unum, superasse vos (Gallos dicam an Belgas nescio) in urbe Tirlinensium direpta irruptionem illam plusquam barbaram Gothorum et Vandalorum, de qua, et eversis omnibus sacris, toties et tam funeste conquestus est suo tempore S. Augustinus.

Restant literæ tuæ tertiæ [a]. Nec illæ sine dono me petunt. Cum illis enim, moram ingratam nectentibus typographis circa Dionysiana vestra [b] et tua, alterius filii tui, Matthæi nempe [c], fœtum suscepi. Et certe multum me afficit videre

[x] [Quem in Collegio aliquo sine sumptibus suis Vossius alendum voluit.]

[y] [Albericus Gentilis, Scipionis frater, Juris Civilis apud Oxonienses Professor Regius ab an. 1587. ad an. 1611.]

[z] [Apud Galliæ Regem.]

[a] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cclxviii. p. 273.]

[b] [Maimonidis de Idololatria tractatum Latine versum.]

[c] [Antiquitates Hollandicas, ab an. 859 ad an. 1299.]

patrem in filio, Gerardum in Matthæo. Ita judicium et dictio, nec de fide dubito, seniorem in juniore adornarunt. Quæ interspersa sunt parum cum Regum imperio convenientia, Apologiam una secum ferunt. Scripta ea esse in et sub regimine alio, ubi populus ut alios mores, ita et alias leges postulat. Nec proceres vestri satis honori suo consulunt, si non juvenem de illis tam egregie meritum, ut stipendio, ita et titulo ornent. Crescat hic in solamen tibi, et uberrime in sinum tuum refundat spes in Dionysio amissas. Et quotquot alia tibi cordi sunt, cum anno feliciter currente et revertente, omnia tibi vovet

Amicus tuus studiosiss.

W. CANT.

Dat. ex ædibus nostris
Lambeth. Kal. Jan. 1636.

LETTER CXVIII.

TO SIR KENELM DIGBY [d].

[Laud's History, &c., vol. i. pp. 610—616.

Salutem in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I am sorry for all the contents of your letter, save that which expresses your love to me. And I was not a little troubled at the very first words of it. For you begin, that my Lord Ambassador [e] told you, I was not pleased to hear you had made a defection from the Church of England [f]. 'Tis most true, I was informed so; and thereupon I writ to my Lord Ambassador, to know what he heard of it there. But 'tis true likewise, that I writ to yourself; and Mr. Secretary Coke sent my letters very carefully. Now seeing your letters mentioned my Lord Ambassador's speech with you, without any notice taken of my writing; I could not but fear these letters of mine came not to your

[d] [Sir Kenelm, the son of Sir Everard Digby, who was executed for his share in the Gunpowder Plot, had been reclaimed when quite young from the Church of Rome; by Laud's influence, as is stated in the Biographia Britannica, though Laud himself does not say anything of the kind. He was educated under Thomas Allen, in Gloucester Hall, and was knighted on his return from Spain with Prince Charles. His life is given at some length in the Biogr. Britann.]

[e] [Viscount Scudamore, ambassador at Paris.]

[f] [It appears from a letter of James Howell to Lord Wentworth, that Sir K. Digby had joined the Church of Rome prior to Oct. 22, 1635. (Strafforde Letters, vol. i. p. 474.)]

hands. Out of this fear your second letters took me; for they acknowledged the receipt of mine, and your kind acceptance of them. Had they miscarried, I should have held it a great misfortune. For you must needs have condemned me deeply in your own thoughts, if in such a near and tender business, I should have solicited my Lord Ambassador, and not written to yourself.

In the next place, I thank you, and take it for a great testimony of your love to me, that you have been pleased to give me so open and clear account of your proceedings with yourself in this matter of religion. In which as I cannot but commend the strict reckoning, to which you have called yourself; so I could have wished, before you had absolutely settled the foot of that account, you would have called in some friend, and made use of his eye as a by-stander, who oftentimes sees more than he that plays the game. You write, I confess, that after you had fallen upon these troublesome thoughts, you were nigh two years in the diligent discussion of this matter; and that you omitted no industry, either of conversing with learned men, or of reading the best authors, to beget in you a right intelligence of this subject. I believe all this, and you did wisely to do it. But I have some questions, out of the freedom of a friend, to ask about it. Were not all the learned men, you conversed with for this particular, of the Roman party? Were not the best authors, you mention, of the same side? If both men and authors were the same way, can they beget any righter intelligence in you, than is in themselves? If they were men and authors on both sides, with whom you conversed, why was I (whom you are pleased to style one of your best friends) omitted? True, it may be, you could not reckon me among those learned men and able for direction, with whom you conversed: suppose that; yet yourself accounts me among your friends. And is it not many times as useful, when thoughts are distracted, to make use of the freedom and openness of a friend not altogether ignorant, as of those which are thought more learned; but not so free, nor perhaps so indifferent?

'But the result,' you say, 'that first began to settle you, was that you discerned by this your diligent conversation, and

studious reading, that there were great mistakings on both sides, and that passion and affection to a party transported too many of those that entered into the lists in this quarrel.' Suppose this also to be true, I am heartily sorry, and have been ever since I was of any understanding in matters of religion, to hear of sides in the Church. And I make no doubt, but 'twill one day fall heavy upon all, that wilfully make, or purposely continue sidings in that body. But, when sides are made and continued, remember you confess there are great mistakings on both sides. And how then can you go from one side to the other, but you must go from one great mistaking to another? And if so, then by changing the side, you do but change the mistaking, not quit yourself from mistakes. And if you do quit yourself from them, by God's goodness, and your own strength; yet why might not that have been done, without changing the side; since mistakes are on both sides? As for the passion and transportation of many that enter the lists in this quarrel, I am sure you mean not to make their passion your guide; for that would make you mistake indeed. And why then should their passion work upon your judgment? especially, since the passion, as well as the mistakes, are confessed to be on both sides.

After this follows the main part of your letters, and that which principally resolved you to enter again the communion of the Church of Rome, in which you had been born and bred, against that semblance of good reason, which formerly had made you adhere to the Church of England.

And first you say, 'You now perceive that you may preserve yourself in that Church, without having your belief bound up in several particulars, the dislike whereof had been a motive to you to free yourself from the jurisdiction which you conceived did impose them.' 'Tis true, all Churches leave some particulars free. But doth that Church leave you free to believe, or not believe, anything determined by it? And did not your former dislike arise from some things determined in and by that Church? And if so, what freedom see you now, that you saw not then? And you cannot well say, that your dislike arose from anything not determined; for in those, the jurisdiction of that Church imposes not.

You add, 'That your greatest difficulties were solved, when you could distinguish between the opinions of some new men raised upon wrested inferences, and the plain and solid articles of faith delivered at the first.' Why, but I cannot but be confident you could distinguish these long since, and long before you joined yourself to the Church of England. And that therefore your greatest difficulties (if these were they) were as fully and fairly solved then, as now they are, or can be. Besides, if by these plain and solid articles you mean none but the Creed (and certainly no other were delivered at the first), you seem to intimate, by comparing this and the former passage, that so you believe these plain and first articles, you may preserve yourself in that Church from having your belief bound up to other particulars; which I think few will believe besides yourself, if you can believe it. And the opinions of new men, and the wrested inferences upon these, are some of those great mistakes which you say are on both sides, and therefore needed not to have caused your change.

To these first articles you say, 'The Church in no succeeding age hath power to add (as such) the least tittle of new doctrine.' Be it so; and I believe it heartily (not as such), especially if you mean the articles of the Creed. But yet if that Church do maintain, that all her decisions in a General Council are articles *Fidei Catholicæ;* and that all Christians are bound to believe all and every of them, *eadem fide, qua Fidei articulos;* and that he is an heretic which believes them not all: where is then your freedom, or your not being bound up in several particulars? And if you reply, you dislike no determination which that Church hath made; then why did you formerly leave it, to free yourself from that jurisdiction that you conceived imposed them? For if the things which troubled you were particulars not determined, they were not imposed upon your belief. And if they were determined, and so imposed; how are you now set free more than then?

You say again, 'You see now, that to be a Catholic, doth not deprive them of the forenamed liberty, who have abilities to examine the things you formerly stuck at, and drive them up to their first principles.' But first then, what shall become of their liberty, who are not able to examine; shall they enthral their consciences? Next, what shall secure them,

who think themselves, and are perhaps thought by others, able to examine, yet indeed are not? Thirdly, what assurance is there in cases not demonstrable (as few things in religion are), that they which are able to examine, have either no affection to blind their judgment, or may not mistake themselves and their way, in driving a doubtful point to its first principles? Lastly, how much doth this differ from leaning upon a private spirit; so much cried out against by that side, when men, under pretence of their ability, shall examine the tenets of the Church, and assume a liberty to themselves, under a colour of not being bound?

But, you say, 'This is not the breaking of any obligation that Church lays upon you; but only an exact understanding of the just and utmost obligations that side ties men to.' I must here question again: for first, what shall become of their freedom, that cannot reach to this exact understanding? And next, do not you make yourself, as a private man, judge of the Church's obligations upon you? And is it not as great an usurpation upon the Church's power and right, to be judge of her obligations, as of her tenets? For if the points be left free, there's no obligation: nor can you, or need any other, have any scruple. But if the points be binding by the predetermination of the Church; can you any way be judge of her obligation, but you must be judge also of the point to which she obliges? Now, I think, that Church will hardly give liberty to any private man to be so far her judge, since she scarce allows so much to any, as *judicium discretionis*, in things determined by her.

These utmost obligations, to which that side ties men, you believe many men (and not of the meanest note) pass over in gross, without ever throughly entering into the due consideration thereof. And truly I believe so too, that among too many men on both sides, neither the points, nor the obligations to them, are weighed as they ought. But that's no warrant (pardon my freedom) that yourself hath considered them in all circumstances; or that you have considered them better now, than you did before, when the dislike of that imposing jurisdiction was your first motive to free yourself from it, by joining to the Church of England.

And whereas you say, 'That you have returned into that

communion, who from your birth had right of possession in you, and therefore ought to continue it, unless clear and evident proof (which you say surely cannot be found) should have evicted you from it:' truly, Sir, I think this had been spoken with more advantage to you and your cause, before your adhering to the Church of England, than now; for then right of possession could not have been thought little. But now since you deserted that communion, either you did it upon clear and evident proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it then upon clear and evident proof, why say you now no such can be found? If you did it but upon apparent and seeming proof (a semblance of very good reason, as yourself calls it), why did you then come off from that communion, till your proof were clear and evident? And why may not that, which now seems clear and evident, be but apparent, as well as that which then seemed clear unto you, be but semblance now? Nor would I have you say, that clear and evident proof cannot be found for a man, in this case of religion, to forego the communion which had right of possession in him from his birth: for the proposition is an universal negative, and of hard proof. And therefore though I think I know you and your judgment so well, that I may not without manifest wrong charge you, that you did in this great action, and so nearly concerning you, *ad pauca respicere*, which our great master tells us[g] breeds facile and easy, rather than safe and warrantable determinations; yet it will lie upon you not only in honour without, but also in conscience within, to be able to assure yourself, that you did *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia respicere*. The thing being so weighty in itself, and the miserable division of Christendom (never sufficiently to be lamented) making the doubt so great, that you who have been on both sides, must needs lie under the dispute of both sides, whether this last act of yours be not in you rather a relapse into a former sickness, than a recovery from a former fall.

But against this, 'The temper of your mind (you say) arms you against all censures, no slight air of reputation being able to move you.' In this, I must needs say, you are happy: for he that can be moved from himself by the changeable breath of men, lives more out of, than in himself; and (which

[g] Ethic. lib. i.

is a misery beyond all expression) must in all doubts go to other men for resolution, not to himself; as if he had no soul within him. But yet *post conscientiam fama.* And though I would not desire to live by reputation; yet would I leave no good means untried, rather than live without it. And how far you have brought yourself in question, which of these two, conscience or reputation, you have shaken by this double change, I leave yourself to judge; because you say your first was with a semblance of very good reason. And though you say again, 'That it now appears you were then misled;' yet you will have much ado to make the world think so.

The way you took in concealing this your resolution of returning into that communion, and the reasons which you give why you so privately carried it here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all ingenuity, tender and civil respects, fitted to avoid discontent in your friends, and scandal that might be taken by others, or contumely that might be returned upon yourself. And as are these reasons, so is the whole frame of your letter (setting aside that I cannot concur in judgment) full of discretion and temper, and so like yourself, that I cannot but love even that which I dislike in it. And though I shall never be other than I have been to the worth of Sir Kenelm Digby; yet most heartily sorry I am, that a man whose discourse did so much content me, should thus slide away from me, before I had so much as suspicion to awaken me, and suggest that he was going. Had you put me into a dispensation, and communicated your thoughts to me before they had grown up into resolutions, I am a priest, and would have put on what secresy you should have commanded. A little knowledge I have (God knows a little), I would have ventured it with you in that serious debate you have had with yourself. I have ever honoured you, since I knew your worth, and I would have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer than now you are. But since you are gone, and settled another way, before you would let me know it, I know not now what to say to a man of judgment, and so resolved: for to what end should I treat, when a resolution is set already? So set, as that you say no clear and evident proof can be found against it: nor can I tell how to press such a man as

you to ring the changes in religion. In your power it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you change again. Therefore to the moderation of your own heart, under the grace of God, I must and do now leave you for matter of religion; but retaining still with me, and entirely, all the love and friendliness which your worth won from me; well knowing, that all differences in opinion shake not the foundations of religion.

Now to your postscript, and then I have done. That I am the first, and the only person to whom you have written thus freely: I thank you heartily for it. For I cannot conceive anything thereby, but your great respect to me, which hath abundantly spread itself all over your letter. And had you written this to me, with a restraint of making it further known, I should have performed that trust. But since you have submitted it to me, what further knowledge of it I shall think fit to give to any other person; I have, as I took myself bound, acquainted his Majesty with it, who gave a great deal of very good expression concerning you, and is not a little sorry to lose the service of so able a subject. I have likewise made it known in private to Mr. Secretary Coke, who was as confident of you as myself. I could hardly believe your own letters, and he as hardly my relation. To my secretary I must needs trust it, having not time to write it again out of my scribbled copy; but I dare trust the secresy in which I have bound him. To others I am silent, and shall so continue, till the thing open itself; and I shall do it out of reasons, very like to those which you give, why yourself would not divulge it here. In the last place, you promise yourself, 'That the condition you are in will not hinder me from continuing to be the best friend you have.' To this I can say no more, than that I could never arrogate to myself to be your best friend; but a poor, yet respective friend of yours I have been, ever since I knew you: and it is not your change that can change me, who never yet left, but where I was first forsaken; and not always there. So praying for God's blessing upon you, and in that way which He knows most necessary for you, I rest

Your very loving Friend to serve you *in Domino*.

Lambeth, March 27, 1636.

I have writ this letter freely; I shall look upon all the trust that ever you mean to carry with me, that you show it not, nor deliver any copy to any man. Nor will I look for any answer to the queries I have herein made. If they do you any good, I am glad; if not, yet I have satisfied myself. But leisure I have none to write such letters; nor will I entertain a quarrel in this wrangling age, and now my strength is past. For all things of moment in this letter, I have pregnant places in the Council of Trent, Thomas, Bellarmin, Stapleton, Valentia, &c. But I did not mean to make a volume of a letter.

Endorsed thus with the Archbishop's own hand :—
'March 27, 1636. A copy of my Answer to Sir Ken. Digby's Letters, in which he gives me an account of his return to the Ro. Communion.'

LETTER CXIX.

TO JAMES WEDDERBURNE, BISHOP OF DUNBLANE [h].

[Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 152—154.]

I have received other letters from you, by which I find you have written to his Majesty about the communion in the Chapel Royal, concerning which the King holds his former resolution, that he would be very glad there should be a full communion at all solemn times as is appointed [i]. But because men do not always fit themselves as they ought for that great and holy work, therefore his Majesty will be satisfied, if every one that is required to communicate there, do solemnly and conformably perform that action once a year at least. And in conformity to this you are to signify once a year unto his sacred Majesty, who have communicated within the compass of that year, and who not; and of this you must not fail.

By these last letters of yours, I find that you are consecrated. God give you joy. And whereas you desire a copy of our Book of Ordination, I have here sent you one. And

[h] [Wedderburne had been appointed to the See of Dunblane, on the translation of Adam Ballanden to Aberdeen.]

[i] [See the King's directions dated Oct. 8, 1633. Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 148, 149.]

I have acquainted his Majesty with the two great reasons that you gave, why the book which you had in King James's time is short and insufficient. (1.) As first, that the Order of Deacons is made but as a lay office, at least as that book may be understood. (2.) And secondly, that in the admission to Priesthood, the very essential words of conferring Orders are left out. At which his Majesty was much troubled, as he had great cause, and concerning which he hath commanded me to write, that either you do admit of our Book of Ordination, or else that you amend your own in these two gross oversights, or anything else, if in more it be to be corrected, and then see the book reprinted. I pray fail not to acquaint my Lord of Saint Andrewes and my Lord Ross with this express command of his Majesty.

I received likewise from you, at the same time, certain notes to be considered of, that all, or at least so many of them as his Majesty should approve, might be made use of in your Liturgy, which is now in printing. And though my business hath of late lain very heavy upon me, yet I presently acquainted his Majesty with what you had written. After this I, and Bishop Wren, (my Lord Treasurer[k] being now otherwise busied,) by his Majesty's appointment sat down seriously, and considered of them all; and then I tendered them again to the King, with our animadversions upon them, and his Majesty had the patience to weigh and consider them all again. This done, so many of them as his Majesty approved, I have written into a Service Book of ours, and sent you the book with his Majesty's hand to it, to warrant all your alterations made therein[l]. So in the printing of your Liturgy you are to follow the book which my Lord Ross brought, and the additions which are made to the book I now send. But if you find the book of my Lord Ross's, and this, to differ in anything that is material, there you are to follow this later book I now send, as expressing some things more fully.

And now that your Lordship sees all of your animadversions, which the King approved, written into this book, I shall not need to write largely to you, what the reasons

[k] [Bishop Juxon.]
[l] [See the King's Warrant in Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 156.]

were, why all of yours were not admitted; for your judgment and modesty is such, that you will easily conceive some reason was apprehended for it. Yet because it is necessary, that you know somewhat more distinctly, I shall here give you a particular account of some things which are of most moment, and which otherwise perhaps might breed a doubtfulness in you.

And first, I thought you could not have doubted, but that the *Magnificat*, &c. was to be printed according to the translation of King James, for that was named once for all. And that translation is to be followed in the Epistles and Gospels, as well as in the Psalms. Where I pray observe in the title-page of the Psalms, in the book I now send, an alteration which I think my Lord Ross's book had not. And if you have not printed those Psalms with a colon in the middle of every verse, as it is with ours ordinarily in the English, it is impossible those Psalms should ever be well sung to the organ. And if this error be run into, it must be mended by a painful way, by a pen for all such books as the Chapel Royal useth, and then by one of them the next impression of your Liturgy may be mended wholly.

Secondly, in the Creed of Saint Athanasius, we can agree to no more emendations, no, not according to our best Greek copies, than you shall find amended in this book.

Thirdly, though the Bishops there were willed to consider of the Holy Days, yet it was never intended, but that the office appointed for every of them should be kept in the Liturgy, and the consideration was only to be of the observation of them.

Fourthly, for the Sentences at the Offertory. We admit of all yours, but we think withal that divers which are in our book would be retained together with yours. As, namely, the 2d, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 15th.

Fifthly, I would have every prayer or other action through the whole Communion named in the rubric before it, that it may be known to the people what it is, as I have begun to do in the Prayer of Consecration, and in the Memorial, or Prayer of Oblation. *Fac similiter.*

Sixthly, we do fully approve the Collect of Consecration and Oblation should precede, and the Lord's Prayer follow next,

and be said before the Communion, in that order which you have expressed. But for the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Preface, and Doxology, we think they stand best as they are now placed in our Liturgy; and as for the Prayer of humble access to the Holy Communion, that will stand very well next before the participation.

Seventhly, I have ordered a rubric in the margin of this book, according as you desire, to direct him that celebrates, when to take the sacrament into his hand. Namely, to take, and break, and lay hands on the chalice, as he speaks the words. For certainly the practice of the Church of England therein is very right. And for the objection, that we should not do it, till we express our warrant so to do, which you conceive is in these words, 'Do this,' &c.; I answer, first, that those words, 'Do this,' &c., are rather our warrant for the participation, or communication, than the consecration. Secondly, that our repeating what Christ did is our warrant to do the same, being thereto commanded. Thirdly, that the whole action is *actus continuus*, and therefore though in our saying, 'Do this' follows after, yet it doth, and must be intended to that which we did before, and comes last to seal and confirm our warrant for doing so. And so 'tis in the other sacrament of Baptism, where we take the child first, and baptize it, and then afterwards we say, 'We receive this child,' &c.; which *in actu continuo* must needs relate to the preceding act, for the child was actually received into the Church by the very act of baptism itself. And this is but our declaration of that reception.

And whereas you write, that much more might have been done, if the times would have borne it, I make no doubt, but there might have been a fuller addition. But God be thanked this will do very well, and I hope breed up a great deal of devout and religious piety in that kingdom. Yet I pray, for my further satisfaction, at your best leisure draw up all those particulars, which you think might make the Liturgy perfect, whether the times will bear them, or not. And send them safe to me, and I will not fail to give you my judgment of them, and perhaps put some of them to further use, at least in my own particular.

One thing more, and then I have done. In his Majesty's

authorizing of the notes in this book prefixed at the beginning of it, though he leave a liberty to my Lord the Archbishop of St. Andrewes, and brethren the Bishops who are upon the place, upon apparent reason to vary some things; yet you must know, and inform them, that his Majesty having viewed all these additions, hopes there will be no need of change of anything, and will be best pleased with little or rather no alteration. So wishing all prosperity to that Church, and a happy finishing of your Liturgy, and health to my brethren the Bishops, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, April 20, 1636.

LETTER CXX.

TO WILLIAM KINGSLEY, ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 92, 93.]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—Your letters of April 13 I have received, and I thank you for your care and pains in visiting the churches of your archdeaconry within the city of Canterbury, in which I have often heard there are some things amiss, and find by your report that the information given me was true. And because you certify me of some things of greater moment than ordinary, I thought it very fit to acquaint his Majesty with all the contents of your letter, and did so. By which means I shall with more freedom give you the fuller answer to the three particulars mentioned by you[m].

For the first, which is the raising of galleries and seats from the ground three or four ascents, his Majesty hath commanded me to write unto you, that they be taken down, and the seats left orderly in the church. But you are to take care to acquaint the minister and churchwardens with it, and to see it done in a fair and peaceable manner. The like

[m] [Kingsley's Report is printed by Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 92.]

course you are to take with the second, for it is no way fit that any monument whatsoever should be set up at the east end of the chancel, thereby standing equal at least, if not above the communion-table, and fit for nothing but to cast it out of its proper place. Therefore if any such be in any church within your jurisdiction, you are to speak with them that are next of kin, or whom such monuments may most concern: and if they will remove them, and set them up in any other place, on the sides of the church, you are to give them leave so to do; but if they will not, you are then to take them down in an orderly way, and not to suffer any to stand at the east end of the chancel.

Your third business is of greater consequence. It is, that there is another monument in St. George's Church, in which there is described in capital letters the Gunpowder Treason, with this motto, *In perpetuam Papistarum infamiam, etc.* I hope this stands not at the east end of the chancel, for if it do, you must see it removed to some other place; but if it stand upon any side of either chancel or church, then you are, with the knowledge of the minister and the churchwardens, or any other whom that monument may concern, to take some painter to you, and cause him to put out of the monument all that concerns the Fleet in '88, because that belongs to a foreign nation. And though your letters make no mention of '88, yet the picture of the monument, which you sent me up, doth, which I showed his Majesty, as well as your letter. So having here given you a clear direction in all your three particulars, I shall expect your care in the execution of them according to it. So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

WILL. CANT.

Endorsed: 'The copy of my Letters to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, April 29, 1636, concerning the taking down of galleries and monuments in some churches of Canterbury, &c.'

LETTER CXXI.

TO THE WARDEN AND FELLOWS OF MERTON COLLEGE.

[Reg. Laud, fol. 245 a.]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations,—I have been moved in the behalf of one Henry Jacob [n], chosen some years since into your College, and admitted into his year of probation (but by discontinuance from the College disabled for further admittance into your fellowship in the ordinary way), and informed that against this incapacity which he hath contracted by his absence, and by his not proceeding in the usual course of studies and discipline, there may be opposed an equivalent capacity, grounded upon a fundamental statute of your College [o], which requires that there shall always be in your Society *grammaticus unus, qui studio grammatico totaliter vacet*, hereupon I have considered of that statute, and, upon mature deliberation, conceive the intention of your founder in that statute to have been, that besides those which were to be trained up in a course of philosophy, there should be one who wholly should intend the studies of philology. Whereas, therefore, I am informed concerning Jacob's eminent abilities in the way of philology, by such persons whose judgments and sincerity I have not reason to distrust, I have thought fit to recommend him unto you, to the end, that since he hath deserted his first capacity, you may be induced, out of the charitable consideration of his abilities and wants, to lay hold of his second capacity, and presently to admit him Fellow by virtue of the forementioned statute.

My meaning is not, howsoever, that he shall be admitted absolutely, without any composition, but with this clog perpetually to be annexed to him and his place, that once a-week during the University term (the day, hour, and auditors to be appointed by the Warden), he shall openly, in your

[n] [Henry Jacob, in whose behalf the Archbishop thus interested himself, had studied Oriental languages under Erpenius. He had been elected Probationer Fellow of Merton some years previous; circumstances, however, prevented his admission as actual Fellow, till this letter was written in his favour.]

[o] [Statutes of Merton College, cap. ii.]

college-hall (unto which it shall be lawful for any of the University to resort), read upon some title of antiquity; in which he shall compare the Roman, Greek, and Oriental antiquities one with another. And further, by way of punishment for his discontinuing from the College, I would have him, immediately upon his being admitted Fellow, notwithstanding he was senior to divers who are now Masters of Arts in the College, to be admitted in *numerum Magistrorum*, but junior to all those that are now already Masters. I think it sufficient barely to express my desires in this business, not doubting but you will readily comply with them, as being grounded upon the plain letter of your statutes; whereof otherwise, were it ambiguous, you know your Patron hath the power of interpreting, and of exacting obedience in conformity to his interpretation. I think fit, also, that a copy of this my letter be entered into your Registry, whereby it may appear unto posterity upon what grounds both I and you proceeded in this business. So I leave you all to God's blessing, and rest

Your loving Friend and Visitor,

W. CANT.

May 20, 1636.

LETTER CXXII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. ccxxxii. p. 153.]

Salutem in Christo.

DIGNISSIME VOSSI,—Literas accepi tuas. Datæ sunt a. d. viii. Calend. Junias [p]. Literæ prægnantes erant. Nam ex illis semel apertis prodiere literæ Calendrinianæ [q] Regium nomen præferentes et petentes manum. Quas priores misit nescio. Has, sicut impensius desideratis, et ille pro se, et tu pro illo, in manus Regias dedi.

[p] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cclxxxviii. pp. 289, 290.]

[q] [Opera Calendrini, negotiatoris Amstelodamensis, usus est, ut videtur, Philippus Burlamachius, ad jocalia quædam Regis redimenda, pignori quondam obligata. Vide Commissionem de hac re Burlamachio datam apud Rymeri Fœd. VIII. iii. 60.]

Rex serenissimus, ut vidit quo tendebant literæ, tradidit eas Secretario Domino Joanni Coco, a quo puto responsum potest Calendrinus expectare. Mihi enim nullum dedit Rex, nec ad me pertinet in rebus ad monilia et pecunias spectantibus responsa dare. Hoc tamen tibi ausim dicere, nisi admodum falsa mihi memoria nimis labilis suggerat, Calendrinus parum candide se gessit, in negotio de Monilium Jocaliumque Regiorum restitutione. Nec hoc mihi tantum visum est, sed et aliis, et summis quidem regni proceribus. Sed audio nunc fere superatas esse illas difficultates, et, si ita res sit, gaudeo. Sin aliter, non habeo, quo te amplius detineam. Nam quo in loco res Burlamachianæ jam sunt, ego plane nescio. Scio quod scribis, Calendrinum in Bataviam profectum, ad expediendum Regium negotium. Si ille iterum operam det ad impediendum, sub nescio quali prætextu, (sicut nonnulli apud nos prudentes augurantur), quid est, quod ego illi in gratiam præstare possim? Spero meliora de persona et familia, tam bene de te merente. Et si quid possim pro Calendrino, nihil prætermittam, ne occasionem ipsam, semel si constiterit sedulam illum Regio negotio navare operam. Hoc quamprimum te volui scire, literas Calendrinas in manus Regias pervenisse. Vale.

Sic jubet tibi amicissimus,

W. CANT.

Ex ædibus meis Lamb.
Jun. 9, st. nostro, 1636.

LETTER CXXIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I will not acknowledge your ill memory, but I am glad your good one did a little fail you, that so I might hear of you the sooner. And your letter being about nothing else but this one business, I shall not fail to do as much as my Lady of Leicester[r] hath by you

[r] [The Lady Dorothy Percy, wife of Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester. Her request related to the payment of arrears due to her husband from the Treasury. See her Letter to Wentworth. (Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 45.)]

entreated of me; and if she send at any time, I shall let her know how earnestly your Lordship hath dealt with me about it. This to your letter. But I have somewhat else for you. Here are letters come from Secretary Coke to my Lord Treasurer, showing the King's dislike of the City's offer both for the sum and the manner of payment [s]. Now you see what our omission hath caused, that I told you of at our parting. And no more can be done till we speak with his Majesty.

The mischief which the most Christian Turks did about Plymouth is most true. And I pray God it do no mischief about our shipping business this ensuing year.

I have within these two days received letters out of Ireland from my Lord Primate. All is naught there. His letters are three sides of a paper in his small close hand. All the proceedings set down at large. If the relation be true, the Provost is much to blame [t]. The business is now brought to me, which I am most sorry for, in regard I know how things are between them two. I send you no cōpy of this large letter, because the Primate writes, he hath sent you one himself. One good circumstance is in it, and not many more; he desires me to speak with your Lordship about it (that I cannot now do but by letters), and that I would determine nothing till your Lordship's coming over; which desire of his is most welcome to me, and I was from the first line's reading resolved to

[s] [This appears to have been an offer made by the City of London towards the expenses of the plantation at Londonderry. Wentworth, in his reply, vindicates the course pursued by the Londoners. (Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 25.)]

[t] [The history of the transaction here referred to is detailed at length by Dr. Elrington (Life of Ussher, pp. 191—198). The facts were these:— A Senior Fellowship was vacant in Dec. 1635. Chappell, the Provost, passed over Hoyle, Pheasant, and Cullen, who were notoriously negligent in attending chapel, and proposed instead Mr. Ware. An inhibition was issued to stay this proceeding, to which Chappell submitted. It must be further mentioned that, by Charter, the right of election was vested in the Provost and four Senior Fellows. Chappell, fearing that the power of election would cease, as the number of Fellows was rapidly diminishing, proposed a repeal of the Statute, in which he was supported by the two Senior Fellows. A visitation was then held, and the Fellows, Newman and Conway, who voted with him, expelled. At the same visitation, 'Hoyle and Pheasant, two of the petitioning Fellows, were appointed Senior Fellows, and with them Ware, Cullen having been passed over.' It appears that within the next ten months 'some reconciliation had taken place between the Visitors and the Provost' 'by the restoration of Newman and Conway, and the expulsion of Pheasant.' Such disturbances were prevented for the future by the Archbishop giving the College a new Charter and body of Statutes, which, after some difficulties, and a liberal exercise of the royal prerogative on the part of Wentworth, were accepted June 5, 1637, and Cullen, at the same time, elected Senior Fellow.]

have done it unasked. But though upon the former ground I send you not the letter, yet I here send you a copy of the Visitors' last act against the two Senior Fellows, that joined with the Provost in this business, and himself. I hope at your return you will be able so to moderate things, that I from you may find what is fittest for me publicly to decree, to prevent the like mischief hereafter, and to settle this as well as may be.

When I had written thus far, a petition came to me from the Provost. The papers sent me are long, and I can say nothing of them till I have read them. But there is mention that the Lords Justices and Council have transmitted the whole proceedings to your Lordship and the King. And if you think fit to leave me out, I shall be right glad of it.

I hope you are welcome into the North. You must excuse me to Sir Philip Mainwaring; I would have written to any man else, but to my Lord of Cork in such business I cannot; but I can ever rest

Your Lordship's loving and faithful Friend,

W. CANT.[u]

LETTER CXXIV.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I begin at the end of your last letter[x], where you tell me you will not detain me longer, because you know I will be busied about small matters at Oxford with great care. 'Tis most true, the matters are small in themselves, but to me they have been great, and I am most heartily glad they are over[y].

Your letters came to me very seasonably. For, had they

[u] [This letter is without date, but Wentworth's answer to it is dated Aug. 17, 1636, which fixes it to within a few days.]

[x] [Written Aug. 26. See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 27, 28.]

[y] [This refers to the reception of the King and Queen at Oxford. See Hist. of Chancellorship, Works, vol. v. pp. 148, seq.]

come to me one hour later, I could have had no opportunity to speak with the King, as you desire, for some mark of his favour to be set, and now, upon you. I moved fully, both in general, and for the particular you mention[z]. His Majesty's answer was, that he would do that which should strengthen you enough against any practising here. But commanded me to tell you, that for the particular, and all that concerned it, he would give you answer himself so soon as he came to his next place of leisure.

For the case of the Lord of St. Alban's in particular, I heard Mr. Secretary Coke say, he had much to write to you. So to him I refer that.

To your former letter[a], and the great care you expressed concerning the business of the shipping, and manner of defending the west coast, and about the foreign affairs in this ticklish business between Spain and France, I can say no more but this; I took occasion to show both those passages to the King at Woodstock, and the King bid me thank you, and tell you it was a very honest letter.

I am now this Wednesday morning at an end of my troublesome business, and not at leisure to write to any man but yourself, for I am extreme weary. So I leave your Lordship to all God's blessings upon you, and shall ever be found

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Oxford, Aug. ult. 1636.

LETTER CXXV.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 36, 37.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am heartily sorry for the difference that is fallen out between my Lord Primate and the Visitors of the College near Dublin, and the Provost and

[z] [This was that he might be created an Earl. This title was not conferred on him till some years later.]

[a] [Written Aug. 17. See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.]

some Senior Fellows there [b]. This unhappy difference began, as I take it, while your Lordship was there, but I am confident it had never grown to this height, had not your Lordship come thence. It is in my judgment a great business in itself, that the prime prelates of the kingdom, and the Provost of the College, should be at such an eager difference in the open face of that state, and in view of so many Romanists as swarm there, and cannot but look upon it with joy. But it is far more dangerous in the consequence, if I much mistake not. For that College, as your Lordship hath often acknowledged unto me, both by letters and otherwise, having been as ill-governed as any in Christendom, or worse, will never be able to recover and settle to be a good seminary for that Church, if both the power and credit of the Provost be not upheld by his superiors; and should a Provost, that is otherwise vigilant and careful, err in some circumstantial business, it is far better for the public, if not to maintain his errors, yet to pass by them, rather than to give countenance and encouragement to such young heads, as seek for no other liberty, than that which may make way for licentiousness.

My Lord, upon this ground I could heartily wish the heats, which I doubt have been in this business, had been forborne, or that yet your Lordship could bring it to that temper, that both parties would lay down the cause, and not put me to give a public decision, which, as this case stands, may do some hurt, which way soever the justice of the cause, upon full evidence, shall sway my judgment. But since the first of these my wishes is now impossible, and that I can very hardly hope for the happiness of the second, I have been at the pains to enable myself, as well as I can, to give a final sentence and decision in the cause; and have read over all the letters and papers very carefully which were sent to myself, either from the Lord Primate, or from Mr. Provost, or that were delivered in unto me by young Pheasant at his late being here; as also all those papers which were sent from the Council-table to your Lordship, and by you delivered to me; so that now, if it must needs come to the giving of a public sentence, I am almost ready for it.

Yet one thing there is remaining, which I think very neces-

[b] [See above, p. 464.]

sary to be done in point of common and indifferent justice, before I give my determination; which is, that a narration of the fact be agreed upon by all parties, that none of them may say, that that upon which I ground my sentence is mistaken. To this end I have, out of all the papers that have come to my hands, drawn a brief history of the fact from first to last, with reference to the several papers for proofs, by letters and other marks. This recital of the fact, and all the papers ready marked to your hand, I send your Lordship in this packet. It is a very brief one, and therefore first I desire your Lordship to read it over, and compare what you doubt with the papers; then I humbly desire your Lordship to call all parties before you, at some time of leisure, such as you have, and let them read it; and if they agree to it, as a full and true narration of the fact, then I desire they may all sign it, for I cannot decide anything till I have a state of the question agreed on before me; but in case they differ in any material circumstance, then I heartily pray you, that they may clear their own doubts, and set the fact so down, as that they may agree upon it, and sign it; and so soon as that is done, and the fact sent signed unto me, I shall proceed to sentence with all indifferency, and without respect of persons.

I am further to acquaint your Lordship, that I have herewith sent a paper of all such objections as have come to my hands, and the answers to them, that you may see the cause as fully as I hitherto do. And because the Provost was referred by the sentence of the Visitors to the King, I have acquainted his Majesty with so much of the cause as is yet certainly known unto me, who is not pleased with these differences, but hath commanded me to proceed as the justice of the cause shall lead me, which circumstance I thought fit to make known unto your Lordship. These are therefore heartily to pray you, that if you can make a peaceable end, and such as may stand with the good government of the College, and freedom of their statutes, and prevent my decision for peace sake, that your Lordship would do it. For then I know your wisdom will so moderate it, as that you will make no end, but such as shall be best for the condition of these times and that kingdom. But if either your Lordship can

make no such fit end, or that you think it better a legal decision be made, then I beseech your Lordship send me the fact agreed on, and I will send my decision, with all the convenient speed I can. Thus not doubting of your Lordship's love to me, and care of this troublesome business, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your Lordship's most loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Croydon, 18th October, 1636.

LETTER CXXVI.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Parr's Life, Letter clxxxix. p. 482.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have been put to no small pains, considering my other occasions, to read over, and in a manner to study the several letters and other papers, which have been sent and come to my hands, some from your Grace, some from the Provost and Fellows that join with him; some from Pheasant and the other party; and some from the Lords Justices and Council there to the Lord Deputy, and from his Lordship to me; and all of them about the late unhappy difference fallen between the Visitors of the College near Dublin and the Provost. The more carefully I have read over these papers, the more (I clearly confess to your Grace) I am troubled at the business, and could heartily wish some friendly way were thought on there, to prevent a formal and legal decision by me. Of which yet seeing so little hope as I do, I have taken all the pains which I can, preparatory to a final sentence. For I have very carefully, and with all indifferency, drawn a brief history of the fact and the whole proceedings, with relation in the margent to every several paper that hath come to my hands. A copy of this brief, together with all the several papers to which it relates, I have sent to my Lord Deputy, and desired him to show it to your Grace, and all the other parties whom it concerns: to this end, that if your Lordship and they agree upon the fact, I may have it returned unto me, and go on to my decision. But if

you agree not upon the fact, as I have set it down, that then you may there settle any difference, and agree upon it, that no one whom it concerns may say I had not a right state of the question before me. When this is done, I shall go on to do my duty with justice to all parties, as far as I can apprehend the cause, and as far as my learned counsel here shall be able to advise me. But I cannot but still wish, and that very heartily, that my decision may be prevented by the care and wisdom of my Lord Deputy, and the moderate and prudent respects of the parties interessed, which I presume your Grace will further. For it appears very ill to his Majesty (who was of necessity to be made acquainted with the business, because the censure of the Provost, if he deserve it, is referred to himself), and must needs appear so to all wise men, both here and there, that such a difference concerning young men newly started up from boys, should cause so great a disturbance among grave and wise men, as this hath done. And 'tis somewhat too that the Romanists, which swarm in those parts, have such an occasion as this difference to please themselves withal. My hopes are great in your Grace's moderation; but if all fail, I shall make a binding decision so soon as ever the state of the business is sent me back. So wishing your Grace all health and happiness, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Croydon, Oct. 18, 1636.

LETTER CXXVII.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 12—14.]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c.—I have received your kind letters [c], and read in them the death of Dr. Byrd [d], who hath taken a great deal of pains, and done a great deal of service in your school at Reading, and hath brought up

[c] [See Bruce's Account of Laud's Benefactions, p. 11.]

[d] [Mr. Bruce describes Dr. Andrew Byrd as "a man of considerable attainments, who united the professions of pedagogue and physician, and was well thought of in both of them." He died Nov. 28.]

divers of your sons, and some of them are at this day very able men to do God, the King, and the Church, service. And, if you desire the flourishing of that school, and the like good to be continued to your children hereafter, it will lie upon you, by the advice of your friends, and the best care yourselves can take, to fit yourselves with an able and a painful man, that will be contented to do as Dr. Byrd did in his beginnings. And, to do him right that is gone, I do not think it will be an easy thing in all respects to equal him; but what help or assistance I can give you in that, or anything else that may do good to the town, I shall, neither now, nor at any time else while I live, be wanting. Besides, you are much bound to his Majesty, that he hath been pleased to descend so low, as by his Secretary to take care for the well-fitting and furnishing of that your school; for which I purpose, God willing, in your names, on Sunday next, to give his Majesty thanks, and withal to acquaint him, how ready and careful you are to conform to such directions as he was pleased to give you by Mr. Secretary [e].

Two things there are, which will be great hindrances to the getting of an able schoolmaster into that place. The one is, the poorness of the stipend, not exceeding, as I remember, 10*l.* per annum [f]. The other is, that the house, which heretofore belonged to the schoolmaster, and stood very conveniently for him, you have neglected, when the time was, to renew and continue in your hands to the schoolmaster's use. So that now, there being no house for him, and the times being so chargeable for all things of necessary use, yourselves must needs conceive it will be a thing of great difficulty to get a sufficient and a careful man that will be content to reside upon the school for such maintenance, unless you can think upon some way how to recover that house, or another, and to make some addition to increase his means, which I refer to your consideration; and, in the meantime, I shall do the best I can to inform myself, and provide you, of as able a man as I can get.

I pray give me leave to put you in mind, that you have no

[e] [See the King's Letters in Bruce, p. 10.]

[f] [Laud afterwards, by deed of gift to the Corporation of Reading, settled (among other charities) the sum of 20*l.* yearly on the Master of the school. This sum, by a recent decree of the Court of Chancery, is increased to 50*l.* (See Bruce, pp. 25—52.)]

preferment for your school, but only for two places into Saint John's College in Oxford; and, by God's blessing, of later times some of your sons have thrived extraordinarily well there; and at this time there are two hopeful young men in the college[g], and therefore I think you shall do very advisedly to write to the President and senior Fellows to name some able and sufficient man to you, which I presume they will not refuse to do, and take it kindly besides. And this I assure you, that, as well as I love that place, if they have not a sufficient man to send you, they shall not send unto you any one unsufficient, or any way unfitting. And I do hereby pray you, together with those letters of your own, to send these of mine, in which I have desired the President[h], for my sake, to take all the care that possibly he can, and to fit your school with a Saint John's man, if it may be, or else to provide you some able and sufficient young man in the University, whose fitness I will examine myself, before I will absolutely recommend him to you.

So, with thanks for your kind remembrance of me in the close of your letters, and giving you hereby assurance that I shall always be most ready to serve the town in all things which are within my power, I leave you all to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Croydon, Decemb. 1, 1636.

To my very loving Friends, the Mayor and chief Burgesses of the town of Reading, in Berks, These.

LETTER CXXVIII.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 17, 18.]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c.,—Upon the receipt of your first letters to me after the death of your worthy schoolmaster, and my ancient acquaintance, Dr. Byrd, I writ to

[g] ["William Brackston and William Creed were the young men referred to. The former . . . became one of Laud's Chaplains; the latter was an eloquent preacher and a divine of great eminence."—Bruce, note to this passage.]

[h] [Richard Baylie. See above, vol. iii. p. 184; vol. v. p. 143.]

St. John's College, in Oxon, as yourselves know; to this end, that if they could furnish your town with an able and sufficient schoolmaster, I might not be driven to look further. The rather, because of the relation which our worthy founder hath left between that college and your school.

In these my letters I laid so strict a charge upon the President and senior Fellows of that House, that they should name no man to me for whose both honesty and discretion, as well as sufficiency in learning, they would not be as answerable to me, as I must be to the town; as that I thought it fit, more letters than one should pass between us before I would resolve to recommend any to your choice. In this respect, if I have made you stay a little the longer, yet I hope you will take it kindly, partly because you may by this perceive, how careful I am to name no man to you, till I have taken him and his worth into serious consideration; and partly, because this stay can be no great hindrance to your children, Christmas being near, in which time there is no great schooling.

I have seen the letter which you sent to the College[i]. It is a very kind one, and with a great deal of respect both to myself and them, for which I heartily thank you. And you can never do yourselves, nor the town, more right, than to think upon some way for the bettering of the schoolmaster's allowance; for till that be done, you may, by favour and God's blessing, get a sufficient schoolmaster; but the place of itself, as it now stands, will never invite an able man to continue and reside upon it. And whereas you write, that you will consider of some encouragement by adding to the schoolmaster to hold up the reputation of your school; I do not only thank you heartily for it, but do hereby promise you, that if I live to outgrow the great expenses I have been at, I will do somewhat also myself, being sensible to this day what it is to be bred under an ill schoolmaster[j].

Now, after all deliberations, I do hereby recommend unto you the bearer hereof, Mr. Page. He is a Master of Arts, and

[i] [No copy of this has been found. The reply of the President and Fellows of St. John's is printed by Mr. Bruce, pp. 14—16.]

[Lloyd (Memoirs, p. 225) states that this "very severe schoolmaster promised him that greatness which he afterwards enjoyed, saying to him, 'When you are a little great man, remember Reading School.'"]

Fellow of St. John's College [k]; which he is willing to leave, and reside upon the school. He was bred at a very good school himself, and therefore knows the better how to be a schoolmaster. Besides this, I have received from Mr. President and the Fellows a very large testimony of his sufficiency in that kind of learning, as also of his honesty and soberness in conversation. He was with me at Croydon, and by that exercise of his which I myself saw, I hope he will answer the testimony given him. And, therefore, I do hereby recommend him to you, and pray you to make choice of him for your schoolmaster. And, when he is in that place, I shall not fail to lay all my powers upon him, to be diligent and careful in the discharge of his duty to yourselves and your children. And yet, notwithstanding this testimony given me concerning him, I shall desire you to try him (if you think fit) by any or all of your three learned ministers that live with you in the town, whom I doubt not but he will satisfy. Thus, with the remembrance of my love to yourselves, and my daily prayers for the good of that place, I leave you all to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving and assured Friend,

W. CANT.

Croydon, December 15, 1636.

LETTER CXXIX.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 50.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, with my due respect unto your Grace remembered,—I have often importuned your Grace, by myself and my noble Lord the Lord Deputy of Ireland, either solely to undertake, or

[k] [William Page was admitted Scholar of St. John's in 1628 from Merchant Taylors' School. He was ejected from his Mastership in 1644, and became M.D. in 1653, "which renders it probable that he supported himself during the usurpation by the practice of physic; at the Restoration he procured a writ of restitution to the school, but it was abandoned; and on the 6th March, 166$\frac{2}{1}$, he resigned his right, probably for a consideration."—Bruce, p. 19.

He must not be mistaken, as he is by Antony Wood, for William Page, Fellow of All Souls. See above, vol. v. p. 39.]

graciously to assist to procure his Majesty to accept of my submission, and to cease his prosecution against me, which without any profit at all to his Majesty, hath wasted my body, mind, studies, and estate to nothing.

Your Grace's answer was, that the business was in another hand, by his Majesty's knowledge and direction, and so long (without his Majesty's command to that effect) your Grace thought it inconvenient to interpose therein; but if that were altered, and that occasion removed, your Grace would either advance my petition to that purpose, or return me a reasonable answer.

About the first week in November last, the Lord Cottington, by his letter, did quite discharge himself from any more dealing with my business, wishing me to make use of some other mediator (naming none), not without giving me some hope that his Majesty was not unwilling to commiserate my condition. But upon the receipt of this letter I was so eagerly called upon to answer more fully, and to be examined upon interrogatories in the second cause, that I suspected his Majesty might desire some satisfaction therein by my oath, his Majesty being informed underhand, that by my examination and my servants' much might be discovered; and therefore I resolved to give his Majesty in all humility satisfaction therein, before I troubled your Grace to mediate for me, which clearly and ingenuously, more than by any law I was bound, I have performed.

I humbly, therefore, beseech your Grace to tender my submission unto the King, which is as large and ample as ever any defendant in this High Court made unto any King of England: After answer and examination upon oath, that is, to submit myself wholly to his royal pleasure to do and abide what his Majesty pleaseth, rather than any longer in this kind *placitare cum domino rege*, to appear in any court of justice a defendant against my sovereign lord and master. This is the most that ever was offered by any defendant after answer, and was not (for aught appears in the abstract of the records of that court) ever refused by any King; with this, that howbeit I have no estate, nor ever had, to make any present satisfaction, yet in time (which is all one for his Majesty's occasions) I will truly perform whatsoever his

Majesty shall require or intimate. I may not, were it in case of life, press your Grace to any act that your reason (which as in most things else, so in this particular especially, must be clearer than mine) shall persuade your Grace to be unfitting for your Grace to undertake. But I do humbly move your Grace to deliver and improve my submission to his Majesty, and give your Grace this assurance, that if your Grace shall effect it, upon what conditions his Majesty shall prescribe, there is no subject in England shall have so merited of or obliged, as your Grace shall thereby do

Your Grace's unfortunate Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, this 28th of Decemb. 1636.

To the Most Reverend Father in God, his very good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER CXXX.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 51.]

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, with my due respects remembered unto your Grace,—

This year having lain heavy, by reason of the infection upon all the parts of my diocese, my officers have not returned unto me any particulars worthy to be represented unto your Grace.

And this hath been a main reason why my brethren of the clergy are behind in their payments for the church of St. Paul's. But upon the receipt of your Grace's letter about ten days since, which enabled me to appoint collectors (the registers in some places being not responsal), I have put the business to that forwardness, that (I will hope) the money with all the arrears shall be paid in at the furthest in Easter term.

One of my clergy in Bedfordshire (a learned and pious gentleman[1]) had set up a stone upon pillars of brick for his communion-table, believing it to have been the altar-stone,

[1] [Dr. Jasper Fisher. See Accounts of Province for 1636, above, vol. v. p. 343.]

whereas it was a plain grave-stone. This raising up a rumour in that country, where some of the preciser sort are averse to his Majesty's just supplies in the ship-money, I caused it quietly to be removed, and the ancient communion-table to be placed instead of the same, without further questioning of the party (whom I found harmless and otherwise deserving), to avoid rumours in the country. Which yet I make bold to write unto your Grace, lest it should be more tragically represented.

Some small quarrels have risen in the southern parts of my diocese about some ministers forcing of the people to receive at the rails (which I have procured to be placed about the holy table), and the people's refusing so to do. Wherein I spare to settle any order, not as doubting that both priest and people are herein in the wrong, but as not knowing myself what is the right where the Canon doth not prescribe it. For otherwise, it is no honour to the minister to have their people to come so near the holy table in their receiving of the Eucharist, nor any disparagement, but more respect than can be precedented by antiquity, for the people to be permitted to approach so nigh. It was in former times the special privilege of kings and princes.

I have left the ministers to their own discretion, so as they did not refuse the Communion (which some began to do) to such as would not receive at the rails. If your Grace shall send me any directions herein, I do not find but all my diocese will readily obey them.

I humbly crave your Grace's pardon for being thus troublesome in matters of no greater consequence. And beseeching God to bless your Grace with many new years, do humbly take my leave, as being

Your Grace's humble Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, 29th of December, 1636.

To the Most Reverend Father in God,
his very good Lord, the Lo. Archbpp. of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER CXXXI.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 52.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received by Mr. Ireland's [m] hands two letters from your Lordship; the one of them contains the account of your diocese at this time to be given to his Majesty; whereon, first, I thank your Lordship for the care you have taken for St. Paul's, and the answer you are pleased to give to my letters about it; and if that money come in Easter term it will do very well.

For the clergyman in Bedfordshire which your Lordship saith set up a grave-stone instead of an altar-stone for the communion-table, I know not what desert the man may be of, but surely, though you give him a very good testimony, yet I must needs think this a very bold and unadvised part in him to attempt a business of this nature without the knowledge and approbation of his Ordinary.

As for the differences that are arisen in the southern part of your Lordship's diocese, about the people's being urged to receive at the rails which encompass the communion-table [n],

[m] [See above, p. 405.]

[n] [The following petition and reply of the Archbishop, preserved in St. John's College, Cambridge, may be introduced in illustration of this passage:—

"To the most reverend Father in God William, Lord Arch-Bp. of Cant. his Grace, Primate & Metropolitan of all England, the humble petition of ye inhabitants of Wellyn in Hertfordshyre.

"Humbly complayninge shew,

"That whereas your Graces petitioners repayringe to bee partakers of ye holy Sacrament, according to the uniform & anchyente custome of our parish & ye parishes adjoyninge where wee live, w^h^. is to assemble our selves in the body of the chancele, meekly kneeling on our knees: Wee have there three tymes, to ye greate greife of our soules & disturbance of ye congregation at y^t^ holy duty assembled, bine rejected, & by Mr. Thomas Wiltshyre, Rector of our Ch, and Mr. Judson his Curate, denyed the holy Sacrament. The reason, they sayde, was because wee came not to the rayles to receive: Whereas wee had not, nor as yet have, any commande to alter our anchyent forme, nor any satisfaction to ye reason of our capacityes soe to do, although we have often requested not onely our Minist. but also have repayred both to the register & divers surrogates of ye Ecclesiastical courts, & also to Sr John Lambe and Dr. Holdsworth. Now wee, y^r^ Graces humble petitioners, hatinge faction, and ever havinge been persons conformable to ye orders & government of ye Ch. of England established, & beinge timorous of introducing any new form in matters of religion established, unless we have received an authority commanding us therein.

Our humble petition to your Grace then is, if you would bee pleased to take knowledge of this our lamentable grievance and distraction, & y^t^ you woulde, for ye preventinge of all

it is a thing to which the canons of the Church doth not expressly reach, and therefore I shall fairly represent it to his Majesty, as your letter hath done it to me, and then expect his gracious direction, which so soon as I have received, I shall acquaint your Lordship with.

But, my Lord, your Lordship's second letters did not a little trouble me, because I cannot do all that they desire of me. And whereas your Lordship begins your letter, that you have oftentimes importuned me to assist your cause to the King for your dismission out of Star-Chamber; your Lordship cannot but know that I have done that often, and returned to your Lordship's several letters and petitions such answers as I was able to give from his Majesty. And how your Lordship used me at the close for all these services done, you best know, and I joy not to repeat.

And whereas you add, that you got the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland, his late being in these parts, to speak with me to the same purpose; my Lord did speak with me accordingly, and the answer which I gave his Lordship was, that I shall be very willing and ready to do your Lordship any service that is fit for me to appear in, and that may be done with preservation of his Majesty's honour and justice in a cause of this moment. And this answer I shall be ready to make good.

After this your Lordship tells me that my former answer to yourself was, that since his Majesty had put the business into another hand, it was no way convenient for me to meddle with that which his Majesty has wholly and solely put to another's care. Nor durst I be so bold with the King

further disturbances to our consciences & unity, give such farther order herein as to your Graces wisdom shall seem best, & y^t^ wee bee no longer without ye Sacram^t^, but to our unspeakable comforts agayne, according to the laws of this realme & customs of this Ch. established, bee made partakers, till there shall bee a law to the contrary declared to us, & as in duty bound wee shall ever pray, &c."

His answer:—

"I desyre Mr. Archdeacon Dr. Holdsworth to order Mr. Wiltshyre, parson of Wellyn within his Archdeaconry, to administer the communion duly & orderly to these petitioners & all other of his parish (they coming & presenting themselves as they ought) to receive it kneeling, though it bee in any part of the chancel, leavinge only such to come to the rayles & receiue as are willing so to do, & that neither Mr. Nash nor Mr. Hudson nor any other coming thither to preache, disturbe any of ye people, being conformable to the laws of this realm & canons & rubricks of ye Ch.; & if they shall not obey let mee bee acquainted with it."]

in a business of this nature. And your Lordship could not then deny but that my answer was reasonable. And whereas you add, that my Lord Cottington hath given over further meddling in the business; yet that is no warrant for me to take it on; besides, having moved so often for your Lordship, and not being able to effect your desire, made me fearful to adventure further.

Notwithstanding all this, I did make bold in all humble manner to present your petition to his Majesty, which when his Majesty had seen, he gave me this present answer, that my Lord Duke of Lennox [o] had lately moved him in this very particular, and that he had given him his final answer. I durst not presume to move his Majesty to know what that answer was, but I am confident my Lord Duke's Grace of Lennox either hath already or will speedily give your Lordship an account of it.

My Lord, this is all that I am able to write unto you in this great business, and therefore do pray you to take this which I have done as well as it is meant. And so wishing your Lordship health, and a happy new year, I leave you, &c.

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother.

Croydon, Jan. 6, 1636.

Endorsed: 'Januar. 6, 1636.
The copy of my Letter to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in answer of his Lordship's of Decemb. 28 and 29, &c.'

LETTER CXXXII.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 54.]

May it please your Grace,—I do humbly acknowledge your Grace's favour in the delivery of that paper enclosed unto his Majesty, and impute it unto mine own misfortune that it had no better success. I have sometimes this last summer troubled my Lord Duke of Lennox with representing unto his Majesty my apologies to some by-complaints made against me, and sometimes his Grace hath vouchsafed me answer by

[o] [See vol. iii. p. 229.]

word of mouth, but never by letter. Albeit of the nature of my last paper I never put any unto his Grace, or your Grace's, or any man's hands before, for it is a submission drawn by advice of counsel, (which peradventure if his Majesty had observed, his Majesty would have graciously vouchsafed to speak with the Lord Keeper [p] and his Attorney-General about the same), and so binding (being subscribed with my hand), that it is doubted I am not enabled to make any further defence unless it be returned. What his Majesty's final answer may be, I cannot guess, but do hope (in imitation of that God who is infinite in mercy and clemency) his Majesty will never make an end of his grace and goodness towards me, and the rather by means of your Grace's mediation in the behalf of

Your Grace's most unfortunate Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

To the Most Reverend Father in God, his very good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER CXXXIII.

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 55.]

May it please your Grace,—I most humbly thank your Grace for your letter; but being much afraid to be mistaken, I earnestly beseech your Grace to conceive that it was written, not that your Grace should subduct or withdraw, but, on the contrary side, that your Grace would be pleased to improve and declare unto his most excellent Majesty the nature of that submission I last tendered by your Grace's hands, which, by a kind of legal course, puts a power into his Majesty to declare his pleasure of me, and, stopping both mine own and the mouths of all men beside, leaves his Majesty upon record just and merciful to all posterity. This was that which Mr. Attorney Noy called for from the beginning, and had obtained upon the first motion, had not a great man (since dead) deterred me from this way, and put me into another course of composition. And therefore I humbly

[p] [Lord Keeper Coventry.]

beseech your Grace to press it home as far as you can, and as soon as you can, and to make me thereby your Grace's creature as long as I live. I would, understanding of your Grace's return to Lambeth, have waited upon your Grace in person, but that I am not able, diseases growing so fast upon me, and especially the greatest disease of all, weariness of life by reason of these misfortunes. I hear it from many hands, that his Majesty should be informed, that I should report, I should never be free from lawsuits as long as his Majesty lived. God is my witness I never said so, or conceived any such words, in my life; but did absolutely believe, until the middle of November last, that all lawsuits between his Majesty and me had been fully concluded and ended. And I had been more mad than of late I am painted forth, to have treated with the Lord Cottington upon such terms as I did, if I had harboured any such conceit. An imprisonment, in such a case, had been more advantageous for me than a composition.

Lastly, I humbly thank your Grace for reproving of Shelley's boldness and impudency against me. He hath by copyhold but three acres of ground in this town, is (for purse-taking) bound to good behaviour for ever, and a common drunkard as any in this country: and, therefore, no competent cessor of the lord of the manor, nor accuser of the bishop of the diocese. I shall not be able to answer his railing speeches, because I know them not; his petition I shall disprove in every point that concerns me. The sums that I am cessed in, in the first and second cessment, will be found to differ more in form than in quantity [q].

This young man's course being contrary to the directions of your Lordships, and most prejudicial to his Majesty's service, to cess the lord of the manor for all his tenants; the latter cessment, directed by the sheriff, cessing the lords for what they hold only in their own hands, and the tenants for what they likewise hold and occupy; which, with me, comes to one and the same reckoning at the half-year's day.

[q] [Shelley was employed to assess Bishop Williams to the payment of ship-money. The Bishop, on demurring to the assessment, was called in question as an opponent of the tax.]

But, if it please your Grace, I am fain to digest a thousand of these affronts and injuries in a year, which I meet with upon all occasions from mean and sorry people, that conceive they may do anything against the Bishop of Lincoln.

Which will help to make my obligations stronger and faster unto your Grace, when, by your Grace's mediation, the King shall be pleased to receive me into some degrees of shelter and protection again, and to make me odious to the world and myself if I shall not remain

Your Grace's faithful Servant and Suffragan,

JO. LINCOLN.

Buckden, this 13th of Januar. 1636.

To the Most Reverend Father in God,
his very good Lord, the Lo. Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.

LETTER CXXXIV.

TO JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. mxxx. p. 56.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Since my late letter to your Lordship, I have received another from you by the hands of Mr. Ireland, bearing date the 13th of this present January, in which you write that your former letters were not that I should withdraw your petition which I had delivered to his Majesty, but that I should rather improve your suit therein contained. My Lord, I beseech you pardon me, for your former letters are expressly that it is doubted you are not enabled to make any further defence, unless it were returned. And surely, my Lord, I could not return it, but that I must withdraw it first.

But now, my Lord, I have once more done all that you desire at my hands, for I have withdrawn your petition, and returned it here inclosed; and, besides, I have pressed it also as far as I could, for I used all the motives you suggested to me in any of your late letters; and, to the end his Majesty might not think I was mistaken in anything, I first read unto him whatsoever concerned that business in words of

your own letters. His Majesty's answer was, that he gave me free leave to return your petition, but that he would return no other answer than he had already given to my Lord Duke of Lennox; and that that was his Majesty's final answer. And further, his Majesty hath commanded me not to trouble him any more in this business; and therefore I do heartily pray your Lordship that I may be no further pressed in it.

In the business of Shelley, I both spake and did what I thought just and fit for me, and if it were anything that gave your Lordship content, I am glad of it. I think some part of the business is referred to a further hearing before the Lords, at which time, if he be such a man as your Lordship describes him, and his petition delivered so false, your advantage will be greater against him. So I leave your Lordship to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

From Hampton Court,
January 17, 1636.

Endorsed: 'January 17, 1636.
The copy of my Letters in answer to my Lord Bishop of Lincoln's, bearing date January 13, 1636; and to another received January 10, but without date.'

LETTER CXXXV.

TO THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY[r].

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dccxxviii.]

S. in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c.—I have now, after my long pains and your as long expectation, finished the Statutes for the Church of Canterbury, according to the trust reposed in me by his Majesty, and the power which he was pleased to give me under the Broad Seal to perfect this work. Besides this stay by my pains, we have had other delays and trouble at the Seal, most men being in something

[r] [This letter was forwarded with the copy of the Statutes of Canterbury, printed in vol. v. pp. 506, seq.]

or other to seek how to dispose such a business as this, under his Majesty's confirmation, there having been but few books of this nature of later years brought to the Great Seal. But now (God be thanked) all doubts are removed, not only for these particular Statutes, but for any other which shall hereafter be finished, if so it please God to bless my undertakings. This copy of your Statutes I here send you by the hands of Dr. Warner[s], and hereby require you, in his Majesty's name, to keep safe this original book of Statutes, and to guide and govern yourselves, and all businesses concerning that Church, by these Statutes and no other. And to the end this book may be kept both safe and fair, you may transcribe such and so many copies out of it, for the daily use of the Dean and Chapter, as yourselves shall think fit, and to be kept in such hands only as by Chapter act you shall appoint. My Lord Keeper hath been very kind and careful in this business, as well to free you from a great deal of charge, as other trouble. And, therefore, I think you shall do very well to send up a letter of thanks to his Lordship. So God bless you in the government of that Church, that it may be (as it ought to be) an example to others. To His blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Jan. 26, 1636.

To my very loving Friends, the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, These.

LETTER CXXXVI.

TO THE PROVOST AND FELLOWS OF ETON COLLEGE.

[Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 532[t].]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations, &c.—You cannot but remember, that after my metropolitical visitation of your college at Eton was begun, there was delivered unto me a

[s] [Dr. John Warner, afterwards Bishop of Rochester.]
[t] [From Reg. Laud, fol. 259 a.]

petition from King's College in Cambridge, and another to his sacred Majesty, both concerning certain rights to the Fellowships of Eton, as they pretended; and the petition delivered to his Majesty was after sent unto me, with a reference under Secretary Windebank's hand, requiring me to take their cause into consideration, and to do them that justice, which upon due deliberation I should find did belong to them and their cause. Thereupon I had divers times cognizance of this cause in the presence of some, both of your and their societies, and heard at large both your and their counsel. But by reason of the shortness of my visitation, being unwilling to hold it much longer than the ordinary time of six months, and because of my other many and great occasions not suffering me to attend that business wholly, I was constrained to reserve this and all such businesses as were then depending before me, in the relaxation of my visitation aforesaid, to such other further and fit time, as I might have to end them. And having now maturely considered of the aforesaid petition of King's College, with all incidents thereunto belonging, and of all such answers as you, the Provost and Fellows of Eton, have given, I have now at last made my decision, with an injunction of obedience in time to come[u], and have sent it herewith unto you under my archiepiscopal seal, requiring you that it be registered at the end of your statute-book, and observed in all future elections of Fellows into that society; that so these two great bodies, which had one and the same royal founder, may, according to his will and frequent desires in your and their statutes, grow up into a nearer relation and amity one to, and with, the other, which God grant. So with my love remembered to you, I leave you all to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Martii 15, 1636.

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[u] [This Injunction is printed in vol. v. pp. 497, 498.]

LETTER CXXXVII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Reg. Laud, fol. 259 b.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—At this present I give no answer to any letter of yours, for I have answered all that are come to my hands, so that ball is at your foot; but high time is it that you had the new both Charter and Statutes for the College near Dublin. And I have herewith sent as followeth: First, I have sent your Lordship the Charter with his Majesty's hand to it; the Broad Seal must be put to it there; and your Lordship must, by your powerful way, gain the consent, or else we must think of another way; but this is thought here by far the best. With the Charter your Lordship shall find Mr. Attorney's directions under his own hands, for your guidance to the settling of it; the way that Sir Geo. Radcliffe thought upon at Croydon being not approved by the King's Counsel here, as I formerly writ unto you.

I have likewise sent you two fair copies of the Statutes for the College. That which hath his Majesty's name at the beginning and mine at the bottom of every page, must have the Broad Seal put to it, which must be fixed to the Confirmation at the end of the book; this Confirmation must be written in chancery hand, in the two spare leaves at the end of the book, and then be enrolled. I have sent you a copy of the same Confirmation which was joined to the Statutes of Canterbury, which, *mutatis mutandis*, is to be followed. This copy your Lordship shall find in the statute-book. Out of this original copy, the Provost is to transcribe one or more copies (as he shall think fit) for the daily use of the College; but this original is to lie safe in the College treasury, or place of evidences, to which they are to have recourse against any errors that may creep into transcribed copies.

The other fair copy is to remain with your Lordship and the State, that you may the better see the growth and increase of the College in government and good order, or the

contrary, and be the better able to apply, or call upon the Chancellor for remedies when any shall be necessary.

A third copy, on paper, I keep for my own use, and such as shall succeed me in that Chancellorship. So I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Mar. 21, 1636.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

TO DR. CHRISTOPHER POTTER, PROVOST OF QUEEN'S[x].

[Ellis's Original Letters, 3d Series, vol. iv. pp. 209, 210[y].]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—I am about to draw up my order for Worcester, and to settle peace between the Bishop, the City, and the Chapter, if I can[z]. In the meantime I am informed there is some flaw found in the lease of the rectory of Wimbledon, and that my Lord[a] is about to renew it again of your Church of Worcester. To this rectory, Putney and Mortlake are chapels of ease; and Mortlake hath been for divers years, and is at present, a place of great inconformity, and where usually such men are placed as will take little from your lessee, and live upon the humour of the people.

Upon this I have two requests to make to you. The one, that you would find a means to increase the stipend of the curate there, and at Putney also, and to make it certain. The other, that you would (as it well bescems you) take the nomination of the curates in both places to yourselves, and not to leave it to your tenant my Lord Wimbledon, or any other. And I shall expect to receive satisfaction from you in both these particulars, having acquainted his Majesty with them

[x] [Potter was also Dean of Worcester.]

[y] [From MSS. Harl. numb. 7001, art. 60.]

[z] [These Injunctions are printed in vol. v. pp. 490—492.]

[a] [Edward Cecil, created Visc. Wimbledon, July 25, 1626.]

already, and he approves them. Thus, not doubting of your care herein and ready performance, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 12, 1637.

To my very loving friend, Dr. Potter,
Provost of Queen's College in Oxon,
These.

LETTER CXXXIX.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. ccxlii. p. 160.]

Salutem in Christo.

VIR CLARISSIME,—Literæ tuæ, prout semper sunt, mihi gratissimæ fuerunt. Recepi eas per anni fere abhinc spatium[b], sed, ut libere dicam, quod veritas postulat, majóra negotia quolibet fere momento animum satis ad hoc officium propensum plane ad alia avocarunt.

In illis gratularis huic regno, mihique, quod jus lustrandi Academias Præsulibus Cantuariensibus ab antiquis temporibus debitum revocavi[c]. Opus sane arduum, et revocare quod diu intermissum, et exercere quod semper invisum. Sed quum misericordia Dei, atque optimi Regis justitia, potestas visitandi Academia mihi, et [prædecessoribus[d]] meis multis retro annis debita jam denuo decreta sit, dabo operam, et spero non inutilem, ut Academiæ floreant, et ut Academici moribus cultiores, doctrina politiores, Religione primævis temporibus conformiores evadant. Et ut ab ineuntibus studiis ea principia imbibant, quæ et Dei cultum, et Ecclesiæ pacem, et Academiarum honorem promoveant. Nec quidquam verius est, quam illud, quod scribis, humana instituta omnia, etiam optima, facile per incuriam in pejus vergere. Quid igitur fit, quum malitia nonnullorum, qui inordinata tantum amant, aliorum incuriæ superadditur?

[b] [Vide G. J. Vossii Epist. cclxxxix. p. 290.]

[c] [Vide Diarium, Jun. 22, 1636.]

[d] [Hanc vocem e conjectura supplevimus. In Edit. hujus Epist. apud Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt. num. dxliii. signa lacunæ hic inserta sunt.]

Goffius[e] hic interfuit diu a receptis literis vestris, sed adeo occupatum me invenit expectatione adventus Regis et Reginæ, ut vacuum eum remittere necesse fuit. Gradum tantum Professoris in Theologia obtinuit rogatu (jussu, i. e.) Frederici Principis Electoris Palatini, qui una cum rege Oxoniam petiit[f]. Præco est Goffius ille virtutum tuarum; nec immerito, sensit enim et fatetur, quantum tibi devinctus sit, dum Amstelodami Musis inserviit.

De Calendrino[g] nolo ego plura, et, quod aperte satis in scriptis tuis video, tu forte de illo pauciora, si quæ mihi, et tibi quoque innotuissent. Nolo tamen, ut illud ullo modo molestiam tibi creare possit. Soleo enim ego, quæ ab amicis tui simillimis in gratiam alicujus tertiæ personæ scripta sunt facere, si possim et justa sint, sed deliberare, si suspecta. Ignoscas, quæso, moram harum literarum, et quando iterum placuerit scribere, sperabo me posse, tu autem semper puta me velle multo citius responsum dare. Vale, et dum quotidie Deum colis, sis, quæso, memor in orationibus

Amici tui perquam fidelis,

W. CANT.

Dat. ex ædibus
Lambeth. Junii 1637.

Oro ut globos terrestrem et cœlestem magnitudine ampliori, topographia aliisque descriptionibus erudite delineatos, et pro more undique aptatos, placeat tibi emere, et ad me mittere. Vir iste mercator nobilis, et mihi perquam gratus Job Harbye pretium tibi solvet. Solum cupio opera vestra, uti ne fraudem patiatur in re illi non satis nota.

LETTER CXL.

TO SIR JOHN BRIDGEMAN[h].

[Reg. Laud, fol. 277.]

S. in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I here send you a petition inclosed, and am content to hope that the suggestions therein contained are not true; but certainly, if they be, the Church power is cut

[e] [Vide supra, p. 347.]
[f] [Vide Wood, Fast. Ox. i. 494.]
[g] [Vide supra, p. 462.]
[h] [Chief Justice of the Court of Marches in Wales.]

very short by the Court of the Marches and the proceedings there[i]; that a seat which stands disorderly cannot be regulated in an Archbishop's metropolitical visitation, but the churchwardens must be troubled for it in that court; which is the ready way to deter all churchwardens from doing their duty, and making any presentments in the court ecclesiastical. I heartily pray you to let me hear from you what truth is in this petition, that so I may know the better what course is fit for me to take, before the ecclesiastical jurisdiction be quite swallowed up. So not doubting but that you will be pleased to give me a full relation of the business, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 1, 1637.

To my very worthy friend, Sir John Bridgeman, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Courts of Marches in Wales.

LETTER CXLI.

TO THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR, LORD TREASURER OF SCOTLAND.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 163, 164.]

S. in Christo.

MY GOOD LORD,—Your Lordship's of June 26 came to my hands on Sunday, July 2; and they were the first I received out of Scotland since your return thither, save only that I had one from the King's Advocate[j] in answer to mine, and one from my Lord of Brechin[k]. And I confess I did and do a little wonder at it, considering how many letters I writ, and what their contents were. So I was glad to see one come from your Lordship, till I read it, but then I confess I was much troubled to see things go on there in such a way. For I thought we had been happily come to an end of those troubles.

My Lord, I have much ado to read some words in your

[i] [See Accounts of Province for 1636, above, vol. v. p. 345.]

[j] [Sir Thomas Hope, a secret favourer of the Presbyterians.]

[k] [Walter Whitford.]

handwriting, and some things concerning that kingdom I understand not. Between these two if I mistake anything, I heartily pray you it may go *pro non scripto*. And now for instance, I confess I do not well understand what that particular is, at which my Lord of St. Andrews[1] checks; but whatever it be, I am sorry his Grace will not privately debate it before it come in public; or, since he cannot gain his Commission in Exchequer, he will take a course before the Commission of Surrenders, that may be prejudicial to the archbishopric. For I hope he will not think of any advantageous way to particular persons with disadvantage to the public.

His Majesty's intention certainly is, that all mortifications to bishoprics, or other pious uses, should have all immunities for the advantage of the Church that may be had. And if my Lord of St. Andrews, either by the Commission to which his Majesty's hand was gotten, or by valuation before the Commission of Surrenders, depart from the good of the Church in the particular of the priory, I must be sorry for it, but certainly the King's bounty must not be abused. Only I beseech your Lordship look carefully to it, that my Lord Archbishop have no prejudice; for it seems exceeding strange to me, that anything should be attempted by him in this, that is not pregnantly for the Church's good.

For the Commission of Surrenders[m], you know my opinion of it, and of whom I learned it. And I hope, before these letters come to you, you will understand his Majesty's pleasure concerning that Commission from the Earl of Sterling.

To your Lordship's demands and desires I give you briefly this answer.

First, I heartily thank you, that you are minded once more in a private way, to move my Lord Chancellor[n] to alter his intended course by debate there, or from hence (if there be any use of me), and I heartily pray you so to do. And if you think fit, you may tell him, 'tis my desire as well as yours. For I have not at this time written any one word of this business.

[1] [John Spottiswood.]

[m] [See an account of this Commission in Collier's Church History, vol. ii. p. 756.]

[n] [The Archbishop of St. Andrews.]

Secondly, If the King's intentions for laying the foundation of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews will, in this way my Lord Chancellor now takes, be wholly eluded, you must by all good and fair means prevent it. And if you cannot so do it, you must acquaint his Majesty with it, before it be too late [o].

Thirdly, I do hereby heartily pray you to stop all things which come to your knowledge, if you find the Church prejudged, or anything intended contrary to the general course introduced in favour of the Church. And I assure myself, that his Majesty will thank you for the service.

Lastly, Your Lordship did understand me right, and I am still of opinion, that more care is to be taken in the settling of all these Church businesses, for the dignity and advantage of the places themselves. And that course, I beseech you, hold for those things which come within your power. And yet I shall still desire the present incumbent may be considered also, where it may be without prejudice to the place itself in perpetuity.

This hath been one of the heaviest terms that ever I endured, and it seems you have had troubles enough. The best is, the remembrances which I last put into your hands may stay for times of more leisure. The sickness increases sorely, yet I cannot get out of London. God bless you with health in those parts, in which prayers I rest

Your Lordship's loving poor Friend to serve you,

Lamb. July 4, 1637. W. CANT.

LETTER CXLII.

TO THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 165, 166.]

For the Commission of Tithes, I ever was against it in my own judgment, and therein I agreed with my Lords of St. Andrews and Ross, since neither of them hath given me sufficient reason, why I should change my mind; yet if the

[o] [The King proposed to rebuild the Cathedral of St. Andrews, and to annex thereto the Abbey of St. Andrews, which was in the possession of the Duke of Richmond. Laud's share in this business was made one of the charges of the Scotch against him. See above, vol. iii. pp. 310—313.]

Commission lie asleep awhile to see what may be said further for it, I think 'tis not amiss. And then if nothing can be said, that shall make it appear more beneficial to that Church, than yet it doth to me, it may be with the better deliberation quite extinguished. The truth is, at least as it appears to me, in the present use of it it is made a public pretence to private ends.

My Lord, I think you know my opinion how I would have Church business carried, were I as great a master of men, as, I thank God, I am of things. 'Tis true the Church, as well there as elsewhere, hath been overborne by violence, both in matter of maintenance and jurisdiction. But if the Church will recover in either of these, she and her governors must proceed, not as she was proceeded against, but by a constant temper she must make the world see she had the wrong, but offer none. And since law hath followed in that kingdom, perhaps to make good that which was ill done, yet since a law it is, such a reformation or restitution would be sought for, as might stand with the law, and some expedient be found out, how the law may be by some just exposition helped, till the State shall see cause to abolish it [p].

His Majesty takes it very ill, that the business concerning the stablishment of the Service-book hath been so weakly carried; and hath great reason to think himself and his Government dishonoured by the late tumult in Edinburgh, July 23; and, therefore, expects that your Lordship and the rest of the honourable Council set yourselves to it, that the Liturgy may be established orderly and with peace, to repair what hath been done amiss. For his Majesty well knows the Clergy alone have not power enough to go through with a business of this nature, and, therefore, is not very well satisfied with them, either for the omission in that kind, to advise for assistance of his Lords' Council, or for the preparation or way they took. For certainly the publication the week before, that on the next Sunday the prayers according to the Liturgy should be read in all the churches of Edinburgh, was upon the matter to give to those that were

[p] [The Scotch Act of 1633 provided that tithes should be redeemed at the value of nine years' purchase. See Russell's Hist. of the Church in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 120.]

ill-affected to the service, time to communicate their thoughts, and to premeditate and provide against it, as it is most apparent they did.

Nor is his Majesty well satisfied with the Clergy, that they which are in authority were not advertised, that they might attend the countenancing of such a service, so much tending to the honour of God and the King. And I am verily persuaded, if that accident of the marriage of your kinsman had not carried your Lordship out of the city that day, some things would not have been altogether so bad, and my Lord Privy Seal[q] would have had the better assistance.

Neither was this the best act that ever they did, to send away their letters apart, without acquainting the Council, that their advertisements might have come by the same messenger, together with their joint advice, which way was best to punish the offenders, at least the prime and chief of them, and which to prevent the like disorders. And after so long time of preparation, to be to seek who should read the service, is more than strange to me, unless they think such a business can do itself; but his Majesty, out of his piety and wisdom, gave, by the messenger which the Bishop sent, such full directions, both to the Lords of the Council and the Lords of the Clergy, as I hope will settle the business from further trouble. But the Proclamation, which you have now sent up to the King, I have not yet seen.

Of all the rest, the weakest part was, the interdicting of all Divine service till his Majesty's pleasure was further known. And this, as also the giving warning of the publishing, his Majesty, at the first reading of the letters and report of the fact, checked at, and commanded me to write so much to my Lord of Saint Andrews; which I did. And your Lordship at the Council, July 24, spake very worthily against the interdicting of the service. For that were in effect as much as to disclaim the work, or to give way to the insolency of the baser multitude; and his Majesty hath commanded me to thank you for it in his name. But the disclaiming the book as any act of theirs, but as it was his Majesty's command, was most unworthy. 'Tis most true the King commanded a Liturgy, and it was time they had one. They did not like

[q] [The Earl of Roxborough.]

to admit of ours, but thought it more reputation for them, as indeed it was, to compile one of their own, yet as near as might be, and they have done it well. Will they now cast down the milk they have given, because a few milkmaids have scolded at them? I hope they will be better advised; certainly they were very ill-advised, when they spake thus at the Council-board. But, my Lord, of this there was not one word in the letter. So I hope they have done with that.

W. CANT.

Aug. 7, 1637.

LETTER CXLIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 99—102.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Your stay from answering of my letters fell out at this time so happily, as that instead of pardon, I could be very well content to give you thanks; for, the truth is, I have been so exercised with libellings and Star-chamber business, and the consequences which have followed upon them, that had any packet come from you, it must have lain by me, as now my letters have lain by you. And yet as things fall out with me here, I have yet, and am like to have, so little leisure, as that I persuade myself I shall scarce have a fortnight's vacation before the approach of Michaelmas term.

I thank your Lordship I have received (as I take it) a full answer concerning Mr. Steward, and his petition to be printer in Ireland, &c. But how he will be satisfied with it, I know not, till he comes at me; but I, for my part, shall make no other answer, than according to my Lord Primate's certificate, and I hope that will satisfy his Majesty [1]. But I would to God you had sent me back his petition, for my answer would have been best set down at the end of it; and, besides, I doubt he will call for it again: therefore, I pray, send it by the next.

[1] I have acquainted his Majesty with it, and he approves it. This hath made me take occasion to write to the Primate, but not one word of * or *.

Next, to your two letters concerning Mr. Terence O'Dermot, and Mr. Lisle. Both my letters to you were wrung from me by extreme importunity; for as for Terence O'Dermot,

'I know him not, but a friend of mine that did, urged me hard for him; and if your Lordship respect him so far, as to remember his father's services to the Crown, and his own suit so far as it shall be reasonable, I shall ask no more for him. And for Lisle, he married a kinswoman of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's, and that moved me to write as I did; but I am abundantly satisfied with your answer, and so will he be, if he be wise. But, my Lord, I pray, when such by-letters as these, or indeed any other, shall come from me in the nature of suitors, understand them all with this limitation, which I would make myself were I present, that I would have no one of them granted to the least dishonour of yourself, or disservice of the King, whose trust is upon you; and I assure your Lordship, in both these cases, the denial shall be more welcome to me than the grant.

I am very glad to hear, that you have received the Charter, and the other papers which were sent with it concerning the College at Dublin[r], and that all is finished accordingly. I hope now, the patent being under the Broad Seal, that government will settle, and the College be in better temper than it hath, which I pray God it may.

I have received the copy of the sentence against Paterson, and am verily of your Lordship's mind, that a little more quickness in the government would cure this itch of libelling, and something that is amiss besides; but you know what I have written, and truly I have done expecting of 'thorow' on this side, and therefore shall betake myself to that which you say, and I believe, is the next best; and yet I would not give over neither. As for Challenour, it was the weakest part that ever Mr. Secretary Coke did, to leave him in the hands of a messenger, and not commit him to a very safe prison. But what can you think of 'thorow,' where there shall be such slips in business of consequence? But what say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory[s], and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the City; and that when they went out of town to

[r] [See above, p. 487.]
[s] [See Garrard's Letter to Wentworth, Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 85.]

their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else [t]?

And for my part, let them take it amongst them too, but certainly that business of Mrs. Leaky was a money business; and if that devil be so fast knit up in the Bishop's purse, it seems they will have but a cold pluck of it; but that matter is now quite out of speech [u].

For my Lord of Cashells [x], I would you had another that you might purge with him; for I believe a little Irish physic from so skilful a hand as yours would do the party more good, than any physic that will be given here, and then you might send me word of both their recoveries together.

There is very good news come from the fleet of the services done by the ships that were sent to Sallee; and not only so, but that there was expectation of far greater, in case the pinnace came once safe to them; so that we have been, by this means and God's blessing, as free from Turkish incursions this year as you.

By that which I have above written your Lordship will easily see, that the Triumviri [y] will be far enough from being kept dark. It is true, that when this business is spoken of, some men speak, as your Lordship writes, that this business concerns the King and government more than me. But when anything comes to be acted against them, be it but the execution of a sentence, in which lies the honour and safety of all justice, yet there's little or nothing done, nor shall I ever live to see it otherwise.

I pray when your Lordship writes next to my Lady of Carlisle [z], will you be pleased to return my humble thanks to her Ladyship? for it was a mere casualty that gave me opportunity to speak to her before, and 'tis likely I may never have the like again, yet I would not willingly lose the opinion she hath of my civility towards her.

My Lord, I am very confident of my Lord of Derry's integrity to the Church service, and of his respects to me,

[t] [See Garrard's Letter to Wentworth, Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 114.]

[u] [This refers to some proceedings of the Bishop of Waterford. See ibid. p. 42.]

[x] [Archibald Hamilton.]

[y] [Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.]

[z] [Lucy Percy, widow of the first Earl of Carlisle. See her character in D'Israeli's Charles I., vol. iii. p. 165.]

and in the way of the Church he cannot lose me, till I lose myself.

For my Lord Antrim[a], he went hence almost as soon as my Lady Duchess[b] was perfectly recovered, and I believe will not come from thence, till he hath settled as much of his business as possibly he can. The counsel which your Lordship formerly gave him was very good, but not possible to be followed; and so much your Lordship knows I writ in my former letters. He hath now purchased the house, which my Lord Zouch built at Bramsell, near Hartley-row[c], with some little land to it; and a great pennyworth he had. I think the reason of the purchase was the unhealthfulness of Newhall in Essex[d], which especially at this time of the year is very aguish; his Lordship is very much beholding to you for furnishing him with so much money. The rest which concerns this business you shall find in my other letter apart; only I thought fit to let you know, that about a fortnight since, I married the Lady Mary Villiers to the Duke of Lennox at Lambeth, the King being present[e].

Your Ulster eels are the fattest and the fairest that ever I saw, and 'tis a thousand pities there should be any error in their salting, or anything else about them. For how the carriage should hurt them I do not see, considering that other salted eels are brought as far, and retain their goodness; but the dried fish was exceeding good. For the cap, I must keep it till I am older, and the perfume grown colder; but I thank you heartily for it. And for the martin fur, and the saddle, since you will send them, I will accept them.

I am heartily glad that the differences at the College are at last appeased; and great pity it is, that such young fellows, and so ill-conditioned, as Pheasant and Cullen[f], should be able to get within the Visitors, and cause such disturbance. But the expulsion of Pheasant, being so de-

[a] [Randall Macdonald, second Earl, afterwards Marquis of Antrim. See his character in Clarendon's Hist. Rebell. vol. v. pp. 92, 93.]

[b] [The Dowager Duchess of Buckingham, who married the Earl of Antrim.]

[c] [Memorable as the place where Archbishop Abbott committed accidental homicide.]

[d] [Newhall had been purchased by the Duke of Buckingham in 1624. See Birch's James I. vol. ii. pp. 316, 322.]

[e] [See Diary, Aug. 3, 1637, above, vol. iii. p. 229.]

[f] [See above, p. 464.]

servedly laid hold on, hath wrought that cure, if a full cure it be; for your Lordship knows as well as I, that the disease had another cause, which cannot be expelled, and therefore the malady may, I doubt, fret inwardly still; so that I must be an humble suitor to your Lordship to keep a continual eye upon that business, till we shall be able to place the Provost elsewhere, and have another fit man ready to succeed him. As for the passages which you refer to Sir George Radcliffe, I will answer them, as you after send them me, upon Sir George Radcliffe's excusing himself.

If my Lord Chancellor[g] stay his journey, there will be the less noise about it here. But how that will settle anything for his eldest son, must be left to them whom it concerns.

The Dean of Armagh (for so you say now Dr. Wentworth[h] is) will, I hope, do very well, and not need much direction; yet for that which he may need, your Lordship hath done very well to fasten him upon my Lord of Derry: for as for some others, which you speak of, certainly they do not only sing the Psalms after the Geneva tune, but expound the text too in the Geneva sense, at least so far as they can possibly venture upon it; and your Lordship knows, I ever said so much, and have had too good cause to know it. But those things and many other must be passed over, or there will be no peace.

I am glad your Lordship hath so good an opinion of Mr. Gale; for indeed I think him an honest man, and I doubt not but he will answer your Lordship's expectation, and make him capable of your further favour.

Once again you return to Prynne and his fellows, and observe most rightly, that these men do but begin with the Church, that they might after have the freer access to the State; and I would to God other men were of your Lordship's opinion, or if they be so already, I would they had some of your zeal too for timely prevention; but for all that we are all too secure, and will not believe there's any foul weather towards us, till the storm break upon us. For in

[g] [Adam Loftus, Visc. Loftus of Ely. See above, p. 273.]

[h] [Peter Wentworth, of Balliol College. On the breaking out of the rebellion he retired to England. He did not return to his deanery at the Restoration, but was Rector of Haseley in Oxfordshire. He died at Bath, July 22, 1661, and was buried in the Abbey church.]

what sort these men were suffered in the pillory, and how they were attended out of the City, I have already written; and since, I hear Prynne was very much welcomed both at Coventry and West Chester, as he passed towards Carnarvon[i].

What I think of the main business about which * writ her letters to *, as also of the counsel given by *, you shall find in my side paper; in the meantime, if the Church and City of York agree themselves, there is nothing better[k]. But, if their differences continue, it will be necessary for peace sake that they be settled; and I thank your Lordship in the Church's name for the great respect you bear to it.

My Lord, to your next passage, I must and do thank you heartily for the great opinion you have and express of my poor self and service; but I am sorry your affections to me should so far deceive your judgment; but whereas you protest it so deeply, yet can you not make me either pluck my spectacles or swear again, as you know what waggery * * * * * * * * * * and * played at the Council-table; and you know, *Quorum pars mayna*—take the rest to yourself.

I thank your Lordship still for your respects to my Lord of Antrim, and your kind reception of my letters by him, and the care you have of the settling and bettering his estate; concerning all which I can say no more than I have expressed already; but only the addition of these my further thanks on his behalf.

I have already expressed in these letters all that I know concerning the libellers. And for my Lord of Lincoln, he is yet in the Tower[l], but how long he shall stay there, is not in me to prophesy.

And now that you are come to wishing, I would you were here with all my heart, but not so long as you mention; for though it be more to your trouble, yet it is far more to the advantage of the public that you stay, and be troubled there with that part of the army which is garrisoned in Ulster, and with the finishing of the business concerning Ormonde and Clare[m], than that you should be idle here, for so I am sure you would be after a day or two.

[i] [The Chester men were fined for their favourable reception of Prynne. See above, vol. iv. pp. 143—145.]

[k] [This probably refers to the new Charter of the city of York. See above, vol. iv. pp. 162, 163.]

[l] [He was sentenced in the previous July, and remained in prison till 1640.]

[m] [The endeavouring to establish the King's right to certain lands in those districts. See Wentworth's Let-

My Lord, I thank you heartily for your care of the Bishopric of Waterford and Lismore, but I shall not need to give you any answer to that passage of your letters, because I have since received a letter from my Lord of Derry, that that business is come to an end, and I thank your Lordship. He hath sent me a copy of the agreement signed by your Lordship and the rest of the Council, and [which] is certainly to the great advancement of the bishopric; and I have already given answer and thanks to my Lord of Derry for his pains, as he deserves.

I thank your Lordship heartily for your noble expression concerning Sir Hamon L'Estrange[n]. My letters I think were put into his own hands, and perhaps that made them come so late. The gentleman is a mere stranger to me; but the suit that I would write proceeded, as I told you before, from the Earl of Holland[o]. Your Lordship by this may see what opinion all men have of the interest I have in you, which makes so many men make me a great deal more troublesome to your Lordship than I am willing to be, and yet I assure you I put by as many things as possibly I can. As for this gentleman, I shall expect nothing from you on his behalf, but what is just and honourable for you to do, and by doing that, my Lord of Holland will owe you the thanks, though I pay it.

My Lord of Down[p] hath written unto me, that the cathedral of his diocese lies waste, and cannot possibly be built without the aid of a general purse, or his Majesty's special favour in granting some part of the fines imposed in the Court of High Commission towards so pious a work. I am heartily glad to see the Bishop's care of that his Church, but am not willing to stir far in that business, till I hear from your Lordship what possibility you find for it; and the rather, because you gave me a touch in your last letters of the ruinousness of Christ Church in Dublin; and

ters to Sir J. Coke. (Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 93, 98.)]

[n] [The father of the celebrated Roger L'Estrange, and of Hamon L'Estrange, the author of 'The Alliance of Divine Offices.']

[o] [Henry Rich.]

[p] [Henry Lesley, who had previously been Dean of the same cathedral. Bishop Mant (Hist. of the Irish Church, vol. i. pp. 514, seq.) gives a detailed account of his character and his proceedings in his diocese. The subject of Down Cathedral is referred to in several subsequent letters by Laud and Wentworth.]

whether you would be content another cathedral should be thought on before it, is in my thoughts worth asking you the question; and as I shall hear from you, so will I proceed. It is time to make an end, unless I should resolve to tire you altogether. I wish your Lordship all health and happiness, in hope you need no further assurance than I have already given, that I am

Your Lordship's very faithful Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Croydon, August 28th, 1637.

LETTER CXLIV.

TO JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 168.]

Touching the tumult, I can say no more than I have already. And for the casting of any fault upon your Grace, and the rest of your brethren, as if the thing were done precipitately; I think few men will believe that. But that which is thought here is, that though you took advice among yourselves, yet the whole body of the Council was not acquainted with all your determinations, nor their advice taken, nor their power called in for assistance till it was too late. And that after the thing was done, you consulted apart, and sent up to the King without calling a Council, or joining the Lay-Lords with you; whereas all was little enough in a business of this nature, and so much opposed by some factious men, gathered, it seems, purposely together at Edinburgh to disturb this business. And indeed, my Lord, you could not in this particular have engaged the Lay-Lords too far. And if any Lord here spake too much, when he thought the Service might have been received throughout all that kingdom in one day, I hope your Grace falls as much too short on the other side. For I hope it will be settled in far less time than seven years.

And whereas you write, that the fault is most in your ministers; I easily believe that to be true. But then they should have been dealt withal beforehand, and made pliable,

especially in Edinburgh, or else some others appointed in the room of such as disliked. And since your Grace is of opinion that a sharper course would do more good, and that you would have taken such with Master Ramsey, if my Lords had not altered your opinion; his Majesty leaves you to take that course both with him and others, as you shall find fittest for his service, and the Church's. And for the Postscript, I am sorry as well as you for Master Rollock [q], and that is all I have to say of him. So desiring God to bless you through these troubles, I leave you, &c.

WILL. CANT.

Septemb. 4, 1637.

LETTER CXLV.

TO THE EARL OF TRAQUAIR.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, pp. 169, 170.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your letters of August 20; and am very glad to read in them, that mine came safe to you by your servant. For the business, I had some little inkling given me by my Lord Sterling about the stay of the Service. But till I read your letter, I did not believe it possible that way should be given to an Interdiction, especially considering how strongly you had ever opposed it; and withal how weak and uncounsellable (at least in my judgment) the thing itself was. For they could not but foresee that that course would add a great deal of heartning and encouragement to the Puritan party. And therefore 'tis no wonder, if such Lords, and others as were ill-affected to the Liturgy, were easy in giving way to that counsel, which they could not but see would advance their own ends. But that my Lord of Ross should give the advice, and my Lord of St. Andrews follow it with such stiffness, may be a wonder to any man that knows them and the business.

My Lord of St. Andrews hath lately written to me, that my

[q] [Rollock, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, had been suspended for not reading the Service-book.]

Lord of Ross was gone into his diocese. But for my part, I did not think that all the rest would have gone away, and left the business; for they cannot but think, that the adverse part would make use of the present time to put further difficulties upon the work; and therefore they should have been as careful to uphold it, my Lord of Ross especially, whose hand hath been as much in it as the most. But since they are gone, his Majesty takes it extremely well from my Lord of Edinburgh [r], Galloway [s], and Dunblane [t], that they stay and attend the business as well as they can. But he hath expressly commanded me to give your Lordship thanks for staying with them, and keeping them so well in heart; for as the business is now foiled, if you do not stick close to God's and the King's service in it, it will certainly suffer more than is fit it should.

His Majesty likewise takes it exceeding well from your Lordship, that you have dealt with the City of Edinburgh for maintenance for such as shall take upon them to read the Liturgy; and takes it as well from the City itself, from whom I have received a very fair and discreet letter [u], which I have showed his Majesty, and writ the City an answer by this return, and given them his Majesty's thanks, which indeed he commanded me to do very heartily. And in truth they deserve it, especially as the times stand.

As for the Ministers of Edinburgh, I know the refusal of Mr. Ramsey and Mr. Rollock; but that any other of them stuck at it, or that any Bishops seem not to be forward, is more than I heard till now. But for that of Mr. Ramsey, or any of the Bishops that would have somewhat amended, if that should be yielded unto now (unless they should be able to give such reason against it, as I know they cannot), it would mightily dishonour the King, who to my knowledge hath carefully looked over, and approved every word in this Liturgy. And I doubt it would utterly destroy the Service itself. For while one man out of a humour dislikes one thing, and another another, by that time every man's dislike were satisfied, I doubt there would be but little left

[r] [David Lindsay.]
[s] [Thomas Sydserf.]
[t] [James Wedderburne.]
[u] [See Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 166.]

to serve God with. Besides, it is not improbable, but that some men would be as earnest to have the selfsame thing kept in, which others would so fain thrust out, whate'er it be; and that may make it grow up into a formal contestation upon some particulars, and quite distemper the Service. But whereas you write, That some Bishops speak plainly, that if their opinions had been craved, they would have advised the amending of something; truly for that, and in that way, I would with all my heart they had seen it. And why my Lord of St. Andrews, and they which were trusted by the King, did not discreetly acquaint every Bishop with it, (considering that every Bishop must be used in their several dioceses,) I know no reason; and sure I am there was no prohibition upon them. And since I hear from others that some exception is taken, because there is more in that Liturgy in some few particulars, than is in the Liturgy in England, why did they not then admit the Liturgy of England without more ado? But by their refusal of that, and their dislike of this, 'tis more than manifest they would have neither, perhaps none at all, were they left to themselves. But, my Lord, to yourself only, and in your ear, a great favour you should do me, if you will get my Lord of Galloway to set me down in brief propositions, without any further discourse, all the exceptions that are taken against the Liturgy by Ramsey, Rollock, or any other; and I could be content to know which the Bishops are, which would have amended something, had they been advised with, and what that is which they would have so amended, &c.

WILL. CANT.

September 11, 1637.

LETTER CXLVI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 104.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The letter which I received from your Lordship of August 16, concerning the settlement of

the Deanery of Armagh [x], missed me at Court, being detained at Croydon about the consecration of the Bishop of Bangor [y], but William Raylton came carefully to me the next morning, and by him I writ to Mr. Secretary Coke for present despatch. So that I hope the letters which you desired to be signed were with you a good while since. And this was all that letter contained.

Your second letters of August 16, you say, came to be but a cover for the duplicate. Yet I must heartily thank you for them, and for the noble expression which you begin with, viz. that at Limerick you will discharge yourself of all you owe me, saving your love and service, which you say you will carry along with you for me to your grave. My Lord, I am very much bound to you for the constancy of your love towards me, yet you may see our Court arts are not yet dead. There came a report to me, since I received these your Lordship's letters, that the kindness between you and me was not quite broken off, but that it was of late very much impaired. I cannot for my life find out from whom this report first came, but if I can drive it to a head, you shall hear more of it.

I am very glad to hear that your business succeeds so well for Ormonde and Clare [z]. And I am as confident as you, that the steady hand carried in the business of Galway made this so ready for your hand, being so much to the King's honour and the good of that people. And yet you know well, what a labour we had to keep Galway business constant, and in a right way. And to tell you truly, I have now as much to do with some other business, the practices in Court are so many, and there being such a want of 'thorow.' On Sunday last I acquainted his Majesty with what you had written, and I found that he was not ignorant of your despatch, but exceedingly pleased with your service, as indeed he had reason to be. And for my part I thank your Lordship heartily for the copy of the despatch, for indeed it is an excellent good one.

[x] [This was a new incorporation of the Dean and Chapter of Armagh. See Coke's Letter to Wentworth. (Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 103.)]

[y] [William Roberts. He was promoted by Laud's influence, and after having suffered in common with his brethren in the Great Rebellion, regained his See, and died in 1665. (Wood, Ath. Ox. ii. 888.)]

[z] [See above, p. 501.]

I am glad you find so much good ground in Ireland, as this progress of yours hath showed you lying together. And 'tis great pity, but that there should be a constant hand of forbearance carried over them, to invite the English over, that they may settle there. And I will not fail to do you all the service I can, if anything be proposed at the Irish Committee, or elsewhere in my presence, that may press too suddenly upon them. And I am heartily glad to hear from you, with what demonstration of love and respect that people have entertained you, as you pass. And you have all the reason in the world to hold their affections to you, so long as you may do it without impeachment of his Majesty's service, as I will still hope you may. And that you may, you have the daily prayers of

Your most faithful Friend and Servant,

W. CANT.

Croydon, Sept. 18th, 1637.

My Lord of Northumberland [a] is newly returned from sea.

LETTER CXLVII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am sorry the gout, which disenables you to go, should run so fast upon you. I can give you no better counsel against that, than I have often already, you must take heed of late watching and an over-full diet [b].

By your Lordship's letters I see your freedom and your trust. They both proceed from your love, and I shall, God willing, fail you in neither.

In one of your Lordship's letters you desire me to show the other to the King, and in both you are pleased to ask my counsel. I have read over the larger of your letters to the King, every word of them, and humbly desired his answer to each particular, which you shall here receive.

[a] [Algernon Percy, shortly afterwards appointed the Lord High Admiral.]

[b] [This letter was in reply to a letter of Sept. 17. See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 105—107.]

His Majesty, as I was preparing to read the letter, said to me, your Lordship was a brave servant in your place, and uttered it, to my apprehension, with a great deal of reality and heartiness. I did the part of a friend in my reply, and then proceeded to read.

To the first charge, that you have two or three and twenty thousand pounds a-year coming in; to the third, that you purchase all before you; and to the fourth, that you grow extremely rich; his Majesty gave me the same answer to them all, namely, that it was nothing to him what revenue you had, how much you purchased, or how rich you grew, as long as you took nothing out of his coffers, nor wrung it unjustly from his people. And most freely acquitted you of both, with a profession of much joy, that any his good servants should in honourable ways grow and increase in his service; with this touch, that he scorned all such informations, so would he have you. To the second charge, that you build up to the sky, his Majesty was well pleased with what you writ, and the manner of your buildings, and your end proposed in it, and the offer made to himself to take or refuse them. To the fifth and last, which concerns Mr. Barr [c], (I remember the man well, since his being before the Committee when you were on this side,) his Majesty let fall some several particulars, and commanded me to represent them unto you, which I will do with as faithful a memory as I have.

1. And first, his Majesty saith, he doth not think that Barr loves you, yet his carriage hath been such, as that he durst never complain to his Majesty of you to his remembrance.

2. Next, though he have a licence to come over for some special occasions, his Majesty would not have such a trifle thought on; but if that make him forget himself towards you in anything, he shall hear of it.

3. For his access to the King, his Majesty says plainly, he never admitted him to his presence, but once, or twice at the most; but he remembered but once. And then other men present spake, and perhaps from him, but he little, and not one word personal against your Lordship. How this

[c] [See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 107, for an account of this person.]

agrees with his familiar boasting, how freely he speaks with his Majesty, I know not.

4. And in the last place, his Majesty laughed at that passage which you had written to me concerning * , and said he knew it well; by which I see, and so may you, how things stand there. But his Majesty commanded me in fine to write these two things to you: the one, that he approves passing well of your service; the other, that he would have you contemn these reports, and remember your own metaphor; not to weary yourself with putting on your armour, till you be better charged than you have been yet, which he is confident he shall not see.

One thing more, and then I have done. As I read the first charge upon this passage, "His Majesty's revenues are increased in his Customs more than twenty thousand pounds by year, which proves, nevertheless, a greater profit to me than ever I dreamt of;" his Majesty said, 'But he doth not tell you how much.' I replied, ''Tis true, but I presume your Majesty, considering the great services done to yourself, will allow him and Sir George Radcliffe that you promised them.' And the King replied, 'Yea, God forbid else [d].'

And now having made this relation, I come to my counsel, such as it is. And since you will needs have it, though you may laugh both at me and it, I will give it you. And I take my first rise from the last passage. It may argue, that his Majesty would be content to know in special, what your gain is of the part of the farm. I protest he spake no more than I have written; but lest anything stick there, what hurt were it, that I knew it in particular, and to the utmost, and leave me to make my use of it.

Next, I would seriously advise you to consider all circumstances about the lease of the Customs let by the Lord Treasurer Weston at that time, when you came in; for I have of late heard some muttering about it in Court, but can meet with nothing to fasten on. Only it makes me doubt somebody hath been nibbling about it. I remember I heard you relate it at your being here, but I cannot carry those things in memory.

[d] [Wentworth's profit on the Customs formed the 10th charge against him at his trial.] .

Thirdly, 'tis counsel enough that I do infinitely approve your resolution, not to speak any more about any public mark of his Majesty's favour: I am confident it will come; and you know, I ever held it best to be left to his own time.

Upon the whole business is my last advice; and it is, that whosoever your enemies be, and whatsoever they attempt, you would offer at no defence, till they shall dare to appear openly; and in the meantime (if you shall think fit) I would pray your Lordship to take notice of this his Majesty's gracious answer given you by me, and by letter to thank him for it. In which letter you may further humbly desire of his Majesty, that he will favour you so much as to call for an account from you, in case he shall hereafter hear any complaint against you, which he in his wisdom shall think worthy an answer; and that for all things else you may stand right in his favour against all causeless malignity. This favour he hath showed to divers upon my knowledge, and I assure myself he will not deny it you. This done, you may rest secure, till the King himself call upon you, and then bark who will.

You have made me bold to give you counsel, and so I challenge from you that you pardon all defects init; and where you find it weak, as I doubt 'tis all along, that you forget not, it proceeds from a faithful heart, though an understanding of no great reach.

The rest, if I find anything upon my hands, you shall receive by my Lord of Derry, who is now very well with us, and heartily welcome to me. I hope by this time you are crept out of your gout. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Lambeth, Oct. 24, 1637. W. CANT.

LETTER CXLVIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 131—133.]

Salut. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Having written a short letter to your Lordship's very large one of October 18th[c], and though

[c] [See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 119—122.]

the course of my service, as you justly observe, admits little leisure, yet your letters, short or long, are so full of kindness to me, and of useful observation in themselves, that they cannot but be welcome, and merit thanks besides, which I heartily give you.

I have received with your letters Mr. Stewart's[f] petition. He is now, I think, in Scotland, but whensoever he comes again to me, I shall, I hope, be able to satisfy him, especially if I have not laid my Lord Primate's certificate so aside, as that in the great number of my papers I cannot find it; for the truth is, as yet I cannot. The observation which you make upon this is certainly of consequence for his Majesty's service, and I am sorry if the Ministers on this side do not keep the quarter they should with you. For there is no reason in the world that the sourness of every negative should be put upon you on that side. Great reason there is, that it should be kept off from the King as much as may be, and as great that it should be divided among the Ministers with some indifferency, and not lodged upon one or few. But this is not the way, for every man saves himself as well as he can, let the burden light where it will. And now I am grown almost as proud as you; for whereas you write, that his Majesty must not always look to be served upon such terms, I shall say so too; and perhaps when I am gone, my saying shall be found true. I am heartily glad to hear, that there is not only a fair end made of the cause between the Primate and the Provost, but that they are grown into a good liking either of other, which certainly must needs do a great deal of good, if they can be kept constant in that good way.

My Lord, I use to measure my friends by myself. And though I am loth to deny, yet sometimes I must, or do much worse. And as in such cases I would not willingly my friends should causelessly be offended with me, so neither am I with them upon like occasions. For it is an easy thing for any man to be mistaken or misinformed in a request made to friends. Therefore I pray still rather a denial, than any unworthiness to yourself or your proceedings, if by any mishap I should ask such a thing.

[f] [See above, p. 496.]

For Challenour[g], he is certainly worth nothing but the gallows. But having made an escape, I believe he will be wise enough to keep out of the way.

Your Lordship apprehends right the ill consequences of the liberty of these times, both in speech and otherwise, and that Prynne is not the first that hath done mischief in this kind; nor do I think he will be the last. Nor have I any great hope to see these things settle, nor other things as considerable as these, till reward and punishment have their full course, and attend merit, not persons.

For Sallee, the town is taken, and delivered into the hands of the King of Morocco, against his rebel, the Saint (as they call him) that would have taken it, and all the captives at Sallee and Morocco delivered; as many, our merchants say, as, according to the price of the market, come to ten thousand pounds at least. There is an ambassador also come with a present of Barbary horses to the King, and to treat of conditions of trade, &c. He had his solemn audience on Sunday, November 5th, and desired a committee to treat[h]. What success it will have, your Lordship shall hear hereafter.

I shall thank your Lordship for writing according as you speak to the Countess of Carlisle. For that was true which I writ to you in my last letters, and, I must needs say, I am beholden to her.

The truth is, Bramsell was purchased for the unwholesomeness of Newhall[i], and I came thus to know it. In Hugh May's lifetime the purchase was offered to my choice for any friend I had, and I then, knowing what was like to be between the Duke of Lennox and his now lady[j], made him the offer of it. He could not go through with it. After the death of my Lord of Antrim the father[k], my Lady Duchess of Buckingham[l] disliking the air at Newhall (as she had reason) spake with me about Bramsell. Hugh May was then dead, so my interest was at an end; but I referred her to young Zouch, the owner of it. So the business went on. And the Magnificat sung among the wild Irish (as you

[g] [See above, p. 497.]

[h] [See Garrard's letter to Wentworth. Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 129.]

[i] [See above, p. 499.]

[j] [See ibid.]

[k] [Randal Macdonell, created Earl of Antrim, Dec. 12, 1620. Died 1636.]

[l] [See above, p. 499.]

are pleased to be merry) was but the flourish of a young man, who may live to understand himself better.

I have received Sir George Radcliffe's account concerning the settlement between the Primate and the Provost, and given him thanks for it. But I must give you more; for, certainly, without your interposition, that business must have had a sour ending; for I should never have betrayed so deserving a man for any man's greatness; but God be thanked, 'tis much better as it is, and I heartily thank you for it. I see your Lordship hath a great opinion of him, or else you would not trust your son [m] with him. And I hope he will discharge that trust so as shall give you content, and lay such a foundation in your son, as shall enable him to withstand any 'Prynning.' And truly, my Lord, I think the Provost will deserve good preferment; but I would not willingly have him left to future times, when I shall be dead naturally, and you civilly as to that place, to be a perpetual drudge to the College, and perchance then get no other preferment. Therefore, since you are upon this resolution, I pray think upon some good bishopric for him, when it falls void, that may not lie too far from the College; and then he may hold the College *in commendam*, if we can prevail so far with his Majesty; for you know 'tis against his rules for any Bishop to hold Deanery or College. And there will be no way to obtain it, but by acquainting his Majesty how necessary it is, this man stay there till the government of the College be settled, which perchance will not prosper so in another hand. And this, God willing, I shall not fail to do when time shall serve, if you continue in the same mind you are. But one thing more must be done, if you will give the Provost content indeed; that is, he hath a brother which lives in Ireland with him [n], a divine, and a deserving man; and if your Lordship would in some moderate way provide for him, I think the Provost would have full content.

I am very glad my Lord Antrim hath so far improved his estate, and certainly there is but need of it, considering what

[m] [William Wentworth, afterwards his successor in the title.]

[n] [This was John Chappel, mentioned in the inscription on the monument erected to his brother's memory, by Archbishop Sterne, in Bilsthorp Church, Nottinghamshire. He is described as "a very eminent divine, and born for the pulpit." See Bishop Chappel's Life in Biogr. Brit. Note E.]

debts are to be paid for himself and his lady [o]. As for his prosecution of the Lord President of Munster [p] for my Lady Duchess her dower, I am clear of your Lordship's opinion, that he will get little honour in the prosecution, since what is recovered out of my Lord President's estate must be repaid by the young Duke [q] when he comes to age. And though perchance it may prove unwelcome, yet if I can have leisure and some fit opportunity with it, I will speak freely with my Lady Duchess, if that may put an end to the business.

I thank your Lordship I have received a very fair letter from Sir Hamon L'Estrange [r], in which he gives me great thanks for the noble respects he hath found from you. But wot you what? I have played the courtier upon this occasion, and thanked the Earl of Holland for putting this occasion into my hands. So your Lordship sees I gain every way, and yet cannot get to be *Rich* [s].

Your Lordship is very right, that there is no reason all public works should be put upon the Crown. And yet you see how unwilling the people are to contribute to any, be it never so honourable or necessary for themselves. Witness the Ship-money, which at this very present ending of the term is under argument in the Exchequer Chamber before all the Judges, brought thither upon a case of Mr. Hampden's, as I think [t]; but I am sure, either upon a case of his, or the Lord Say's [u]. So have you the greatest news of the time.

As for the Cathedral of Down [v], the public work you mention, I have acquainted the King with it, and his Majesty is very well pleased you should make such an Act of State as you mention, and set upon the work at such time as you find most convenient. And because we are here not so well acquainted with the affairs of that kingdom as your Lordship

[o] [Clarendon (Hist. Rebell. vol. v. p. 93) speaks of his extravagance and debts.]

[p] [This case is mentioned more at large in Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 97, 120, 157. The President of Munster was Sir William St. Leger.]

[q] [George Villiers, the second Duke of Buckingham.]

[r] [See above, p. 502.]

[s] [An allusion to Lord Holland's name.]

[t] [See the proceedings in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 480—600.]

[u] [Lord Say had obstinately refused the payment of ship-money, and even when decision had been given against Hampden, he "would not acquiesce, but pressed to have his own cause argued, and was so solicitous in person with all the judges, . . . that he was very grievous unto them."—Clarendon, Hist. Rebell. vol. i. p. 318.]

[v] [See above, p. 502.]

is, I do hereby heartily pray your Lordship to cause the letter, which you would have for that Cathedral, drawn there under your own eye, and sent hither ready for his Majesty's hand; which I shall then easily procure you, when I can assure myself there will be no mistake in it.

I am glad to hear that you have settled the Deanery of Armagh to the advantage both of the Primate and the Dean[w]; and I hope all good Churchmen there will bless your memory. I hear by my Lord of Derry, that the Dean of Armagh[x] hath of late escaped a great mischance from his horse, and am very glad of it.

That which I writ lately concerning a report raised of unkindness between your Lordship and myself[y], I thought had been raised in the Court and spread into the country; but upon search, as privately made as I could, I find it was raised in the country, and sent to Court. The author is dead, and for that and other respects, I'll say no more.

I can write to you no more concerning Ormond and Clare, &c., than I did in my last. The King takes the service exceeding well; and he hath reason so to do. And I well remember what counsels were given in the business of Connaught, and how dangerous they would have been to this of Ormond, had they been embraced; but, God be thanked, He blessed his Majesty better, and I hope will do so still, than to let him follow any counsel that may hurt himself or his affairs.

So far, my Lord, in answer of your letters. But I am told the post goes away this day, and I am willing you should hear from me, though it be to halves. Therefore that which remains of your letter, you shall have by my Lord of Derry when he returns. So, in great haste, I leave your Lordship to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's
Most faithful Friend and humble Servant,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, Nov. 11, 1637.

As for war with Spain, I can say no more of it yet, but I fear it may come thither at last.

[w] [See above, p. 507.]

[x] [Peter Wentworth. See above, p. 500.]

[y] [See above, p. 507.]

LETTER CXLIX.

TO SIR EDW. LITTLETON, KNT.

[Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 25.]

MR. SOLICITOR,—It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you prepare a Commission to the Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of Westminster, authorizing them to keep their audits, and other capitular meetings, at their usual times, to treat and compound with the tenants for leases, and to pass the same accordingly, choose officers, confirm and execute all other lawful acts, for the good and benefit of the College, and the said Prebendaries: and to take out the Common, or Chapter Seal, for sealing such leases and grants as shall be agreed upon by the Subdean, and the major part of the Prebendaries; and also to pass all the premises under the style and title of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster, during the suspension of the Bishop of Lincoln from the Deanery of Westminster: for the doing whereof, this shall be your warrant.

W. CANT.

Lambeth-House, this 22d day of November, An. Dom. 1637.

LETTER CL.

TO JOHN BRAMHALL, BISHOP OF DERRY.

[Rawdon Papers, Letter xviii. pp. 46—50.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am very glad you are safe come into Ireland, but that you should venture to be twice beaten back upon those rough seas, was neither my command nor counsel. My Lords of the Council here are now thinking upon a new supply to St. Paul's, and as soon as ever that is begun, my Lord Deputy shall be sure to hear of me with the

[1] The money is paid in, but the honest man that is trusted here with the paying of it, desires to send the acquittances himself to the Dean of St. Patrick's, which I am well content with. So you may commend me to the Dean with thanks, and I will not write.

first. As for the money sent by Mr. Culme [1], the party trusted here hath been with me, and so soon as the money is paid in, and that I can see a discharge, I will write an answer to the Dean of St. Patrick's [2], and give him thanks.

My Lord, I thank you heartily for your Lenten present. The salmon [a] and the eels I have received, but not the herrings, which makes me think they were not sent together in the same vessel; and I am the more sorry the herrings are not come, because those which we have here are stark naught. The salmon and the eels are so lately come, that I cannot yet send you word how they prove. But if this letter go not suddenly away, you shall have it in a postscript; for the meantime I pray commend me to my Lord Deputy, and tell him that I have oftentimes purposed to write to him about his Martinmas beef, but still forgot it. It was the worst that ever I tasted; and you may tell him, if he does not take order to send me better, I will not believe that there's any good in Yorkshire. I am very glad to hear, that since my Lord Primate had a mischance by his coach, he caught no harm by it; and for the rest, I shall leave it to my Lord Deputy and you; and secure myself that it will be done *sine strepitu.*

Now for your merry suit, which may perchance end in earnest; I will take my first opportunity to speak with Dr. Gwin, somewhat afar off, and see what he will say to me, and then come closer to him as I see cause. But in the meantime I must desire you to send me present word, how I shall be enabled for proof against him, in case he stand out resolutely against me, 'That the Church of St. Culy is within the Act of dissolution.' I am glad my Lord is pleased to be so mindful of the Provost and his brother. I hope they will deserve both such preferment as he shall think them fit for, and I shall concur most willingly, if it be such as I may serve them in. Since my Lord employs you so thick upon your return, I shall be content to stay for the account of restitutions to the Church, till leisure will give you leave to send it me perfect [b]. Only I could be content, you would add to

[2] [Benjamin Culme. "He was accounted a learned and excellent preacher and theologist." (Wood, F. O. i. 305.)]

[a] [There was a salmon fishery in the river Bann, belonging to the Bp. of Derry. Bramhall, during his sufferings, recovered a debt of 700*l.* due to him from this fishery. See his Life in Biogr. Brit. p. 965, note y.]

[b] [This document was prepared as requested, and is preserved among the

every particular the year of our Lord in which it was done, which I think you may easily do. I did not think I should have received any news from Ireland concerning witches. But if my Lord fall to conjuring of them, I make no doubt but I shall quickly hear more. Your mentioning of my Lord's forwardness to St. Paul's, makes me think farther of that business; and you may tell my Lord from me, that when I send to him for his second 100*l.*, I will desire him to take care, that yourself, and such other Englishmen as are Bishops there, and likewise your Master of the Rolls [c], and your Secretary [d], and such other English as are of the Council there, or in places of judicature, may contribute as well as his Lordship; and I hope there's none of you will refuse me in this motion. So wishing you all happiness and health, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Feb. 17, 163$\frac{7}{8}$. W. CANT.

Since I writ this, I have spoken to Dr. Gwin about the Church of St. Culy at Holyhead, and he confirms 'tis his, and withal hath told me what he means to do with it, which is, that he will take direction from the Diocesan, what is fit for him to add for maintenance of the Incumbent for ever; and that addition he will make. The rest of the means he intends to settle upon Jesus College in Oxford, which is a Welsh foundation there, and needs it [e]. So you see he intends the public in it; but yet if there be any strong title against it that you know, it is not amiss you impart it to me, that so

Lamb. MSS. Numb. dcccexliii. p. 535, under the title, 'A large and full Account of the Improvements of Bishoprics and Church Livings within the Province of Armagh in Ireland, since Lord Viscount Wentworth was first made Lord Deputy there in 1633, to the end of the year 1638, with Rentals of the several Bishoprics at that time, sent to the Archbishop by Dr. John Bramhall, Lord Bishop of Derry.' There is in the same volume, p. 525, 'An exact Account of the Improvements of the Church within the Province of Ulster and Diocese of Cork, since the Lord Viscount Wentworth's being Lord Deputy of Ireland, sent to the Archbishop in 1635 by the Lord Deputy.']

[c] [Sir Christopher Wandesford.]

[d] [Sir George Radcliffe.]

[e] [Thomas Gwynne, D.C.L., sometime Fellow of All Souls, Precentor of Sarum, and Chancellor of Llandaff. He was the younger son of John ap Rees Wynn of Bodfeddoa. He settled the impropriate Rectory of Holyhead on Jesus College, half of the profits to be applied to the maintenance of two Fellows and two Scholars, one quarter for the maintenance of a Preacher, and another quarter for two Curates and the poor. See Bishop Humphries' note in Wood's F. O. i. 322, 323.]

Dr. Gwin may resolve either to make it Church work that way which the title leads to, or make his present title certain to the good works intended by him.

To the Rt. Reverend Father in God,
my very good Lo. and Brother, the
Lo. Bp. of Derry in Ireland, These.

LETTER CLI.

TO DR. GILBERT SHELDON, WARDEN OF ALL SOULS.

[Tanner MSS. Numb. cccxl. p. 196.]

S. in Christo.

SIR,—I should have written sooner to you, but that I did not till now hear of your return to Oxford. My business is this inclosed paper, which was put up to the Lords Committees by the King's Commissioners for Depopulations at the end of the last term. I then desired of the Lords that the College might not be called to answer till your return home, which was granted. But the next term, when we sit again, you must either come up yourself to attend that business, or send somebody fully instructed for the College.

One thing more I must tell you, that though I did you this favour, to make stay of the hearing till your return, yet for the business itself, I can show you none; partly because I am a great hater of depopulations in any kind, as being one of the greatest mischiefs in this kingdom, and of very ill example from a College, or college tenant; and partly because it concerns me very deeply in the particular of my archbishopric. For, by reason of decay of tillage in that parish, the rectory, which was thrust upon the archbishopric for better land, and was wont to yield 30*l.* per annum rent, and apportionable fine, is now turned upon my hands, and no man will give me 15*l.* a year, and that without a fine. So that you must think I shall take the best care I can to preserve the rights of my archbishopric against any kind of depopulation, or decay of tillage whatsoever; and I am sorry to find your College named in the business. This is all that I have at present to trouble you with. So, wishing you health, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth, March 2, 1637. W. CANT.

LETTER CLII.

TO EDWARD POCOCK[f].

[Twells's Life of Pocock.]

The Primate[g] is persuaded that the Patriarch Cyril can procure Clemens Alexandrinus's Hypotyposes. It were wonderful well worth getting, if it might be had. But for my own part I do not think the Patriarch hath it. Yet you may try and hearken after it, that I may be able to give the Primate the better satisfaction. The Primate writes further to me, that Greece having been so often gleaned, the likeliest way left for good Greek manuscripts is for you to strike over from the place where you are to Natolia, and see what that and Mount Athos will afford you, whilst you are so near them: which yet I must leave to your own conveniences.

April, 1638.

LETTER CLIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 169—171.]

Salut. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letters of April the 10th[h], in full answer to such of mine as lay by you; and must crave your pardon that I writ not to you, when William Raylton writ last. The truth is, my business here grows upon me, though I grow older and more unfit for it. But I am very sorry to read in the beginning of your letters, that you complain of a decay in your sight, and the whole frame of your body, for this is no time to have such as you are fail. But though I could not write when William Raylton writ last, being suddenly after the receipt of your letters, yet I desired him to signify unto you, that I had

[f] [Edward Pocock, the first Laudian Professor of Arabic, was now residing at Constantinople. He was prevented making any inquiries for the MS. mentioned by the Archbishop, in consequence of the murder of the Patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris, of which he wrote the Archbishop a detailed account. Pocock in the same letter gave the Archbishop an account of the MSS. in Mount Athos.

The letters between Laud and Pocock are given by Twells only in a fragmentary form; and fruitless inquiries have been made for the originals themselves.]

[g] [Archbishop Ussher.]

[h] [See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 156—159.]

spoken home to his Majesty (as indeed I did) concerning your great business with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland [1 i], which I hope will go well, and if it should not, * * * * nay * would be worse for it, considering how all government is shaken at this present.

[1 i] I have had occasion to speak a second time, and do not find but the King is very right set in this business.

I cannot possibly say more to your Lordship than I have concerning the new book of Rates; and when the Ministers of State on that side shall have sent over their judgment upon it, we shall soon see what will become of it; and whatever be an Englishman's quality, not to let things alone when they are well, yet in this particular there is a *Dominus opus habet*, and that will go far in all these businesses; and if it go not too far 'tis well.

I shall be very glad to hear that Christ Church goes on, but sorry withal for that which you write after, that there is such a great death of cattle and sheep amongst you, that it cannot begin this year; and a murrain amongst cattle is no good sign.

I leave my Lord of Antrim's patent to the care you mean to take of it for my sake, and I am very much bound to you that you will take the care you do, since I cannot but collect by your letters, that it is for my sake only you do it. But I am sorry the while, that any distaste hath been given you. And for the business that concerns the Lord President of Munster, I am glad to hear from you, that you conceive he hath not given any rough or distasteful answer to my Lady Duchess, and do hereby promise you to do all the good offices I can, that the business may settle to the Lord President's content, and that nothing may be done to the prejudice of my Lord Duke's memory, or the young Duke's fortune [j].

Concerning the Bishop of Cashell [k], I am clearly of your Lordship's mind, that he hath as much as he deserves, and can write no more in that business than I have already; and I profess I would not have writ so much, but for the Queen of Bohemia's sake, who writ to me; but how far you will let that prevail with you, I leave to yourself; only I doubt, if nothing at all be done, his wife will clamour to the Queen

[1] [The Chancellor had been suspended from his office by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland. Wentworth's treatment of him formed part of the eighth charge at his trial.]

[j] [See above, p. 514.]

[k] [Archibald Hamilton.]

again, and it may be, though the man deserve little, if something were done to satisfy their importunity, it might not be amiss; but I leave it wholly to you.

The plantations of Ormond and Clare are a marvellous great work for the honour and profit of the King and safety of that kingdom, and you have done very nobly to follow that business so close[1]; but I am sorry to read in your letters, that you want men extremely to fill that work; and this is the more considerable a great deal, that you should want men in Ireland, and that the while there should be here such an universal running to New England, and God knows whither[m]; but this it is, when men think nothing is their advantage, but to run from government. As for your being left alone in the envious and thorny part of the work, that's no news, at least to me, who am forced to the like here, scarce a man appearing where the way is rough indeed. But as for the encouragement, which you will needs say you have received from me, I am glad if I have given you any, though I profess I cannot arrogate anything in this to myself.

I cannot but continue my counsel still for your health, and that not only out of my due respect to your person, but for the public service-sake of God and the King, there being so few considerable in this public way, indeed not many able, and fewer willing. As for the encouragements in the service, which are reward and punishment, there is as much, if not more, in the right placing them, as in the things themselves; and to place them right, is not every governor's either skill or good fortune, nor the happiness, on the receiving part, of many that serve both prudently and faithfully, which makes up that most certain uncertainty, which waits upon the life of man, at least in regard of his own knowledge of them, or power to prevent or order them, though not in regard of that Supreme Power that is over them. But once for all, if you will but read over the short book of Ecclesiastes, while these thoughts are in you, you will see a better disposition of these things, and the vanity of all their shadows, than is to be found in any anagrams of Dr. Donne's, or any

[1] [See above, p. 501.]

[m] [Three thousand persons are said to have emigrated this summer to New England. See Bancroft, Hist. United States, vol. i. chap. x., who discredits the usually received story that Hampden and Cromwell had intended to be of the number.]

designs of Vandyke; so to the lines there drawn I leave you. This done I shall not need to answer the next passage of your philosophy; but that he that serves shall see how to steer himself, whatever the governor do, or omit, that is over him, and make his best use of that, which is oftentimes worst done. But for your close, I agree wholly with you, that a prince puts a great prejudice upon his own affairs, if he continue a servant longer in any great employment, than he will give him trust and power to execute it.

Your mention of Mr. Hampden (and I must tell you, I like your censure of him and the rest very well) puts me in mind of the Ship-business as now it stands. The Judges have argued by four in a term, and so eight are passed, and four to come for the next term. Of the eight that are past, none have gone against the King but J. Crooke and J. Hutton[n], who both did it, and very sourly. The accidents which have followed upon it already are these: First, the faction are grown very bold. Secondly, the King's monies come in a great deal more slowly than they did in former years, and that to a very considerable sum. Thirdly, it puts thoughts into wise and moderate men's heads, which were better out; for they think if the Judges, which are behind, do not their parts both exceeding well and thoroughly, it may much distemper this extraordinary and great service. But one thing else hath happened strangely, and which must needs do a great deal of hurt. There is a divine, one Mr. Harrison, a St. John's man[o] (I am sorry for it), a man of between forty and fifty years of age, a very excellent good scholar in all kind of learning, but wilful and proud, and that hath full out as much want of discretion, as store of learning; this man, it seems, thought he was able to confute Judge Hutton's argument, and that in a strange way too; for upon Friday, May the 4th, (the Judge having made his argument the Saturday before,) Harrison came into Westminster Hall, and to the

[n] [These were the only two who went against the King. See a statement respecting Crooke's irresolution just at the last in Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 24. Their opinions are reported *in extenso* by Rushworth (Collections, vol. iii. Append. pp. 159—212).]

[o] [Thomas Harrison was Rector of Creeke, in Northamptonshire. The proceedings against him are given in Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. Append. p. 268. See also a letter from Mr. Justice Hutton to the Lord Deputy, Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178.]

Common-Pleas Bar, and there openly accused Judge Hutton of high treason. You must think this made a great noise in the Hall, as indeed it did, and the man was committed to the Fleet. I left this space thinking I might be able before the sealing of my letters to let you know what is like to be done to Harrison for this offence; but he keeps his Whitsuntide in the Fleet, and what will be done to him the next term I cannot prophesy.

I do not understand how the removing of the Bishop of Down to Knockfergus [p], can build the Cathedral of Down; therefore I pray you send me your comment, or else I'll send for the chimney-sweeper of Oxford, according to your advice, and so divert my thoughts.

There is a great contention fallen out between the now Lord Clare [q] and his brother, about the old Lord's will, and some other differences, but what issue it will have, God knows. I find by some of my friends that the Earl is jealous of me, as if I took him to be a man great with the Bishop of Lincoln, and therefore liked him not. But the truth is, his Lordship is a stranger to me, more than that I know him; and I meddle not with his or any man's friendships; I hear his Lordship is a wise man, and not likely to follow any man's courses to his own prejudice.

The Irish Committee hath not sat since your Lordship's last letter came to me; but when it doth, I shall do the best service I can, towards the reglement of appeals from thence.

The last business in your Lordship's letters concerns the composition with recusants; and though I do wish from my heart the King's revenue were increased in another way rather than that, yet since the wisdom of his Majesty and the State have thought it expedient to go that way, I shall be very careful not to distemper any public service, and therefore your Lordship may be sure, as I will do nothing against the thing itself, so neither will I proceed in anything, which shall be thought fit to be proceeded with, but with public allowance. But, my Lord, if any of them shall commit such crimes, as that the conformable subject of England should be punished for them in the High Commission, I hope in that case no man can think it fit they should have immu-

[p] [As proposed by Wentworth.]

[q] [Wentworth's brother-in-law.]

nity; for if that should be once resolved on, that very impunity would in short time make a great step into the change of religion, and God forbid it should have any such operation. As for the Bishop which you mention[r], I shall neither rely upon his judgment, nor be swayed with his earnestness, nor make profit to apparitors, but take only known crimes, and that in the warrantable way. So have you my answer to your large letter.

And now, my Lord, I have not much to add, yet somewhat I have. My Lord of Northumberland was at the last made Lord Admiral[s], till the Duke of York[t] come of age, and I am sure you know the steps of that business. But now (which I am heartily sorry to write) all the hopes of his service are in danger, for he hath been in a high fever now these three weeks; and though the physicians speak of out of danger, yet I for my part, out of my love to him and his worth, am very fearful. I pray God comfort and repair him, for his loss will be great in these times.

Since I writ the passage before concerning my Lady Duchess and the Lord President of Munster, I casually met my Lord Antrim in Court, where I spoke very seriously with him about the business, and found him for himself very reasonable; yet he professed withal, that his Counsel were all clear for his Lady's right, without any recovery to be had from the young Duke at his coming to age. I urged as well as I could what your Lordship had written, and spared not to add withal, how kind your Lordship had been towards him in all his business on that side, and what continual use he must needs have of your favour. My Lord replied with serious protestation, that he held himself very much beholden to you, and should ever labour to deserve your love, and that he thought his Lady would have been as willing as himself, had it not been for two things; the one was, the Lord President had refused to do anything at my Lady's intreats for the relict of Captain Gosnall, notwithstanding the main profit

[r] [Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, who objected to any composition being made with recusants.]

[s] [He was appointed April 13, 1638 (Rymer, Fœd. IX. ii. 206), though the King's intentions were announced March 20. (See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 154.) It appears that Lord Holland expected the appointment. (See Stafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 156.)]

[t] [Afterwards King James II.]

came to his Lordship, though the Captain was the first mover, and that the satisfaction could not be justly demanded of any but of the Lord President, to whom by my Lord Duke's favour the benefit descended; the other was, that Sir Robert Pye[u] and the other trustees for my Lord Duke's estate had given their judgment by the advice of Counsel to his Lady, that the money in question did belong to his Lady's right, and that this would clearly appear. I desired his Lordship, when he saw Sir Robert Pye next, to send him to me, which he did, and Sir Robert Pye affirmed all as I have above written, and having brought his papers with him, showed me first the business concerning Gosnall's widow, who seemed to have some grounds of relief, both in honour and conscience; and this relief, whate'er it were, (at least as it seemed to me,) was to come from the Lord President. And for the other business, he told me, it had received an hearing in Ireland since your Lordship's own time, before Sir William Parsons[v] and Sir George Radcliffe, and was awarded for my Lady Duchess. I could not tell what to say to this, but leaving his other papers (for he had many), I desired copies of his Majesty's letters to Sir William Parsons, and of the award made by Sir William and Sir George Radcliffe, which he sent me, and I send you here enclosed. I cannot tell what I should do more, but if your Lordship shall be pleased to give me any further light, I shall do anything that is fitting for me, though a hard task it will be for me or any man to persuade people to give away their own; though I must needs do my Lord and his Lady this right, that they are very forward to do anything they can, wherein your Lordship's name is used. I have brought Sir Maurice Williams[x] to kiss the King's hand, and more kindness than that he desired not of me. So I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, 14th May, 1638.

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[u] [Auditor of the Exchequer, to which office he was introduced by Buckingham. He garrisoned his house at Farringdon for the King, and was besieged therein by his son, who married Anne, a daughter of John Hampden.]

[v] [Master of the Wards in Ireland.]

[x] [Wentworth's physician.]

LETTER CLIV.

TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL[y].

[Brit. Museum, Add. MSS. 6394, fol. 292.]

WORTHY SIR,—I perceive by your letters, that you have been very careful of our Church-businesses in those parts. And very sorry I am to hear from you to what little purpose that great good pains of yours hath been taken. And now you see I am so well acquainted with these men and their ways, that I was able to prophesy to you that the Synod would fit the time, and provide for you a May-game in May.

I see likewise, that you find my judgment true which I passed upon Balmford, whose peevishness hath done a great deal of harm there, and crossed, or delayed at least, the progress of that which could not but have done a great deal of honour to the English Church, and been of great use and benefit to such Englishmen as live there. But now, since things are so distempered, you must take as prudent and wise a way as you can to regain the ground which Balmford's frowardness hath lost.

I am sorry to hear that such swarms of wasps (for bees they are not) are flown over to those parts, and with such clamours against our Church affairs; for which, God be thanked, there is no cause. Nor hath the Church of England suffered of late any way so much, as by their base and libellous both tongues and pens; for which God forgive them. And if the copy of my speech [z] hath done you such extraordinary good service (as you write), I am heartily glad of it. And if you have any friends there which understand English, I have some copies by me to spare, and will send them to you, if you do but send me word that you have friends there to receive them. That which remains I must leave to your wisdom and moderation, and yourself to God's blessed protection. So I rest

Your very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, May 24th, 1638.

[y] [English Ambassador in Holland.]
[z] [At the censure of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.]

LETTER CLV.

TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

[Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6394, fol. 300.]

S. in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I have had great reason to approve your desires, and your endeavours too, for the advancement of the honour of the English Church in those parts. But I see you will have much ado to do any good that way as things now stand. And whereas you write, that you neither have nor are like to have such opportunities as others in former times have had, I doubt that be too true. For I find that I may say that as well as you. The more to blame they who had not only so fair a time, and lost it; but carried things so as that they have made the work far more difficult for others which come after them.

Concerning the differences which fell out between some English and Scottish ministers, it was very well it went no further than Breda. But sure the answer which you gave about the determining of it there was very well taken. For else I should have been sure to have heard of it, Mr. Secretary Coke having at that present forgotten to acquaint me with it. And, indeed, I think this forgetfulness did the rather fall upon him, because (as himself hath told me more than once) he thinks you give me an immediate advertisement of such things as belong to the Church.

I have herewith sent you a dozen copies of my speech in the Star-chamber; because I find 'tis translated into Dutch: for Dr. Goffe[a] brought me a copy in Dutch not past a day before I received your last letters.

I have together with your letters received a letter from the Queen of Bohemia, and another from Dr. Higgs[b]. And because I know no other way how to convey my answers to their hands, being now at Rhenen, I shall make bold to trouble you with them. And if I have so much leisure to write my answers now, you shall receive them here inclosed;

[a] [See above, p. 347.]

[b] [See above, p. 277.]

but if not, you shall have them the next time I write. So wishing you all health and happiness, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Croydon, July 5th, 1638.

LETTER CLVI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 184, 185.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Since I writ last, I have received no letters from you, and was therefore minded to trouble you with none of mine, till I had heard from your Lordship again, but there are two occasions which make me trouble you with these few lines.

The one is, an offer that is made here for the bringing in of certain finable men into the judicatories there. What he can perform that offers, I know not, but I am therefore glad that he came to me, that I might be able without any further noise in Court to put him into a right way, and have therefore moved the King that I might send him back to you, to judge and order both him and his project. The party hath been very ill, and therefore cannot return yet; but so soon as he is able to go back thither, you shall by his hands receive another letter from me with all particulars.

The other is concerning Croxton, from whom I never heard word since your Lordship settled him upon the benefice he now hath till now, and this letter (the copy whereof you shall find here inclosed[c]) I received not till July the 6th, though it bear date April the 18th, and he that made the pro-

[c] [Croxton's letter is preserved by Prynne (Cant. Doom, pp. 194, 195). Speaking of his own practice he says, "To provide the best I could for the more worthy receiving of the holy Communion last Easter, I have (I thank God for it) been able in some measure to do that here, which able men have sufficiently spoken of elsewhere, I have sacramentally heard the confessions of the people committed to my care in Goran . . . they kneeling before the altar." He then speaks of the conduct of Dean Synge in the Irish

ject above mentioned brought it to me[d]. I remember very well there is somewhat in the Canons of Ireland established last Parliament, that belongs to Confession[e], but I have not the Canons by me at Croydon, and therefore cannot particularize it, only I doubt Croxton hath borne himself too boldly upon it; besides, it seems he hath not forgotten Dean Sing[f], and the business which befel him in the Convocation. Howsoever, upon the whole matter, I thought it very requisite to send the copy of his letter to your Lordship, that if any noise be there made about it, you may timely prevent or meet it, before it do harm in these broken times; and for Dr. Sing, I desire the passage about him may be concealed to yourself, otherwise it will exasperate, but do no good. I did not hold it fit to send this copy to my Lord Primate, because both you and I know he hath a stitch against Croxton already, and I love not to make things worse, since I know too well that very little trifles in Church pretensions make much noise, and are hardly laid down; as you may see by the Scottish business, which is grown very ill.

The Scottish business is extreme ill indeed, and what will become of it God knows, but certainly no good, and his Majesty hath been notoriously betrayed by some of them. There is a speech here that they have sent to know the number of Scotchmen in Ulster; and that privately there hath been a list taken of such as are able to bear arms, and that they are found to be above forty thousand in Ulster only. This is a very private report, and perhaps false, but in such a time as this, I could not think it fit to conceal it from your

Convocation. The receipt of this letter from Croxton was urged against the Archbishop at his trial. See above, vol. iv. p. 288.]

[d] [Croxton states in his letter that the bearer was "a servant to the Earl of Ormond, and Chirurgeon to his troop, by name Michael Oxenbridge."]

[e] [The Nineteenth Canon of the Irish Church provides that "the minister of every parish shall, in the afternoon before the said administration, give warning by the tolling of the bell, or otherwise, to the intent that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those that need it," &c. (Wilkins' Conc. tom. iv. p. 501.)

Wentworth, in his reply to this letter (Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 195), remarks: "There is something further touching confession in these Canons, than are in those of England, and in my poor judgment much to the better. For howbeit auricular confession to the parish priest is not allowed as a necessary duty to be imposed upon the conscience, yet did I never hear any but commend the free and voluntary practice of it to such a worthy and holy person as should be thought fit to communicate with in so serious and important a business."]

[f] [See above, p. 282.]

Lordship, coming very casually to my ears. God bless his Majesty and the State. To His blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and humble Servant,

W. CANT.

Croydon, July 20th, 1638.

LETTER CLVII.

TO JOHN BRAMHALL, BISHOP OF DERRY.

[Rawdon Papers, Letter xix. pp. 50—53.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I shall expect the beginning of the exact account you promise of the Church of Ireland this vacation[g]; and should be very glad it might not only be a beginning, but a full account to this present, if it may be. But whatever you send shall be welcome, till more come; only I pray keep a copy of both, that you may know exactly where you leave, and that you may have it safe, in case the copy you send to me should miscarry. I make no doubt but it will please God and the King to give you good content in the way of service you now are. And for my Lord Deputy and myself, I think you are sure enough of both of us. And howsoever, I am of the same opinion I was, that you are not to think of a private life, but must make a contentment to yourself out of the public as well as you can. I thank your Lordship for your respect to my kinswoman, Mrs. Browne[h]; and if your Lordship and my Lord Deputy do think her daughter will be a fit match for Mr. Howlett[i], I shall easily rest satisfied; and am very glad to hear that Mr. Howlett is a man of that temper and moderation that you express in your letters. But for my own part, I have never been a meddler in marriages, and do not mean to begin now.

[g] [See above, p. 518.] [h] [See above, vol. v. p. 163, note [b].]

[i] [See above, vol. iv. p. 5, notes [a], [b].]

For the Provost, the motion of his keeping the College, though he was a Bishop, proceeded originally from my Lord Deputy, and not from me. And there is no man that loves the Church, but hath great reason to observe him, and give him all the content he can in his just desires. And if it appear to him that the dispensation will not serve, I promise you absolutely for my part, I will not take away the statute. I have written to my Lord again about it, and there leave him free to do whatsoever he shall find best and fittest. For two Bishops being of the Committee for Plantations, you may let it rest if you please; for I am clearly of opinion as well as you, there will be little use of them in my Lord Deputy's time, for he will supply all defects that way. But for after times, though this would have been a good example, yet they will be regulated according to the Deputy there, and his disposition toward the Church; and therefore that must be left to God's blessing, and I will trouble you no further in this particular. I like the clause[1] well you desire should be added to the minutes of those letters which are for Bishops, and I shall deliver a note concerning it in writing to W. Raylton[j], that so it may be put in practice upon the next opportunity, and so after to continue in use. For your brother I have heard no more speech at the Council-table since I writ last. So that if the gentlemen of Cheshire stir not, it may be that business may die. I have nothing else to trouble you with, but to thank you for your love and respect to myself. So I leave you to God's protection, and rest

[1] You shall do well to acquaint my Lord Deputy with this clause, that it may not appear strange to him when the letters come.

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.[k]

Croydon, Aug. 11, 1638.

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[j] [Lord Wentworth's agent.]

[k] [This letter appears to have fallen by mistake into Wentworth's hands, for under the superscription is added in his writing: "In truth, my Lord, though I opened this letter unawares, taking it to have been for myself, yet I only read two or three of the first lines, when finding my mistake I gave over."]

LETTER CLVIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 211—213.]

Salutem in Christo.

My very good Lord,—I am heartily sorry to hear you have been ill, and that that indisposition hath continued from the 22d of June to the 24th of July[l], yet I find you have been subject to two diseases in this space, the army and the stone. And of the two I think the army is the stronger, though the stone be the more painful. Well, I am no physician, yet I'll venture to give you some good counsel, which is, that you should bring down the army, and conquer the stone. And if it be not able to do that for you, then get out the stone, and throw it at the army; and if you can but do this latter, you shall be sure to be master of as many stones as you throw away.

Since I writ last to you about this particular, my Lord of Clare hath been with me. His Lordship told me that the sickness of my Lady, his mother, kept him so long away. He seemed also to know that it was his brother[m] that had written to your Lordship about this difference. I told him I knew not who had written to your Lordship, but I am sure you had written to me upon no partial motive, but only for the maintaining of peace and honour in that family. And that for myself, I had work enough, and should be glad he would refuse me, yet nevertheless, since the work was so good, and that you had desired it, and his brother submitted, I would not refuse the pains. My Lord pleaded that my Lady his mother took it very heavily to be so dishonoured by her son; that she expected reparation, which she doubted could not be given by an award. At last he took time till Michaelmas Term to speak with his mother, and give me an answer.

When William Raylton delivered me your Lordship's

[l] [This letter was in reply to Lord Wentworth's of Aug. 7, 1638. See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 194—196.]

[m] [This was Denzil Holles. See Wentworth's Letter to Laud, May 23, 1638. Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 172.]

letters, he said nothing to me of the letters which are to be mended for the Bishop of Cork[n]; but it comes all to one, so he hath them. For his Majesty is now at Woodstock, but so soon as ever he returns, that shall be done, and the letters sent back. My last gave your Lordship notice, that both the Primate and my Lord of Derry were earnest with me, by their several letters, not against the Provost, but for Mr. Howlett[o], in regard they thought the Statute would no way bear his continuance in the College. I likewise acquainted you what answer I had given both of them. But I am very heartily sorry to hear that there is like to be a new quarrel between the Primate and the Provost. And if your Lordship take his stay in the College to heart, as you write you do, you must prevent that quarrel, or else you will have a party raised in the College to hinder all the good which the Provost might do, which is the chief aim of your wishing his stay there. And methinks you might speak privately with the Primate, and so do what you would with him. As for the Bishop of Derry, I presume you can rule him; but if this be not done, you were better send the Provost fairly with honour to his bishopric, and think of as good a successor as you can for the College.

I writ to your Lordship freely what I knew concerning the Book of Rates, and thereupon was bold to add what I thought was fittest for you, but most freely leaving you to do what you shall find best for the King's service, and most agreeable to that duty which yourself owe him.

For the recusants, and their composition, I can say no more than I have already, nor are they meddled with in any other way than as they give open and public scandal against the laws. So I shall trouble you no more with that.

I see Sir Maurice Williams was knighted to get a wife, and that to make a wife a lady will carry her into Ireland. If she prove an ague, the more fits she hath, the less fit she will be for him. For I never knew physician yet, that was able to do more with his wife in that kind of cure than other men are with theirs. As for men of your experience of three

[n] [This See was vacant by the promotion of Richard Boyle to Tuam. Chappel was ultimately appointed Bishop, being permitted, contrary to Statute, to retain his Provostship.]

[o] [See above, p. 532.]

wives a-piece [p], I have not so little wit as to offer to talk to you. But this I daily see amongst you all, you speak your pleasure of the poor women, and the trouble which they create to you; and yet so soon as ever they are gone, you marry again. I pray, can you tell me what you call this in your experience? But for the Doctor, if his wife do prove an ague, the studying of Hippocrates well will do him more good than either Galen or Paracelsus; for to that most learned author I see most married men have daily recourse.

Out I am of the hearing of Londonderry bells, but I am glad they are there.

I thank your Lordship for your answer concerning Mr. Giles Rawlins; I can expect no more, and he must have patience to stay (though it be two years) till the division of Ormond be made. As for your Lordship's being an old Deputy, that's nothing, for you must be older yet, or it will not be very well either with the King's business or the Church's there.

My Lord, I thank you heartily, that you are pleased to take every thing so kindly that I do. The truth is, I have done all things that I can in your service very heartily, and if I have not been as successful as I wish it might, yet of me you can expect no more than my real endeavours, which you have had to the uttermost both of my power and of my understanding. And I believe, since the writing of your last, there are letters come to you which will give you reasonable content in the business of the Chancellor, to which I refer you [q].

Your Lordship may assure yourself I shall not show anything in your letters to his Majesty, but that which I think shall turn to your advantage. But I'll be sure it shall not prejudice you.

I doubt not but by this time your Lordship hath received my letters from the hands of the party himself [r], who will inform you concerning those criminal persons mentioned. And I thought it best to refer him to yourself, that so no

[p] [Wentworth married first, Lady Margaret Clifford, secondly, Lady Arabella Holles, and thirdly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes.]

[q] [See the King's Letter to the Lord Deputy, Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 196.]

[r] [This refers to a letter which the Archbishop speaks of intending to send by the bearer of Croxton's letter. See above, p. 530.]

man else might make a court business of it, to distemper services there.

I could do no less but acquaint you with that business concerning Croxton, and in that case I thought it fitter to send you the letter itself, than any collection or relation of my out of it. But I am heartily glad if it will so lie asleep. For though the Irish Canon in that particular be much better than ours, and that which he hath done be, for aught I know, according to it, yet I doubt, if it come in question, he will be remembered for the differences which happened in Convocation, and which were pursued by Dr. Sing, and somebody else was in it, as I know you remember.

I do not well understand that which you mention concerning the Earl of Annandale[s]. It is true he went into Scotland, I know, for he came to take his leave of me; but I did not hear him speak of his going into Ireland. But it seems he had some business there, which they would all have if they might. And though I can scarce read his name in your letters, yet you describe him so lively, that I think I am not mistaken in his person. As for his speech, as 'tis like enough to be his, so it savours too much a great deal of the humour of the times. And it will stand the King upon every way to look well to himself, and to consider whom and how far he may trust. For myself, I thank you for putting me in mind of my prayers; for I well know they love me as heartily as they do you. And I have so many tokens of their favour, as that I need not otherwise be put in mind of their love. And yourself may remember what they said to your Chaplain concerning me as well as you.

By the last passage of your letter, I see you are gone on hunting. God send you good sport; and you do well by recreation to settle some health against Michaelmas business overtake you. For my own part, I have scarce had any leisure all this summer.

I find, by your letters, as I said, you are gone on hunting. I hope you will find a time to go on fishing too, for I mean to be a very bold beggar, and desire you to send me some more of the dried fish (I do not know what you call it)

[s] [John Murray, one of the early favourites of King James I. He was created Earl of Annandale, March 13, 162⅓, and died in London, 1640.]

which you sent me the last year; it was the best that ever I spent. And now you cannot say but I give you warning enough; if it prove not too much, 'tis well; for I doubt you will go near to hunt it out of your memory, and then think to stop my mouth with some of your hung beef out of Yorkshire, which, to your skill and commendation be it spoken, was the worst that ever I tasted, and as hard as the very horn the old runt wore when she lived. Nor would I have you think that I go against any old proverb in this, for 'tis one thing for a man not to look a gift-horse in the mouth, and another how gift-beef relishes in one's own mouth. But since you are for both occupations, flesh and fish, I wonder you do not think of powdering or drying some of your Irish venison, and send that over to brag too. Well, there's enough of this stuff. The rest, now that I have spoken with his Majesty, follows.

If Dr. Bruce will justify that Galbreth hath either sworn or subscribed the Covenant, your Lordship is to make stay, and not to put him into possession of Taboine[t]. And in the meantime, I have, by his Majesty's command, spoken with my Lord Marquis Hamilton (who is suddenly and unexpectedly come hither[u]), to inform himself, and send up present word of the truth of it; and if he have subscribed, his Majesty is resolved he shall not have the benefice. In the meantime, I would I knew his Christian name, and the place in Scotland where he subscribed.

I have acquainted his Majesty with the strength of the Scots in Ulster, and made him very sensible of that great inconvenience, as you will see more at large in my inclosed.

[t] [Taboine, or Teaghboyne, a benefice in the gift of the Duke of Richmond, had been held by Thomas Bruce, Archdeacon of Raphoe. It does not appear in what manner this preferment was now vacant, or how the presentation to it came into the hands of the Government. The surmises against Galbreth appear to have been ill-founded; for (in Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 531) mention is made of a "Mr. Archdeacon Galbraith, a Scot by original, but well affected to episcopacy and monarchy, of very good sense and learning, great prudence, and full as great resolution; well beloved and esteemed by all the British officers and gentlemen in those parts." (See Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. i. pp. 524—527.) It may be added, that the name of James Galbreth is, together with that of Thomas Bruce, subscribed to an Abjuration of the Covenant, printed in Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 344.]

[u] [He left Scotland, Aug. 25, to obtain enlarged instructions from the King, and to induce him to accept the Covenant. He left England with new instructions on the day when this letter was written. (See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 765—767.)]

As for their malignity against you for Connaught, you must bear it. But God forbid they should come to have any more strength, either in Connaught or the Derry, or anywhere else in that kingdom, if they go on in the ways of their country, as it now stands.

As for my Lord of Annandale, you have described him notably; and I care not for all that that's merriment, but his speech in the close will not so well down with me: 'I sware sike a gudely sihte it was i' gude faith as liked him intull his vary hart.' For the sight had been very good indeed, had they contained themselves in their duty. But being as they are, 'tis strange he should call it 'a gudely sihte,' but that his wisdom may do anything. I have now done. So God send you good sport in hunting, and a safe return to Dublin to your business, whilst I rest

Your very loving Friend to serve you,

Croydon, Sept. 10, 1638. W. CANT.

LETTER CLIX.

TO SIR FRANCIS WINDEBANK.

[Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.]

HONOURED SIR,—I thank your Honour for your large letter; and I have read it all over to the King, who was as well pleased with your relation as he is altogether unsatisfied with the Bishop's answer and carriage. For the High-Commission business, I shall give your Honour further account at leisure; but I think the Court did him justice, and showed him favour. 'Tis all of a piece; and I think, if you viewed him well, there appeared little show of melancholy, discontent, or of great infirmity by the stone, in his countenance or carriage. Yet I see you are not merciful enough to weep for a man's sorrow, that cries downright for a mother of fourscore years old, and wipes his nose in velvet [v].

[v] [The Editor of Clarendon's State Papers remarks, "This first paragraph relates to Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who was perverted to Popery by one William Hammer, as appears by a letter from Hammer to Sir William Hamilton, then at Rome, who communicated the whole affair to his Majesty, and Secretary Windebank. The Bishop, as appears by some papers

For your advertisement concerning the Bishop of Chalcedon [x], and his sending to Rome to solicit the making of some English titular Bishops, I had that information in my paper before; but with this difference. I heard nothing of the Bishop of Chalcedon's sending, but I heard one Dr. Holden was sent [y], and that he is at or near Rome by this time: and, as I remember, sent by the Seculars in England; and a jealousy cast abroad, as if it had been done with his Majesty's privity at least. I acquainted his Majesty both with what you had written, and what I had heard; and his Majesty commanded me to write unto you, that you should, out of hand, advertise Sir William Hamilton [z] of this, and cause him to labour a prevention as seriously as may be [a].

Mr. Price [b] likewise informed me, that he knew from his confidant in Rome, that Mr. Conn [c] would never be made a Cardinal, unless it may be understood that his Majesty will take it for a courtesy done for his sake. In the meantime, I hear that Conn stands upon his own merit, and talks so. So, upon the matter, the King's favour shall make him, and he not stand obliged to his Majesty. I put this home, and the inconveniences. So his Majesty hereupon commands you to let Sir William Hamilton understand, that his Majesty expects no courtesy thence, and to require him, as opportunity shall serve, handsomely to let that be known. His Majesty presumes you come not at your son, to receive any prejudice by his disease, and would have you come to Court

concerning this business, petitioned his Majesty for leave to go to the Spaw for his health, pretending to be troubled with the stone; but his design being made known to his Majesty, as above, he could not obtain it. Within a year he conformed again."

Laud, in his defence of his treatment of Bishop Goodman for refusing to sign the Canons in the Convocation of 1640, states, "that a writ *Ne exeat regno* was sent him," adding, "that this writ proceeded, not for anything said or done by his Lordship in the Convocation, but upon other information which his Majesty had received from some other agents of his beyond the seas, as shall appear hereafter, if this be objected against me;" evidently referring to the circumstances alluded to in this letter. (See above, vol. iii. p. 291.)]

[x] [Dr. Richard Smith, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, and Vicar Apostolic in England.]

[y] [Dr. Holden, a learned Romish divine, residing at Paris, where he had taken the degree of D.D. He was one of the party in the Church of Rome entitled 'Blackloists.' (See Butler's Memoirs of English Catholics, vol. ii. p. 426.) His controversial writings are referred to in several places by Bramhall.]

[z] [The English Agent at Rome.]

[a] [On Laud's objection to the admission of Roman Bishops into England, see above, vol. iii. p. 419.]

[b] [Father Price, the General of the English Benedictines.]

[c] [George Conn, a Scotchman by birth, the Pope's agent in England.]

so soon as God shall make you able, which I hope will not now be long a doing. To God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Honour's to serve you,

W. CANT.

Hampton Court,
Septemb. 23, 1638.

Endorsed by Windebank:
'Lo. Arch. Cant.
According to his M. pleasure signified in this letter, I have written to Sr W. Hamilton, 28 of this present, in both the businesses mentioned, and commanded him secresy in both.'

LETTER CLX.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 230, 231.]

Salut. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—This letter is as full of love to you and care of your business as you will find it empty of ceremony.

I received about two days since from William Raylton (who is not yet well) a packet from you without a letter; there were in it three duplicates, which I was desired in your name to read over advisedly, and then give you my sense of them. Truly, my Lord, I will.

1. That which concerns the King and your own mistake in the placing of a figure about the valuation of Londonderry lands, is modest and fit, and could not, I think, but please the King[d].

2. That which concerns the four several propositions which have been made to his Majesty about the Derry lands, cost you a great deal of pains to a very good purpose, if as good use will be made of it here, as you have offered from thence[e]. The propositions are very prudently both weighed and compared, and I am clear of your judgment which is best and fittest to be taken; and now you have made me to understand them

[d] [See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 222.]

[e] [Ibid. pp. 222—225.]

so well, I will do the best service I can, if it come in my way.

3. As for the third, I am half-way into purgatory to think such a motion, in such a place, at such a time, amidst such people, should be offered to you[f]; but in this you have played the courtier notably, and I hope to good purpose; you may see by that, what good offices I have done me here, for I have many motions from thence which I can scarce tell what to say to.

But what needs this excuse of not writing to me because of your promise? Your promise was but till Michaelmas, and I asked forbearance no longer, and 'tis now Allhallow-tide; and the reason why I desired that, was partly my being overlaid with these base Scottish affairs, and partly because, by the King's desire, (which I take for a command) I am once more going to be a fool in print[g]; and I had no time but this summer vacation to think of it with any freedom; so you see I hide nothing from you.

Galbreth[h], that would have your great benefice, is a Covenanter; there is certain news of it brought now to the King, and thereupon his Majesty hath commanded me to signify unto you, that you shall not give him the benefice; and yet I will not give you counsel to bestow it without the King's privity. But when you have it in your power, and the time draws on for the bestowing it, if you then send me word, I'll do my best to give you content. I hear further, that this Galbreth hasted out of Scotland for killing a man there, but I am not so certain of this, as I am that he is a Covenanter, that is, upon the matter, that he is a traitor.

I would I had been of your council before you sent to the King to have leave to examine the Earl of Holland[i] in your cause against Sir Piers Crosby[j]. I find many men of quality relish it ill, and, above the rest, Holland is very much nettled; and though I know your Lordship weighs not this,

[f] [This was a letter from the Queen, requesting Wentworth to allow the pilgrimage of the Irish to St. Patrick's Purgatory. See the Queen's Letter and Wentworth's reply, in Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 221, 222.]

[g] [He was at this time preparing the second edition of his 'Conference with Fisher,' for the press. It appeared the following year.]

[h] [See above, p. 538.]

[i] [Henry Rich.]

[j] [This was a criminal information for a libel against Lord Wentworth. See Rushworth's Collections, vol. iii. pp. 888, seq.]

yet two exceptions take many; one, that you would offer this without sending a fair civil letter to my Lord himself, to show some necessity you conceived you had to examine him; the other, that the interrogatories were general, and too much pressing upon him as a Privy Counsellor. It was moved in the inner Star-Chamber by my Lord himself, and the interrogatories found unfit by the common consent of the Lords.

Now I have done for those things. But this morning your servant brought me your letters of October 22d, 1638, and with it a letter from the Bishop of Down to yourself [k]; the Bishop's letter, according to your desire, I here send you back; and, this afternoon, after the Council had been in a body to do our duty to [the] Queen Mother at St. James's [l], I stayed two hours at Whitehall for the King, that your servant might not stay for me. When the King came, I read over (as you desire) both the Bishop's letter and your own to him, and the answer commanded me to give you is this:—

1. First, he thanks you for your great care and circumspection concerning the Scottish business; and though he did send you former direction, that you should have an eye to my Lord Marquis's proceedings, so long as he had hope the Marquis might do good amongst them; yet, now that he sees all the favour he hath showed brings forth no better fruit than their last protestation, his Majesty leaves you to your wisdom with all freedom to take what course you think best, so you take it timely, and suppress them. Therefore now, my Lord, you cannot say but you have your warrant; and my care is such, that I have not slept between the receipt of your letters and this answer.

2. Secondly, whereas the Bishop writes he is informed that some Scots in Ireland are drawing a petition to his Majesty, that they may have the like favour in Ireland which is granted to them in Scotland; to this his Majesty says you may make this answer, That whatsoever he hath indulged to Scotland, is because they have there had sometime a

[k] [See the Letter of Henry Lesley, the Bishop of Down, in Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.]

[l] [Mary de Medicis. She came to England in the October of this year, not in 1637, as I stated vol. iv. p. 114. Laud mentions in that place that this was the only occasion on which he had an interview with her.]

Church-government, such as it was, confused enough, without Bishops; but for Ireland, it hath been ever reformed by and to the Church of England; and your Lordship, his Majesty hopes, will keep the people steady to that; and the Scottishmen which will live there, your Lordship must see that they conform themselves to it, or if they will not, they may return into Scotland, and leave honester men to fill the plantations.

My Lord, this is the sum of his Majesty's answer to both letters. I have moved him to give the like instructions to Mr. Secretary Coke to send you, that all the envy (which is already very heavy) may not lie upon me; but if the King should forget it, or Secretary Coke mistake it, this is the King's resolute answer to me, and you may bide by it, that is, that you take what order you in your wisdom think fittest with your refractory Scottishmen there, so you do it in time, and suppress them before they get the bit between their teeth. So, in haste and weariness, I leave you to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and humble Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Nov. 2, 1638.

LETTER CLXI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 231.]

Salutem in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Just as I had sent away my letters by your servant, my Lady Cornwallis[m] sends to me to entreat me to trouble your Lordship with this postscript only, which is to give you very humble thanks for your favour already showed to her brother-in-law, Sir John Sherlock, and to pray the continuation of the same in any just business of his that shall occasion him to come before you; which kindness of

[m] [Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Ashburnham, and first wife of Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Cornwallis. She was cousin to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and as such Wentworth speaks of her as entitled to any kindness at his hands. (Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 250.)]

your Lordship's I shall add to my score, and with my prayers for your health rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Nov. 5, 1638.

Just as I was reading my letter, this sad information came from Dr. Wickham[n] to my Secretary, which I make bold to send to your Lordship, and am heartily sorry for it, viz. of the lamentable accident of Sir Edward Osborne's son's death, by the fall of the chimneys at York Manor, the last of October[o].

LETTER CLXII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. p. 245.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—These are briefly to let you know that I am so sensible of the business of Pont and his wife, in the diocese of Raphoe, that I have put it again to his Majesty's serious consideration, and thus he hath commanded me to write to your Lordship.

He would have the Bishop of Raphoe[p] to deprive Pont of his benefice for the wild sermon he made against the Bishop's jurisdiction, and to proceed against his wife in such way as her fault deserves, and the laws will bear; and if the crime be not of too old a date, his Majesty would have Sir William Stewart[q] questioned for that whoredom and bastardy; but howsoever that fall out, his Majesty's command is, that if

[n] [Henry Wickham, of King's College, Cambridge, son of William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester. He was Archdeacon of York, and Canon Residentiary, besides holding other preferments. (Wood, F. O. i. 452, 453.)]

[o] [Sir Edward Osborne was Vice-President of the North. His eldest son, Edward, was killed by this accident, and two other children narrowly escaped the same fate.]

[p] [John Leslie, previously Bishop of Orkney. At the beginning of the Rebellion a petition was presented against him by the widow of Pont. He maintained a siege against Cromwell in his palace at Raphoe, and surviving the Rebellion died in 1671. He was the father of the celebrated Charles Leslie.]

[q] [It appears from two subsequent letters of Wentworth that Pont escaped into Scotland, that his wife was imprisoned, and that on the case being heard before the Lord Deputy, Sir William Stewart was publicly rebuked for his contempt of ecclesiastical authority. (See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 270, 337.)]

Sir William Stewart do not give your letters a good answer, and yourself satisfaction in the public way, you are to remove him from being a counsellor in that state, which he serves no better; yet if all or any part of this his Majesty's direction shall seem too sharp, it is left wholly to your judgment to moderate, as you find cause upon the place.

The Earl of Cork[r] and his son were with me at dinner about a month since, all fair, but I then used no speech concerning you; since I heard by Secretary Coke how discreetly and nobly the old man spake of your Lordship, which was the more welcome news to me, the less I expected it: and since coming to take his leave of me, before his return into Dorsetshire, where he means to expect the spring for the use of the Bath, we had a little more free discourse; and truly my Lord did to me speak as much good of your Lordship as any friend you have could do, for your prudence, your indefatigable industry, and most impartial justice, with a protestation that he never spake other language since his coming over, nor ever meant to do; and concluded all with this, that you were the best servant of the Crown that ever came into those parts. He hath likewise promised me some money for St. Paul's. This I thought fit to let you know, the rather because, if I be not much mistaken, he hath been solicited to speak other language. God preserve you and us through these difficult times. To His blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's most faithful humble Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Wednesday, November 21st, 1638, the day of the sitting down of the Assembly in Scotland.

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[r] [Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, so frequently mentioned in these letters. He was now on his way to his seat at Stalbridge, Dorsetshire, with his youngest son, the excellent Robert Boyle, who had just left Eton. (See Biogr. Brit. sub nom. BOYLE, ROBERT.)]

LETTER CLXIII.

TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

[Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 863, 864.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I received your Lordship's letters of November 27; they came safe to me on December 2, after eight at night. I was glad to see them short, but their shortness is abundantly supplied by the length of two letters, one from the Lord Ross[s], and the other from the Dean[t]. They have between them made their word good to your Lordship, for they have sent me all the passages, from the beginning of the Assembly to the time of the date of their letters. And this I will be bold to say, Never were there more gross absurdities, nor half so many in so short a time, committed in any public meeting; and for a National Assembly never did the Church of Christ see the like.

Besides his Majesty's service in general, that Church is much beholden to you, and so are the Bishops in their persons and callings; and heartily sorry I am, that the people are so beyond your expression furious, that you think it fit to send the two Bishops from Glasgow to Hamilton; and much more that you should doubt your own safety. My Lord, God bless your Grace with life and health to see this business at a good end; for certainly, as I see the face of things now, there will very much depend upon it, and more than I think fit to express in letters; nay, perhaps, more than I can well express if I would.

I am as sorry as your Grace can be, that the King's preparations can make no more haste; I hope you think (for truth it is) I have called upon his Majesty, and, by his command, upon some others, to hasten all that may be, and more than this I cannot do; but I am glad to read in your letters, that you have written at length to his Majesty, that you may receive from himself a punctual answer to all necessary particulars; and I [am] presently going to him to write largely to you, that you may not be in the dark for anything.

But, my Lord, to meet with it again in your letters, that you cannot tell whether this may be your last letter, and

[s] [John Maxwell.] [t] [Probably the Dean of Edinburgh.]

that therefore you have disclosed the very thoughts of your heart, doth mightily trouble me. But I trust in God He will preserve you, and by your great patience, wisdom, and industry, set his Majesty's affairs (to your great honour) in a right posture once again; which if I might live to see, I would be glad to sing my *Nunc dimittis.*

I pray, my Lord, accept my thanks for the poor clergy there, and particularly for the Bishop of Ross, who protests himself most infinitely obliged to you.

I heartily pray your Lordship to thank both the Bishop of Ross and the Dean for their kind letters, and the full account they have given me; but there is no particular that requires an answer in either of them, saving that I find in the Dean's letter, that Mr. Alex. Henderson, who went all this while for a quiet and well-spirited man, hath showed himself a most violent and passionate man, and a Moderator without moderation [u]. Truly, my Lord, never did I see any man of that humour yet, but he was deep dyed in some violence or other; and it would have been a wonder to me if Henderson had held free. Good my Lord, since you are good in the active part, in the commixture of wisdom and patience, hold it out till the people may see the violence and injustice of them that would be their leaders, and suffer not a rupture till there be no remedy. God bless you in all your ways, which is the daily prayer of

Your Lordship's most faithful Friend
and humble Servant,
W. CANT.

Lambeth, Dec. 8, 1638.

LETTER CLXIV.

TO THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

[Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 865.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—This day I have received your other letter, with three papers, viz. that which shows you have kept within your Instructions; the copy of the Proclamation

[u] [He had just been appointed Moderator of the General Assembly.]

which dissolves the Assembly[x]; and a copy of the Council's letter to the King[y]: both which his Majesty takes to be very good service done for him, and commands me to give your Grace thanks in his name, which I am very glad to do, and I do it heartily.

I have done, and do daily call upon his Majesty for his preparations[z]. He protests he makes all the haste he can, and I believe him; but the jealousies of giving the Covenanters umbrage too soon, have made preparations here too late.

Dec. 7, 1638.

LETTER CLXV.

TO THOMAS MORTON, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

[Mickleton and Spearman MSS. at Durham.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I perceived by the letters which you sent me by Sir Wm. Bellasis[a], that my last letters came safe to your hands. And that's all the business in them that concerns me.

The next, which is very little, is about your Chaplain whom you have left here behind you in the South. I sent you word that he was going to print a book which my Chaplain had licensed to the press. To this your Lordship answers, That if he would have been ruled by you, he should have printed it long ago. My Lord, in this you are deceived; for this which he hath now put to the press is not the sermon which you wished him to print, but another larger tract, which my Chaplain tells me is indifferent good; but how it will satisfy your Lordship's judgment I do not know.

I have good luck this year with mistaken letters; for I use Natha. Butter, the stationer, to send my letters to my Lord the Bishop of Exeter[b], by his Lordship's appointment. Butter inclosed mine in a letter of his own, and being at the same time to send another letter to a factor of his in Ireland, he sends my Lord of Exeter's letter to his factor, and his factor's

[x] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 854.]

[y] [Ibid. p. 863.]

[z] [To send a fleet to the coast of Scotland.]

[a] [See above, p. 379.]

[b] [Joseph Hall.]

to my Lord of Exeter. Have you none of these devices in the North? Methinks some secretary or other might do as badly there. Well, my Lord, these are only to fill the sheriff's hands, that he may not go down into the country without a writ to serve upon your Lordship. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Decemb. 11th, 1638.

LETTER CLXVI.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH.

[Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 262—266[c].]

Salut. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am heartily sorry to hear that your Lordship is laid up in a fit of the gout, but I hope it is not very sharp, because it gives your Lordship leave to write so many letters, and some of them of moment. And as this makes me believe the fit is not sharp, so I pray God it may not be long. But I see your hunting at Cosha[d] could not prevent this, and I am confident you did not go thither to hunt for it.

I thank your Lordship for your noble respects to my Lord Antrim[e] for my sake; and my respects to him are for his lady, yet I shall press no further for him than his services to the Crown and his good carriage towards you shall merit. And very sorry I am to hear that the lady, being willing to take so great a journey, should be no better fitted at the end of it. I confess I heard some flying reports of it before, but gave no great credit to them till now, that I hear too much from your Lordship. As for their manner of living, let it be as it please themselves, so they pay their debts; for that once done, they are freed from their greatest danger, and may mend anything else at after as they please.

Since I writ last to your Lordship, the Earl of Clare[f] hath

[c] [This letter is a reply to Wentworth's letter of Nov. 27. See Strafforde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 248—251.]

[d] [His hunting seat in the county of Wicklow.]

[e] [See above, p. 499.]

[f] [John Holles, second Earl of Clare, Wentworth's brother-in-law.]

been with me, and absolutely, though in very fair terms, refuses my pains, and all other private ways of ending their differences. He saith further, that the lady his mother [g] hath been so much slandered in this business by her younger son [h], as that she cannot with her honour admit of a private satisfaction, but will have it publicly by law. So the case stands at present. Yet, if they shall change their minds, and become joint suitors to me to hear and end their differences, I will, as your Lordship desires me, take the pains upon me. But I see it will not come to that.

I shall be glad that all may continue in peace between my Lord Primate and my Lord of Cork [i]; but I much doubt it will not be. For when those men take a dislike about matter of opinion, usually their differences are as endless as the controversies of the time use to be. Yet I am glad your Lordship hath been at Drogheda, and that there you find one of the best houses in Ireland. It seems Primate Hampton [j] did that good to the See. And truly I would wonder that the chapel should have never a communion-table in it, save that I knew some divines are of opinion, that nothing belonging to that sacrament is aught *extra usum*, and do therefore set the table aside in any corner (good enough for it), save only at the time of administration. Now I pray you tell me in good earnest, may not churches and chapels be thought so too, might they be as easily removed and set up again as the tables may? But I take myself bound to give you an account, why I think all will not be quiet between my Lord Primate and my Lord of Cork. The truth is, when I understood your Lordship's mind so fully set to have my Lord of Cork continue Provost, I writ to my Lord Primate a very fair answer to a letter of his which he had written against it. In that my letter I made a fair interpretation for the Provost's holding the College *in commendam*, and as I thought then, and do still, a just one; to this I added this clause, that it was fit for his Lordship and myself to give your Lordship all content in anything we might possibly do,

[g] [Anne, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Stanhope, of Shelford, Notts.]

[h] [Denzil Holles, afterwards the celebrated Parliamentarian.]

[i] [William Chappell.]

[j] [Christopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, 1613—1624, had built a new archiepiscopal palace at Drogheda. Mant (Hist. of Irish Church, vol. i. p. 379) mentions also his restoration of the Cathedral and Palace at Armagh.]

considering what a great benefactor under God and the King you have been to the Church of Ireland. But since these letters of mine, sent four months since at least, I never heard word from my Lord Primate. And I take it his Grace hath printed a book since that [k], and sent me never a copy, unless perchance it have miscarried. And yet further I believe, this business of my Lord Cork's holding the College thrives never the better, because I know my Lord of Derry was as earnest with me as the Primate himself was, that the College could not be held *in commendam* by the Statutes. But I have taken no further notice of any of this, than the giving a fair answer, neither I hope will your Lordship.

I can say nothing to the Book of Rates till it come over, and then I believe I shall be able to say as little; for I think it will be referred to the great officers of the Exchequer to consider of. But if anything do come in public to the Board, I must needs be of opinion, that you there understand the trading of that kingdom, and consequently the rates which it may bear, better than Sir Abraham [l]. And yet let me tell you beforehand, that if you have sunk the rates, which he set, overmuch, it will hardly please here. For though Dives dwell in this Abraham's bosom, yet I know where Lazarus dwells too.

I am very glad to hear that Croxton's [m] business sleeps, the times indeed being very ill-disposed for the stirring of any questions, which in themselves are best for the Church. And I thank your Lordship heartily for the care you have of him.

'Tis well that your hunting hath not made you forget your fishing, but I somewhat fear, if it be yet to come from Galway, it will hardly get hither by Lent. And it is the best Lent provision that ever I met with, next to old Sir John Ling. As for venison, if you have any purpose to salt that the next year, your philosophy is very good. It will not take salt if it be heated, and therefore if you do make danger, in the English-Dutch sense of *periculum facere* [n], you must do

[k] [The book alluded to was, 'Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God.' Dublin, 1638. It was several times reprinted.]

[l] [Sir Abraham Dawes, one of the farmers of the Customs.]

[m] [See above, p. 530.]

[n] [This refers to an expression used by Richard Thompson, a Dutchman, born of English parents, and Fellow of Clare Hall, 'Dutch Thompson, as they call him still at Cambridge.' See Life of Ferrar, p. 171, Cambr. 1855, Edit. Mayor.]

it upon such venison as is shot dead in the place; otherwise all, both labour and charge, are lost.

For the martin-skins, when they come, they shall be welcome, but I am sure now they cannot be here by Christmas. And being so much worth, I like your device well of storing your woods with some of the vermin. If they do hurt your pheasants the matter is not great, since their feathers are so much better than the others'.

I am glad Cosha is such a fine mountainous solitary place, and gives you such content; but the error which I was in, when I thought you dry in your chamber, whilst you were wet in the fields, needs not trouble your conscience much to rectify it. If you got yourself well dried, it was ne'er the worse. I have heard of them that have gone up and down in the dew in thin shoes to cure themselves of the gout. Methinks you should try this experiment, rather than lie bedridden as you do. And I doubt whether your Æsculapius, Sir Maurice[o], would approve of the medicine.

Since you refuse to have your hung beef judged by the General Assembly, (and I must needs say your reason is very good against it) my conscience will serve me very well to be both judge and party. For, considering the question goes no deeper than a matter of taste, and the old said saw is, *Non est disputandum de gustibus*, that is, not one man of another's, I hope I shall have the liberty of a subject to be judge and party here. And yet, being thus a judge, I shall deal very justly with you; the beef I received last is excellently good, and so fat as to my knowledge I never saw the like of that bone. So you see you may have your commendation of me when you deserve it. 'Tis a pretty accident that all the officers of your army should meet upon the day of the General Assembly's sitting down in Scotland. It must needs set your *speculativi* on work. And I am glad to hear all that kingdom, not Scottish, are so right set for the Crown. God thank you for it, and so must the King.

I see your Lordship's care hath extended further into your government in Yorkshire; and your judgment is as right there for the stay of the officers, which you have sent to exercise the train-soldiers; for I believe as few miracles

[o] [Sir Maurice Williams.]

as you do, and in a military way least. And for the train-bands of England, I am clearly, and have been long, of your opinion, and it hath exceedingly troubled me to see the carriages of these businesses at the Board. And, which is worse, I have no great hope to see it better. For, even upon this great occasion, I do not find so serious and vigorous proceeding as I could wish. And here give me leave to tell you, there is right now a letter come from Sir Edward Osborne, subscribed by him and all that Council. 'Tis very disserviceable to the King, and displeasing here, but I will not trouble you with the particulars, because I know Mr. Secretary Coke was commanded to write them to you, and I presume he hath, before these can come to you. But this particular I shall acquaint you with, which perchance he hath not. Here is a speech, and I doubt true, that there is some difference arisen betwixt the Vice-President and Sir William Savile[p], which must needs make the King's businesses go worse in that great county, which hath hitherto been so forward upon all occasions. And this I thought fit to impart to you, that you may set all public and private as right as you can.

I thank your Lordship heartily for your care about the Lady Carew's business. 'Tis true, I have been often plucked by the sleeve about it, and that in the Queen's presence; and do therefore heartily wish I had some end of it; and I take myself very much beholden to my Lord of Derry for his mindfulness of it.

Indeed, my Lord, the business of Scotland, I can be bold to say without vanity, was well laid, and was a great service to the Crown, as well as to God Himself. And that it should so fatally fail in the execution, is a great blow, as well to the power as honour of the King. And your Lordship is most right in saying there was a failure in the direction. For the truth is, there was too great a desire there to do all without noise, and there was undoubtedly a great misrepresentation of the business itself there; and some seasons and opportunities slipped, and that more than once, and the easy suffering of oppositions too common in a hundred men and more. But these three last, by your Lordship's leave, were

[p] [Sir William Saville was Wentworth's nephew, being the son of his eldest sister, Anne.]

all errors about the execution, not the direction; but the first of these mentioned by you was indeed an error in the direction, and a great one; but I could not help it. For such of the Bishops of Scotland as were trusted with it, were all for the quiet way; and that fitting his Majesty's disposition, I was not able to withstand it; and indeed must have been thought very bold, had I taken upon me to understand the course of that Church and kingdom better than they. But the main failure in the direction, if I mistake not, was, that all the Lords of that Council were not more thoroughly dealt with by the King, and their judgments more thoroughly sifted, before anything had been put to execution. And I am confident all had gone well enough, if Traquair had done his duty. But he thought he had all in a string, and out of a desire to disgrace some Bishops, did not only suffer, but certainly underhand do some things, which let all loose, and quite out of their imagined power to recal. And this was the greatest bane of the business, which I have been able to observe, next to the overmuch confidence which the King would still put in him, notwithstanding some Bishops still informed how false and unworthy his carriage was. And for that which follows, I wholly agree with you, that since it is come to this height, if his Majesty do not master them, and bring them under obedience, the first error will be so far seconded with a greater, as that the consequences may be God knows what; such I am sure as I hold not fit to prognosticate.

I humbly thank your Lordship for giving me leave to write my thoughts freely. And I did it, when I writ to you to be careful that nothing might be done on that side by you, that might difficult my Lord Marquis's proceedings. For truly, my Lord, I have been as careful of this business as possibly I could, to the utmost of that poor understanding which God hath given me. But now, my Lord, this consideration is at an end; for the Assembly sits, notwithstanding the Proclamation published by my Lord Marquis in his Majesty's name to dissolve it, and that under the pain of treason; and notwithstanding another Proclamation since, setting down the causes why his Majesty dissolved it, and requiring all his subjects not to accept of it as of an Assem-

bly [q]. So that now my Lord Marquis hath sent away his friends that were with him, and they are come to Court these holidays, himself being forced to stay a little longer by reason of a boil broken out upon him, but is now thought to be on his way hitherward. So that you are now free to go in that way for his Majesty's service, which your own wisdom shall dictate to you, according to the instructions lately given you by Mr. Secretary Coke.

And whereas you write, that you are deeply fallen into my Lord Marquis's displeasure, I hope it is not so; but if there be any such thing, it must either come by the infusion of , or if not so, then by the clamours of Sir Patrick Hamilton, who hangs here upon my Lord's followers, and no question hath written to my Lord himself. But I do not much fear this business. For upon Mr. Secretary Windebank's presenting of your Lordship's letters to the King (which William Raylton tells me he did freely and fairly), that business is referred to the Judges, as yourself would have it, and of which I doubt not but he hath given you a full account.

If you hear nothing of Mr. Smithwick or his agent, I have nothing more to say till you do, save to thank you for your readiness to hear them, which I do.

I thank your Lordship also for Captain Sherlock, and your great readiness to pleasure the kindred of the Lord Duke of Buckingham; you have done me a great deal of honour by it with my Lady Cornwallis [r].

Truly I am sorry also for the Vice-President's loss of his son [s], and cannot blame the women and children which are with you if they be fearful of such old, rotten, and yet high-built chimneys, which you say are in the Castle; and you shall do very well, I think, to mend them next spring, and so secure their fears.

For the last passage of your letters, I did the very next morning send the paper, which the Master of the Ordnance put into your hands, to the Vice-Chancellor [t], with a special charge that he should consider of the business. I have no

[q] [See Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 875—881.]

[r] [See above, p. 544.]

[s] [See above, p. 545.]

[t] [Accepted Frewen, President of Magdalen College, was at this time Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.]

answer yet, because this Christmas-time the carrier came not. But if Sir John Borlase be not deceived (as sometimes fathers use to be) in his son's cause, he shall have all the favour he asks [u]. For if that which he desires hath been done for Killigrew [x], or any other, or if it be doable by the Statute, it shall be done for him. But if the new Statutes will not bear it, and that it hath been done for none, then I am confident you will give me leave to stop at it. For, if I shall break the Statutes in my own time, I shall lay all the government of the University loose again to posterity, which I have been almost nine years in rectifying, and, though I say it, have done some good there. But, at first sight, I hope well of this business, and will give you further account of it, wishing very well in my own particular to Sir John Borlase.

I have now done with your letters, but there is another short one by me, which concerns your Chaplain, Mr. Watts [y]. The truth is, I am exceeding sorry I have not in all this time been able to do somewhat for him at your entreaty. But I hope you will pardon that necessity which I am not able to help. For nothing hath fallen in my own gift within distance, to better that which he hath already, and I have not been able to prevail with his Majesty, the suits of his own Chaplains in Ordinary coming so thick upon him for all those few preferments which are now left in the Crown. Yet this you shall be sure of, I will slip no opportunity till I have done somewhat.

My Lord, I have received a letter from one, whether Mr. or Sir Robert Travers, I know not, but Robert Travers is his name, nor do I know in what course of life he is, but in his younger time he was bred in St. John's, where I well remember him. He did never address himself by letters, or any other way,

[u] [The nature of the application on behalf of Sir John Borlase's son does not appear. It may possibly refer to some favour to be conferred on his son Edmund, who about this time must have been studying at Dublin, and who was afterwards incorporated as M.D. at Oxford. He was the historian of the Irish Rebellion. (Wood, F. O. ii. 226.)]

[x] [Henry, the youngest son of Sir Robert Killigrew, had taken his M.A. degree in July, 1638. But it does not appear under what peculiar circumstances.]

[y] [Rich. Watts, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Chesterton. He was of kin to Scott, alias Rotherham, the second founder of Lincoln College. (Wood, Ath. Ox. iii. 434.) Walker (Sufferings, p. 391) states that he had also the Living of Mildenhall, in Suffolk, and gives as the reason of his sequestration from that benefice, that he prayed for the Earl of Strafford after his conviction.]

to me, till now. Now his letters bare date Sept. 24, from Cork, and the desire that is in them is general, that I would write to make him known to your Lordship and my Lord of Derry, but sure it is for some good to be done him, could I tell what. My suit therefore to your Lordship must be as general as his to me, and 'tis only this, that if he come in your way, and deserve favour, you will do what in honour and wisdom you shall think fit, and let him know that I have written to your Lordship to take notice of him. So 'tis time to make an end, and I leave your Lordship to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend to serve you,

Dec. 29, 1638. W. CANT.

LETTER CLXVII.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 177.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received an order from the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, giving me notice of the great preparations made by some in Scotland, both of arms, and of all other necessaries for war; and that this can have no other end than to invade or annoy this his Majesty's kingdom of England. For his Majesty having a good while since most graciously yielded to their demands for securing the religion by law established amongst them, hath made it appear to the world, that it is not religion, but sedition that stirs in them, and fills them with this most irreligious disobedience, which at last breaks forth into a high degree of treason against their lawful Sovereign. In this case of so great danger, both to the State and Church of England, your Lordship, I doubt not, and your Clergy under you, will not only be vigilant against the close workings of any pretenders of that kind, but very free also to your power and proportion of means left to the Church, to contribute towards the raising of such an army, as, by God's blessing, and his Majesty's care, may secure this Church and kingdom from all intended violence. And according unto the order sent unto me by the Lords (a copy whereof you shall herewith receive [z]), these are to pray your Lordship to

[z] [See Prynne, Hidden Works, p. 174.]

give a good example in your own person; and with all convenient speed to call your clergy, and the abler schoolmasters, (as well those which are in peculiars, as others,) and excite them by yourself, or such commissioners as you will answer for, to contribute to this great and necessary service, in which if they give not a good example, they will be much to blame. But you are to call no poor Curates, nor Stipendiaries, but such as in other legal ways of payment have been, and are by order of law bound to pay. The proportion I know not well how to prescribe to you, but I hope they of your Clergy whom God hath blessed with better estates than ordinary, will give freely, and thereby help the want of means in others. And I hope also your Lordship will so order it, as that every man will at the least give after the proportion of three shillings tenpence in the pound of the valuation of his living, or other preferment, in the King's books. And this I thought fit to let you further know, That if any man hath double benefices, or a benefice and a prebend, or the like, in divers dioceses, yet your Lordship must call upon them only for such preferments as they have within your diocese, and leave them to pay for any other which they hold, to that Bishop in whose diocese their other preferments are. As for the time, your Lordship must use all the diligence you can, and send up the moneys, if it be possible, by the first of May next. And for your indemnity, the Lord Treasurer is commanded to give you such discharge, by striking a tally, or tallies, upon your several payments into the Exchequer, as shall be fit to secure you without your charge. And of this service you must not fail. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Januar. ult. 1638. W. CANT.

Your Lordships must further be pleased to send up a list of the names of such as refuse this service within your diocese; but I hope none will put you to that trouble.

It is expected that your Lordship, and every other Bishop, express by itself, and not in the general sum of his Clergy, that which himself gives.

LETTER CLXVIII.

TO THOMAS MORTON, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

[Mickleton and Spearman MSS.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The opportunity of sending makes me write these my letters to your Lordship. And though I doubt not but that of yourself you will be very ready to do his Majesty and the Church all faithful service to the utmost of your ability, yet considering the danger of the times, and the hazard which both your Lordship and a great many more in those parts will run in case any disaster should happen (which God forbid), I thought it not amiss to give you this friendly Item, and to pray you to use all the possible care and industry you can, that the Clergy under you be not found backward in furnishing of arms, or performing any other duty which they owe to God or the King. I shall not need to instance in any particulars, as being very confident of your Lordship's care and providence in the general. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Febr. 10, 163$\frac{8}{9}$.

My Lord, there is a book of mine newly come wet from the press[a], but the haste of these would not suffer me to send you one now. You shall not miss, God willing, both of that and another letter very shortly.

LETTER CLXIX.

TO SIR JOHN LAMB, DEAN OF THE ARCHES.

[Prynne's Hidden Works, p. 178.]

After my hearty commendations, &c.—I have received a warrant from the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, which requires me to write to all the Bishops in my Province, to call their Clergy together, and put them in mind of the great danger which this kingdom is in, by

[a] [The Conference with Fisher.]

the traitorous conspiracies of some ill-affected in Scotland. These seditious persons have begun, and continued hitherto, their foul disloyalty under the pretence of religion, which by factious spirits in all times is made the cloak to cover and hide (if it might be) their designs. But now it appears clearly to the State, that they daily strengthen themselves by arms and munition, and other preparations for war. And though his Majesty hath graciously condescended to more than they could justly ask in all things concerning their religion and their laws, yet they go on still, and are satisfied with nothing but their rebellious disobedience, and have no less aim than to invade or annoy England. The letters to the several Bishops I have sent as I was commanded, and I doubt not but they and the Clergy in general will give very freely towards this great and necessary defence of the kingdom. And because this great and common danger cannot be kept off, but by a common defence; and for that the reverend Judges and others of the Common-Law have bountifully expressed themselves already; I am required to write to you also, that you, calling to you the rest of the Doctors of the Commons, propose to them now, while most of them are together, this great and weighty business, belonging as much to their defence, as to other men's; and let every man set down what he will give to this service. When this is done I will acquaint his Majesty with it, and your and their forwardness therein[b]. And it is expected that you hasten this with all convenient speed. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth, Feb. 11, 1638. W. CANT.

You must send to such Chancellors and Officials, as are not at the Commons, but at their several residences. And if you give them a good example here, I doubt not but they will follow it.

You shall not need to call Sir H. Martin, for his Majesty will send to him himself, and looks for a greater sum than in an ordinary way.

[b] [The sum contributed by them was 671*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* 'besides remains.' See Prynne, Hidden Works, p. 177.]

LETTER CLXX.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. cclxxvi. pp. 182, 183.]

Salutem in Christo.

VIR EXIMIE,—Binas a te accepi literas. Diu hæserunt apud me quasi mutum, et nihil respondentem. Harum priores ad me datæ sunt pridie Kalend. Octob. 1637; posteriores vero 12 Kalend. Augusti 1638.

Puderet me certe tanti silentii tali amico, nisi satis tibi, nimium mihi, nota essent intestina pericula, pene jam bella, quibus laboramus. Causa horum malorum e scandalo accepto, sed non dato, prorupit, sed cum gravi scandalo dato Religioni Reformatæ, quæ apud multos Scotorum (in tenebris illiteratorum illiberaliter versantes) didicit contra Regem suum arma sumere, et assumpta defendere. Spero meliora, sed vix habeo quod promittam.

Nolo particularia literarum vestrarum examinare, non solum quia non datur otium, sed quia negotia cum tempore ut plurimum aut variantur, aut finiuntur. Præcipue post tam longa intervalla, quibus, necessitate pene cogente, prorsus silui. Spero tamen uxorem tuam e longo illo, quem meministi, morbo liberatam.

Quod vero nunc me impellit te, Vir literatissime, et otia tua, si quæ habes, interpellare, hoc est. Voluit Rex Serenissimus (i. e. apud me jussit), ut scripta quædam mea, non tamen sub meo nomine tunc edita contra Fischerum Jesuitam [c], iterum prelo, et sub nomine proprio, committerem. Interim scripsit contra illa mea Jesuita A. C., Fischerus ipse, an alius, nescio [d]. Multa impedierunt, quo minus illi possem respondere; præcipue vero multiplicitas negotiorum, quibus quotidie fatigatus, et qualibet fere horula avocatus fui, me penitus ineptum reddidit huic operi. Sed institit Rex Serenissimus; ego obtempero; et sine læsione octavi præcepti temporis quædam fragmenta furatus sum, et lucubrationes meas, quales quales sint, perfeci, et in lucem edidi. Nolui te hoc ignorare, et libellum tibi misissem, nisi quod Anglico idiomate conscriptum tibi prorsus inutilem fore putarem.

[c] [Vide supra, vol. iii. p. 140.] [d] [Vide supra, vol. ii. p. [xiv].]

Sed audio ita quibusdam hic placuisse, ut in se suscipiant e malo Anglico bonum Latinum facere, saltem quod ad phrasin attinet. Nam aliter quid poterit a me jam sene, et per annos totos duodecim ad minimum a libris literisque avulsum, expectari. Quamprimum liber iste meus, utcunque imperfectus, Latine loqui didicerit, tibi exemplar mittam, et acerrimo judicii tui acumini subdam, libentius a te amico auditurus in quibus erravi, quam ab inimicis, apud quos utriusque factionis scio decretum esse non parcere. Vivas valeasque, et me, ut soles, ames, et contra malevolos orationibus tuis, quoties coram altari Dei et Christi nostri sis devolutus, tutum præstes

Tibi tuisque amicissimum,

W. CANT.

Dat. ex ædib. Lambethan. pridie Calen. Mart. 1639.

LETTER CLXXI

TO CERTAIN SWISS PASTORS.

[Apud Præst. ac Erud. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dlii. pp. 799, 800.]

Wilhelmus Laud, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Pastoribus et Professoribus Helveticis, S.

Confratres mei carissimi, doctissimique Ecclesiarum et Academiarum Tigurinæ, Bernensis, Basileensis, et Schaphusianæ Pastores et Professores.—Literas vestras datas Tiguri 21, Martii 1639, ego recepi 11, (unum scilicet earum exemplar,) duplum vero earundem April. 18, stilo nostro. Et gratæ certe mihi fuere duplici nomine, scilicet quod vestræ, et quod Christianæ pacis suasoriæ. Tales enim decent ejusdem corporis membra, eosque qui communionem sanctorum et credunt et profitentur.

Et certe quod monetis, quanta calamitas Germaniam vestram, et præ cæteris partibus Palatinatum, invaserit, non ignoro; sed nec miseriarum illarum oblitus sum, quæ civilia arma ubique sequuntur, et quæ Britanniam nostram proprio sanguine madidam cito redderent, si invalescerent: sed summis et quotidianis precibus Deum et misericordiarum omnium Patrem oremus, ne sic in ore gladii tantum non nostri pereamus.

Cæterum acerbum licet sit, verum tamen est, quod scribitis, Serenissimum Regem nostrum exercitum in Scotos suos, non suos, ducendum conscripsisse, imo conscriptum duxisse, et nunc una cum exercitu in partibus Regni borealibus paratum esse ad eorum insolentias reprimendas. Sed sicut antehac omnia tentavit, quo rebelles ad meliorem mentem reduceret; ita nullus dubito, quin, si adhuc quæ tuta, quæ honesta, quæ subditis factu necessaria, et secundum Christi religionem ac patrias leges debita facturi sint, clementissimus Rex reliqua omnia, etsi valde facinorosa, oblivioni sepelienda sit traditurus. Reliquum Epistolæ vestræ gratiosissimæ in duas se diffindit partes; una est, quod nullas vobis omnino (sic scribitis) vel cognoscendi vel judicandi sumitis partes, nec velle vos falcem mittere in alienam messem. At messis hæc, piissimi fratres, non prorsus aliena est. Epistola enim vestra sic orditur; 'Si patitur unum membrum, dolent omnia.' Corpus itaque unum, alias non membra ejusdem, et qua unum non alienum. Nec cognoscendi partes potestis declinare. Hoc enim dicitis omnium sermone percrebescere, et literis amicorum confirmatum vobis esse, nec tristius quidquam turbis hisce nostris universæ Reformatæ Ecclesiæ accidisse. Sed sensu forte forensi vocabulum cognoscendi usurpatis, sicut et judicandi. At utinam judicandi partes in vos susciperetis, et sicut huc literas pacificatorias amice et prudenter misistis, mitteretis etiam ad conjuratos Scotorum alias, quæ suaderent Regi suo obedientiam, confirmarent Regiam in causis Ecclesiasticis, eandem quam optimi Judæorum Reges exercuere, potestatem, condemnarent armatam eorum, sub prætextu Religionis, potestatibus a Deo ordinatis resistentiam, primitivis Ecclesiæ temporibus inauditam; dico, condemnarent et vestræ et omnium Reformatarum Ecclesiarum tum literæ, tum sententiæ.

Nam eo usque excrevit Confœderatorum rebellis audacia, ut post se reliquerit omnem vel Jesuiticam. Et nihil non factura est in Regem suum nativum, cumque clementissimum, in ordine ad Deum et Religionem. Et quod nescio magis dolendum quam execrandum sit, ita potenter apud eos operatur humani generis hostis, ut nulli majores horum tumultuum antesignani sint, quam ministri, et nullibi magis quam e suggestu subditi contra Regem suum pientissimum animen-

tur. Iterum dico, condemnarent. Nam rebellio isthæc adeo gravis et odiosa est vel moderate sapientibus, ut verear, ne tota Reformata Ecclesia pessime audiat ab omnibus præsentibus posterisque, si non aliquid saltem publice scribatur contra infamem hanc erga Principes conjurationem. Nec pericula nostra, qualiacunque futura sint, majora tripudia aut æqualia Ecclesiæ Reformatæ ludibria creare possunt, ac scandala hinc suppullulantia, quæ religionem ipsam omni infamiæ subjiciunt.

Altera est, quod ex ingenuo (sic dicitis) Helvetiæ vestræ spiritu, ex affectu erga Britanniam nostram, non nuper assumpto, sed a majoribus vestris hausto, ex periculis bellum intestinum sequentibus, denique ex conscientiæ pace, et nominis mei gloria, id velim efficere, ne res armis, sed regia auctoritate et clementia conficiatur, &c. Id velim efficere? Mutate, obsecro, mutate sententiam. Nam si id possem efficere, statim effectum daturus essem. Deum testor et Regem unctum suum, et senatum Regium, qui Regi a secretioribus sunt consiliis, quotquot tum præsentes erant, me omnia et sola pacis consilia et privatim et publice subministrasse. Quin et fere solus rationibus simul et orationibus apud Regem pientissimum militans (vera dico) illud tandem obtinui, ut rebellibus inter Scotos omnes pacis conditiones semel iterumque et sæpius offerrentur, quæ aut Rex cum honore concedere, aut subditi ulla juris specie expectare potuerunt [e]. Interim Rex Serenissimus nihil obtinuit, illis Gorgonis capite concussis, et in saxeam duritiem conversis. Nec adhuc tamen desisto, sed qua possum fide, pacem suggero, si inimici non essent rebelles tam sibi quam nobis, et vereor ne plus paci, quam aut nobis aut sibi. Et quid, quæso, in his angustiis potest imbecillitas mea, quando cum illis res agitur, qui aut pacem nolunt, aut talem volunt, quam nulla Regia Majestas ferre potest? Si quis interea me detulit apud vos ut inimicum pacis, (scio enim me utrique factioni invisum satis) Deum oro illi misericordiam, mihi patientiam donet.

Interea depositum hoc meum apud vos relinquo. Vera sunt quæ scribo, et sicut adhuc fui, ita semper ero pacis studiosissimus, modo illa justis conditionibus obtineri possit. Et Deus, in cujus manu corda Regum sunt, Regi nostro

[e] [Vide supra, vol. iii. p. 279.]

pacatissimo det, ut sola consilia salutaria, Deo grata, sibi ipsi gloriosa, regno tuta, et Ecclesiæ universæ utilia amplecti velit. Quod vero ad vos attinet, precor omnia felicia, et gratiam hic et gloriam in futuro.

Datum ex ædibus meis Lambethanis,
April. ult. 1639.

LETTER CLXXII.

TO THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF EXETER.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dccccxliii. p. 471.]

S. in Christo.

After my hearty commendations,—I send you by this bearer the orders I have drawn up by his Majesty's command concerning the letting of the leases of your manors[f], upon which his Majesty had graciously laid a restraint for the good of that Cathedral, and of succession in it, as well as of yourselves the present Dean and Chapter there. When I set myself to this business, you were present at the hearing and settling of all things. And I have kept myself close to that which I then thought fit, and yourselves consented unto. Since that hearing and settling of the business, I have by letters acquainted his Majesty with all that I have done therein. And his Majesty is graciously pleased to approve of all that I have done, and commands your obedience in all things, with the like command upon myself to have an eye upon it, and see that you perform it. And I hope you will be so careful of your own and the Church's good, as that by your ready obedience and care therein you will ease me of that burden, which otherwise must be upon me, to call continually upon this business. You all know what trouble you have put me to, and how often, to settle peace among you[g]. And one great occasion of those dislikes of one another's proceedings hath risen from the variety of opinions concerning the leasing of these manors; which now being at an end, if there be not better order and more peace amongst you hereafter, I shall attribute it to something amiss in your own

[f] [These orders are printed above, vol. v. pp. 493—495.]

[g] [See Laud's Account of his Province for 1634, vol. v. p. 325.]

dispositions, which I should be loth to do. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 3, 1639.

LETTER CLXXIII.

TO THOMAS MORTON, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

[Mickleton and Spearman MSS.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your letters of July the 3d, by the hands of Dr. Cosin; and I heartily thank your Lordship for them. For the Doctor, I do very well know his deserts are great, and his means not so. But his Majesty hath a very good opinion of him; and that will, I doubt not, in good time mend his fortunes[h].

I thank your Lordship heartily for your kind acceptance of my last letters; and as you acknowledge them punctual, so I assure you they were true, and real, and without any empty pretensions at all. And for the business of your Chaplain, Mr. Williams[i], and the Prebendal House which the Bishop of Lichfield[k] claims, I shall do indifferent justice between them to the utmost of my understanding, if it come on to hearing. His Majesty's being so long in these parts troubles us all, and makes me for the present have no more to say to you, than to write myself

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 18th, 1639.

[h] [Cosin was preferred the following year to the Deanery of Peterborough.]

[i] [This appears to be Nathan Williams, Preb. of Offley, in the Ch. of Lichfield.]

[k] [Robert Wright. Wood describes him as being much given up to the affairs of the world. (See above, vol. v. p. 346.)]

LETTER CLXXIV.

TO HUGH MENARD.

[Cotelerii Patres Apost. tom. i. ad init.]

Hugoni Menardo Salutem in Christo.

LITERATISSIME VIR,—Gratæ fuerunt mihi valde literæ tuæ, quas una cum Epistola (ut dicitur) Barnabæ, et lucubrationibus tuis annexis[l], accepi. Benevolentia vestra erga me, nescio unde orta, pergrata est, is tamen non sum, qui illud ausim in me suscipere, quod et in literis privatis, et præcipue in Epistola dedicatoria ascribis, et calamo (ut mihi videtur) uberiori quam par est. Post gratias itaque tibi, vir docte, repensas, breviori forsan stylo, quam expectas, sed meo, et quo uti necessitas, et negotiorum moles cogit, hæc pauca dicam.

Barnabæ Epistolam satis antiquam agnosco, non canonicam. Hoc aperte a te dictum vellem, ne auctoritatem ascribendo huic nomini celebriori parum confirmatam, simul et nomini et auctoritati injuria fiat; quin et ipse tibi aliqua, quasi hoc nescires. Quominus autem credam hæc Barnabæ scripta et genuina esse, hæc sunt quæ impediunt.

1. Numeralis illa theologia, sive scientia trium litterarum I. H. T. (ut loquitur[m]) mihi non placet. Nam etsi nescius non sum, scriptores satis et antiquos et consultos (Tertullianum, Clementem Alexandrinum, Irenæum, et alios[n]) in ea ludere aliquando, tamen non sapit spiritum Apostolicum.

2. Non magis mihi arridet illa Judaica Deuterosis, quam Barnabas hic arripuit, de sex mille annis mundi[o], de qua nec D. Paulus, S. Barnabæ conjunctissimus, nec quisquam alius Apostolorum somniavit, (appropinquare potius diem Dominicum ubique prædicant) nec Hydaspes, aut Trismegistus, vel Sibyllæ id possunt efficere, ut fides huic detur.

3. Vel ingens admittitur ἀντιχρονισμὸς in hac Epistola, aut auctor non est Barnabas; loquitur enim aperte de excidio

[l] [Opus hoc, post mortem Menardi, prodiit Parisiis A.D. 1645, cura Lucæ Dacherii.]

[m] [Vide S. Barnab. Epist. § ix. Cotel. Patr. Apost. tom. i. pp. 28, 29, Amst. 1724.]

[n] [Vide annot. in hunc locum.]

[o] [Ibid. § xv. p. 45.]

Hierosolymitano, quod post mortem Barnabæ accidit [p]. Nec sufficit dicere, quod in annotationibus adjicis, spiritu prophetico et prævidente, et sic de re futura, quasi jam præterita, pronunciante hæc scripsisse Barnabam; principii enim hæc petitio esset, utrum hanc Epistolam, aliave aliqua scripserit Sanctus Barnabas spiritu prophetico.

Ad annotationes vestras quod attinet, doctas quidem et eruditas, quia vis (sic enim scribis) ut aliquid meorum admisceam, loquar eadem libertate, quam ipse tibi vindicas. Quædam explicanda, quædam corrigenda sunt, sive critica spectes, sive theologica. Quin et properante calamo aliquid excidit, quod hic apud nos viri doctiores non nimis approbant, ne quid gravius dicam. Quin et agitavit multa Barnabas hic, quibus animos incautos facile percelleret, quæ tamen ne levi digitulo tetigisti ad cicatricem obducendam; cum apud nos non pauci sint, qui nova moliendi quamlibet ansam arripere avidissimi sunt. Qualia sunt, fuisse Ecclesias istis sæculis incognitas, priusquam ad Constantini tempora veneris, non comparentes. Denique templis non manufactis habitare Dominum, et similia; quæ fluctuante populo aut non proponenda, aut non sine antidoto.

Alia forte sunt limatius adhuc perpendenda, sed et alia etiam me ab altiori hac de re consideratione, et a libris ipsis et eorum usu penitus avocarunt. Hæc tamen summatim (negotiis licet pene obrutus) scribere in animum induxi meum, ne benevolentia vestra in ingratum tibi videretur incidisse. Breviter itaque hæc velim; aut ut ipse accuratiori filo rem omnem perpenderes; (et in hunc finem, si placet, chartulas tuas remittam, per manus honoratissimi viri Domini Scudamore, nuperrime ad Regem Christianiss. legati, qui eas mihi tradidit;) aut, si visum fuerit, chirographum a te expectabo, quo opus hoc mihi vel capellanis meis submittas, ut quædam vel refingantur, vel addantur, priusquam in lucem prodeat; et utrum horum tibi placuerit, factum dabo. Epistola vero dedicatoria, quam vis perlegi, nimias in me conjicis laudes, et quarum ne ipse apud me conscius sum. Nec modestia id pati potest, ut hic, sub meo auspicio, laudes propriæ prelo mandentur. Itaque si post paulo attentiorem hujus Epistolæ culturam, eam cum annotationibus, nomini

[p] [Vide S. Barnab. Epist. § xvi. Ibid. p. 48.]

meo dicatam, vis in lucem prodire, necesse erit Dedicatoriam plane aliam facere, aut eam ibi apud vos excudere, etiamsi opus ipsum hic apud nos publicum fiet; ni tu adulator, ego arrogans audire velimus. Hæc breviter sunt, quæ dicere volui potuive, in angustiis illis et temporum et negotiorum, in quæ conjectus sum. Quæ, obsecro, eodem animo accipias, quo scripta sunt; et si quæ non placent, aut minus firma tibi videntur, ea aut non mihi, aut saltem non nisi mihi implicato placeat ascribere. Vale, meque inter tuos reputa

Tibi amicissimum,

W. CANT.

Ex ædibus meis Lambethanis,
Jul. ultimo, 1639.

LETTER CLXXV.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dccccxliii. p. 655.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The state of the Scottish affairs, as now they stand, cannot be unknown to you. Nor the violence which hath been used in Church businesses. Nor the indignities which have been put upon such grave and orderly Churchmen there, as have showed themselves dutiful towards his Majesty, and zealously careful of good order in the Church. For divers of them have been forced to forsake their country, and to betake themselves with their wives and children, some hither, and some to Ireland, the persecution at home showing no mercy. In this their extremity his Majesty, out of a Christian and pious care to preserve them which have suffered for him and the Church of Christ, hath thought fit to provide in some measure for their necessities; and as soon as might be. And hath therefore taken some of them to his own care, and recommended divers to the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper for such benefices as exceed not 100*l.* per annum. And hath commanded me to take care of other some. And to write my letters to every Bishop in my Province, to provide for one or more of them, according as any benefice within the value aforesaid shall fall void within

their gift and disposition respectively. And my Lord the Archbishop of York is to do the same for his Province. To your Lordship his Majesty hath commanded me to assign , and doubts not but you will take the best care you can accordingly. Of which you must not fail. Nor of giving me an account of the receipt of these letters. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, October 13, 1639.

So soon as your Lordship can provide for any of them, you are to give notice hither, that the man, or men, may be sent down to receive the benefice, or benefices, which shall be in your disposal for them.

LETTER CLXXVI.

TO THOMAS MORTON, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

[Mickleton and Spearman MSS.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Your Lordship's letters of August 28 have lain long by me; but it was partly because I had then no opportunity of sending, and partly because the times are so full of danger, that, as I know not whom to believe, so scarce do I know what to write in answer to the contents of your letter. Yet now that term is come and opportunity given me to write, I thought it not longer fit to leave you without an answer, such at least as I am able to give.

Your complaint is somewhat large, that there hath been sinister working against you through the sides of others. But your Lordship shall do well not to trouble yourself much with it. For I know not that Bishop whose place calls him to do anything, but he is so served; so at least: but for myself 'tis not only so, but besides that I am publicly laid at on all hands, and have no fence but to bear it.

I took the best care that I could with Bar. Hendon[q],

[q] [Sir Robert Hendon, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.]

that he should do for you and your See whatsoever he was able to do with honour and justice. I see by your letters he hath performed both with me and you. And I have given him thanks for it. And the truth is, the Church hath had very good assistance from him in the Exchequer ever since he sat there.

Mr. Treasurer[r], who was with you when you writ your letters, is now here with us, and I am very glad to hear from you how much good he hath done in those parts. The truth is, if the Church had had no worse friends than he, when the King was at Berwick, I think things had gone better than they did. But that's now past; and the next generation will both censure and feel, if things go on in the way they now are. I pray God bless the King and the Church. So to His blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

Lambeth, Octob. 26, 1639. W. CANT.

LETTER CLXXVII.

TO JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP OF EXETER.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 233, 234.]

THE rest of your Lordship's letter[s] is fitter to be answered by my own hand; and so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brotherlike to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure and better advice, (so you are pleased to write,) I do not only thank you heartily for it, but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom, put some few animadversions, such as occur on the sudden, to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work, in which so much is concerned.

And first for Mr. George Graham[t]. I leave you free to work upon his business and his ignorance as you please, assuring

[r] [Sir Henry Vane, appointed Sept. 1639 Treasurer to the Household. His jealousies against the Court had not yet manifested themselves.]

[s] [The letter to which this is a reply is printed by Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 231—233. The work of Bishop Hall which is alluded to, is his 'Episcopacy by Divine R'ght.']

[t] [George Graham, Bishop of Orkney, had recently abjured Episcopacy. His form of abjuration is preserved in Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. 957.]

myself that you will not depart from the gravity of yourself, or the cause, therein.

Next you say in the first head, That Episcopacy is an ancient, holy, and divine institution. It must needs be ancient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus, So ancient as that it is of divine institution? Then you define Episcopacy by being joined with imparity and superiority of jurisdiction. This seems short; for every Archpresbyter's or Archdeacon's place is so, yea and so was Mr. Henderson in his chair at Glasgow; unless you will define it by a distinction of Order. I draw the superiority not from that jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops *jure positivo* in their audience of ecclesiastical matters; but from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of excommunication. Again, you say in that first point, That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of God's ordinance. This proposition I conceive is *inter minus habentes;* for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained; the Christian faith was never yet planted anywhere, but the very first feature of the body of a Church was by, or with, Episcopacy; and wheresoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an abdication, for certainly there it was *a principio.* In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian government may be of use, where Episcopacy may not be had. First, I pray you consider, whether this concession be not needless here, and in itself of a dangerous consequence. Next, I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more than in title only. Thirdly, since they challenge their Presbyterian fiction to be Christ's kingdom and ordinance (as yourself expresseth), and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper ourselves, for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva; and this must be sadly thought on.

Concerning your Postulata I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom, among which the two first[u] are true, but (as expressed) too restrictive. For Episcopacy is not so to be

[u] [The first postulatum, as proposed by Bishop Hall in his letter to the Archbishop, was as follows: "That government which was of apostolical institution, cannot be denied to be of Divine institution." Laud's suggestions

asserted to apostolical institution, as to bar it from looking higher, and from fetching it materially and originally, in the ground and intention of it, from Christ Himself, though perhaps the Apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adversaries of Episcopacy are not only the furious Aërian heretics (out of which are now raised Prynne, Bastwick, and our Scottish masters), but some also of a milder and subtiler alloy, both in the Genevan and the Roman faction. And it will become the Church of England so to vindicate it against the furious Puritans, as that we lay it not open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning and more learned adversaries. Not to the Roman faction, for that will be content it shall be *juris divini mediati*, by, from, for, and under the Pope; that so the government of the Church may be monarchical in him; but not *immediati*, which makes the Church aristocratical in the Bishops. This is the Italian rock, not the Genevan; for that will not deny Episcopacy to be *juris divini*, so you[t] will take it, *ut suadentis, vel approbantis*, but not *imperantis;* for then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Nay (if I much forget not) Beza himself is said to have acknowledged Episcopacy to be *juris divini imperantis*, so you will not take it as *universaliter imperantis*, (for then Geneva might escape,) *et citra considerationem durationis*, for then, though they had it before, yet now upon wiser thoughts they may be without it; which Scotland says now, and who will may say it after, if this be good divinity. And then all in that time shall be democratical. I am bold to add this, because I find in your second Postulatum, that Episcopacy is directly commanded; but you go not so far as to meet with this subtilty of Beza, which is the great rock in the Lake of Geneva[x]. In your ninth Postulatum, That the accession of honourable titles or privileges makes no difference in the substance of the calling; if you mean the titles of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, &c. 'tis well.

appear to have been adopted, for the proposition as it appeared in print was modified thus: "That government whose foundation is laid by Christ, and whose fabric is laid by the Apostles, is of Divine institution." (Hall's Episcopacy by Divine Right, part i. sect. 1.)]

[x] [The third postulatum, as finally put forth by Bishop Hall, seems to meet this objection. It stands thus:— "The forms ordained for the Church's administration by the Apostles, were for universal and perpetual use."]

And I presume you do so. But then in any case take heed you assert it so, as that the faction lay not hold of it, as if the Bishop's were but the title of honour, and the same calling with a Priest; for that they all aim at, &c. The eleventh postulatum is large[y], and I shall not repeat it, because I am sure you retain a copy of what you writ to me, being the ribs of your work; nor shall I say more to it, than that it must be warily handled for fear of a saucy answer, which is more ready a great deal with them than a learned one. I presume I am pardoned already for this freedom, by your submission of all to me. And now I heartily pray you be pleased to send me up (keeping a copy to yourself against the accidents of carriage), not the whole work together, but each particular head or postulatum, as you finish it; that so we here may be the better able to consider of it, and the work come on the faster. So to God's blessed protection, &c.

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Nov. 11, 1639.

Endorsed with the Archbishop's own hand: 'My Answer (of Novemb. 11, 1639) to the Heads of the Bishop of Exon's Books intended for Episcopacy[z].'

LETTER CLXXVIII.

TO DR. JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP OF EXETER.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 263, 264, (rectius, 273, 274.)]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letters of Dec. 6, 23, and with them the copy of your book, and in them a paper of short propositions[a], which you think (and so do I) is fitter for the attestation of divers hands than the book itself. These propositions shall be well weighed against the time of Convocation, which I conceive will be a

[y] ["If that order which they say Christ set for the government of His Church . . . be but one and undoubted, then it would and should have been ere this agreed upon amongst them, what and which it is." It was afterwards corrected as follows:—"If Christ had left this pretended order of government, [i.e. the Presbyterian,] it would have, ere this time, been agreed upon what that form is, and how to be managed."]

[z] [Bishop Hall's reply to this letter is printed by Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 234, 235.]

[a] [These propositions are printed above, vol. iv. p. 310.]

fit time to take other Bishops' attestation, without further noise or trouble.

For your book, I first thank you very heartily for your pains; and next, more than heartily (were it possible) for your noble and free submission of it, not only to many eyes and judgments, but also in the main to be ordered, and after that pressed or suppressed, as it shall be thought fit here[b]. Which care or conscience would men use which set out books, we should not have so much froth and vanity in this world, as now 'tis full of.

But whereas you writ, first, that the book grew into greater length under your hand than you expected; I cannot be sorry for that, since that which you have added concerning Parker[c], Anti-Tilenus[d], and Vedelius[e], seems to me very necessary; secondly, that you are pleased to subject the work to me, and to interpret it, that you meant not personally to me, because I could not have time from other great occasions to revise it, but by way of deputation; these are to let you know, that were my occasions greater than they are, I would not suffer a book of that argument, and in these times, to pass without my particular view. And, therefore, my Lord, these may tell you, that both my chaplains have read over your book; and that since them, I have read it over myself very carefully, every line of it; and I have now put it into the hands of my Lord the Bishop of Ely[f]; and this thrice reading over hath been the cause why I did not give you a more speedy account of it.

And now, my Lord, according to the freedom which you have given me, I must tell you, that I have here and there in my reading of it over, made bold to alter, or leave out a phrase or two, but have as yet varied nothing that is material; and indeed I should think it very uncivil and

[b] [See Bishop Hall's letter in Prynne, Cant. Doom, pp. 235, 236.]

[c] [Robert Parker, the author of the 'Politeia Ecclesiastica,' was Fellow of C. C. College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Wilton, Wilts. He was obliged, in consequence of a discourse published against ceremonies in 1607, to fly to Holland, where he died in 1614. His treatise, 'De Politeia Ecclesiastica,' is frequently referred to by Bishop Hall.]

[d] [The title of the book referred to is, 'Scoti τοῦ τυχόντος Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Paræsin ad Scotos Genevensis Disciplinæ Zelotas conscriptam.']

[e] [Vedelius's Edition of St. Ignatius's Epistles is commented on by Bishop Hall, Episcopacy by Divine Right, part ii. § 11.]

[f] [Matthew Wren.]

unjust too, to vary anything that is substantial, without first acquainting you with it, that so it may be done either by your own pen, or, at the least, not without your own consent.

The particulars which I chiefly insist upon are these: First, you do extremely well to distinguish the Scottish business from the state of the foreign Churches[g]; but yet to those Churches, and their authors, you are a little more favourable than our case will now bear. But this I conceive will be easily helped, and that without pressing too much upon them. The second is, the first touch which you have concerning the Sabbatarians[h], where you let their strict superstition pass without any touch at all, I think one little one will do no harm.

The third, which you seem to pass by, as not much material in the question, is, in our judgment here, the very main of the cause; and it is, whether Episcopacy be an Order or Degree. An order certainly, if it be of Divine and Apostolical institution. For that which is but different by degree and circumstantially, cannot be other than *juris positivi;* and the ancient word in the Fathers is, *Ordinatio Episcopi;* and our ordinary phrase is of any of our brethren the Bishops, he is one of our Order; and why does the Church of England ordain or consecrate every one that is made a Bishop, if it be but a Degree of the same Order? For when a Bishop is translated, or made an Archbishop, there's then no consecration, because they are *juris positivi,* and only degrees. Your Lordship is very near a whole leaf upon this transition; I beseech you weigh it well, and then let me have it altered by your own pen, and the sooner sent the better[i].

The last (with which I durst not but acquaint the King) is about Antichrist; which title, in three or four places of your book, you bestow upon the Pope positively and determinately; whereas King James of blessed memory, having brought strong proof, in a work of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist; yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this answer, when the King

[g] [See Bishop Hall's Episcopacy by Divine Right, Introduction, § 2.]

[h] [Ibid. part i. § 2.]

[i] [Bishop Hall discusses this question, and decides in favour of Episcopacy being a distinct Order, Ibid. part ii. § 4.]

that now is went into Spain, and acquainted him with it, that he writ that not concludingly, but by way of argument only, that the Pope and his adherents might see, there were as good and better arguments to prove him Antichrist, than for the Pope to challenge temporal jurisdiction over kings[j]. This whole passage being known to me, I could not but speak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualify your expression in these particulars, and so not differ from the known judgment of his pious and learned father. This is easily done by your own pen; and the rather because all Protestants join not in this opinion of Antichrist. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with, but to pray you to have your answer to these with as much speed as may be. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Jan. 14, 1639.

I had not leisure to take a copy of these Letters, therefore I pray let me have them back again, when you give me your answer[k].

LETTER CLXXIX.

TO EDWARD POCOCK.

[Twells's Life of Pocock.]

I am now going to settle my Arabic Lecture for ever on the University[l]. And I would have your name in the deed, which is the best honour I can do for the service.

March 4, 1639.

[j] [See also King James's 'Præfatio Monitoria,' prefixed to his 'Apologia pro Juramento Fidelitatis,' p. 143, Lond. 1610; where he adds at the end of the discussion, "Exspatiatus aliquandiu in Antichristi vita et titulis, quæ equidem Pontifici multo rectius convenire probaverim, quam Bellarminus suum illum Papæ dominatum in Reges."]

[k] [Bishop Hall's reply to this letter is printed by Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 275.]

[l] [The conveyance of lands for the endowment of this Lecture was sent to Oxford in the following June. (See above, vol. v. p. 272.)]

LETTER CLXXX.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 29, 30.]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations,—I have had a great longing in myself to do some good for the town of Reading, according to such ability as it should please God to bless me with[m]. And, I heartily thank Him for it, I have now done it. And I have done it in such a way, as I hope, by God's blessing, shall be a means to prevent the increase of poor in that populous town, and yet bring none to it. I have provided so as that both the poor, and the Vicar of St. Lawrence, whose means is poor, and your schoolmaster, whose allowance is not great, shall be bettered by it. And, in the disposition of this my charity, I have so far prevailed with his gracious Majesty, as that the fifty pound a-year which I give to the Vicar of St. Lawrence, shall not fill up any part of the mortmain which I formerly procured for the town, as you will see by the instrument under the Broad Seal, which, together with my own deed for the lands[n], I delivered to Mr. Mayor and Mr. Brackstone, at their late being with me, for the use of the town. And it is to remain in your custody, not in the Vicar's. And whereas you will find by the deed that I have expressed charitable uses for the full sum of two hundred pound a-year; and that the land, for these two or three years, will not yield that whole and entire sum; yet I will that you proceed, at the several times appointed, to do all which I have required in my deed. And I shall supply that which is wanting for the years aforesaid, out of my own purse, till the rent of the lands answer in full to the sum by me designed. This I thought fit to do in my lifetime, and not burden my executors with it. And that which I shall expect from you and your successors is, that you do from time to time continually perform that which I have ordered by my deed, and all the uses therein

[m] [See Diary, Jan. 1, 163⅔.]

[n] [This deed is printed by Mr. Bruce, in the volume from which this letter is taken, pp. 21—28.]

mentioned, as you and they will answer it when we shall meet together at the judgment-seat of Christ. To whose mercy and blessed protection I leave you all, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, March 28th, 1640.

To my very loving Friends, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the town of Reading, These.

LETTER CLXXXI.

TO EDWARD POCOCK.

[Twells's Life of Pocock.]

For his successor I hear no good yet; what it will please God to work by him I know not. It may be he hath showed the Turk a way, in the death of Cyril, how to deal with himself [o].

* * * * * * *

I heard before your letters came to me, that the Patriarch who succeeded Cyril, was like to suffer. And certainly he deserved it, and that in a severer manner than is fallen upon him. Yet I cannot but say there is charity, and perhaps wisdom, in preventing the execution that might otherwise have fallen upon him.

April 8, 1640.

LETTER CLXXXII.

TO THE MAYOR OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 31, 32.]

Salutem in Christo.

SIR,—I have received your letters of the 14th of this present July. And in them the acquittance for the hundred pound which I sent you for our Lady-day's rent of the

[o] [There is no date to the first of these fragments. But as it refers to the same subject as the fragment of April 8, 1640, it is thought best that they should be inserted together. Cyril Contari, (or of Berœa,) the successor of Cyril Lucaris, was first banished to Tunis, and afterwards strangled. He was a person of disreputable character.]

land which I after conveyed to the town. In this letter you and your brethren are desirous to know what my will and pleasure is concerning the distribution of the 25£ assigned by half-yearly payment to the Vicar of St. Lawrence in the deed which I have made to the town. In these your letters you signify to me that the late Vicar, Mr. Taylor [p], did not die till the 9th of May last; and that, therefore, it is conceived the 25£ should belong to him. The truth is, in strictness of law and right, one half of the said sum, or near it, belongs to Mr. Taylor's executor (unless it be considered that my grant did not pass till after our Lady-day). But howsoever, Mr. Taylor was a very honest man, and one to whom I intended more good than this, had God been pleased to lend him life to enjoy it. And, therefore, I desire you, the Mayor, and your brethren, to pay the whole 25£ to Mr. Taylor's executor; and God send them much good of it! So, having nothing else at present to trouble you with, I leave you all to God's blessed protection, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, July 17th, 1640.

To my very loving Friend, Mr. John Jennings, Mayor of the town of Reading, These.

LETTER CLXXXIII.

TO G. J. VOSSIUS.

[Apud Claror. Viror. ad Vossium Epistt., Epist. ccc. pp. 199, 200 [q].]

Cl. V. Ger. Vossio Salutem in Christo.

Annus elapsus est, vir eximie, a quo literæ priores vestræ (sed quibus responsum non dedi) ad me pervenerunt. Sed annus occupatissimus fuit, et in quo vix libere spirare, nedum scribere potui. Regis in partes Regni Borcales discessus; negotia quæ eo absente mihi aliisque incubuerunt; pacificatio

[p] [Theophilus Taylor, the brother of Thomas Taylor, a great preacher of the day. (Wood, F. O. i. 457.)]

[q] [Exstat etiam, magna vero sui parte mutila, apud Præst. ac Erudit. Viror. Epistt., Epist. dlviii. p. 808.]

illic sancita, sed vereor, an satis tuta; a reditu Regis Consilia inita; Parliamentum indictum, conventum, et dissolutum, negotiis Regis et Regni non compositis; statim a soluto Parliamento seditiosa et furiosa in me, in domum meam, hominum male feriatorum, et conditionis infimæ, insurrectio, quingentis ad minimum domum meam hora noctis media obsidentibus, sed Deo gratias frustra[r]; Convocatio sive Synodus Nationalis sequuta est, ut, (si fieri posset) res Ecclesiæ turbas non darent, nec Religio (ut ubique gentium solet) pallium fieret. Interim apud nos omnia arma sonant. Et inter hæc, quæ me, et animum meum pacis cupientissimum pessime habuerunt, qui potui de literis tuis, utcunque semper mihi gratissimis, cogitare?

Sed omissis, quæ me distinuerunt et manum a tabula, gratias tibi summas ago, quod memor mei literas misisti. Junius charissimus attulit tuas, meas etiam refert; sic enim decreveram, sed abiit literis meis nondum transcriptis. Breviores sunt, quam aut res postulant, aut quæ tam diuturnum silentium possunt expiare. Sed non ignoras (idipsum enim lego in tuis) quantas turbas, et quam malas nobis hic in Anglia res Scoticæ dederunt: furiosi novatores quo tendunt scio, quo pervenire dabitur novit Deus, et jam Angliam armati invaserunt. De his autem nec vacat, nec placet scribere, ne quid fellis chartulas meas nigraret, quum video ubique, et apud exteros etiam, nomen meum, famamque, illorum virulentis calumniis laceratam et fœdatam undique.

Redeo itaque ad privata. Et certe doleo annum tuum climactericum tam male te mulctasse. Sed non eripuit cum sanitate vitam, nec diu detinebit, spero, revertentem sanitatem. Et (quod impensius opto) Deus dabit solatium pro malis illis quibuscunque, quæ annus iste parum faustus attulit.

Mitto per Junium librum meum superiori anno editum, sed idiomate Anglicano. Promisi, fateor, editionem Latinam me tibi antehac missurum[s]. Nec falsus sum in hoc, sed deceptus. Vir enim satis doctus, et cui satis otii est, hoc in se suscepit, et, ut aperte tecum agam, perfecit. Sed quum paulo penitius inspexi, vidi non pauca, in quibus sensum,

[r] [Vide Diarium, Mail 11, 1640. Op. tom. iii. p. 235.]
[s] [Vide supra, p. 563.]

plurima in quibus stylum non est assequutus. Et melius multo duxi supprimere translationem, quæ nec me, nec mea, loqueretur, quam talem edere, unde exteri omnes, quibus lingua Anglicana non satis nota est, me quidem, sed speculo male fido, intuerentur. Si corrigi poterit, potes adhuc expectare, sed vereor transferentis socordiam, magis quam calamum. Cum hoc libro meo Canones mitto novissima Synodo constitutos, quibus videre potes me nec Ecclesiam, nec veterem Ecclesiæ tramitem, deseruisse. Reliqua, sicut et teipsum, Deo, et gratiæ Ejus commendo, efflagitoque, ut temporibus hisce, quibus tam subdole, tam violenter res nostræ undique petuntur, velis jugi oratione Deum et Salvatorem nostrum fatigare, ut incolumem servet servum suum, et

Tibi, Vir doctissime,

Amicissimum,

Dat. ex ædib. meis Lambeth. Aug. 31, 1640.

WILL. CANT.

LETTER CLXXXIV.

TO PHILIP HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dccccxliii. p. 603.]

Sa. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—God bless the counsels you are now at for the honour and safety of the King and the kingdom. The occasion which makes me trouble your Lordship now from your greater affairs is this. Dr. Jackson, President of Corpus Christi, in Oxford, is dead[t]. By his death a Chaplain's place in ordinary is void. If your Lordship be not otherwise resolved, I would desire your favour for my Chaplain in house, Dr. Oliver[u]; a man that preached twice to his Majesty with great approbation. I will be answerable for him every way. And your Lordship's honest able servant, Dr. Oldsworth[x], knows him well. He was of Magdalen

[t] [Dr. Thomas Jackson had died Sept. 21.]

[u] [John Oliver. See above, vol. iv. p. 444, note [r].]

[x] [Michael Oldsworth, Secretary to Lord Pembroke, as Earl Chamberlain. See vol. iv. p. 87.]

College. I shall be as ready to serve your Lordship upon any occasion.

If you be pleased to name him to his Majesty, I desire his month may be that which Dr. Jackson had, which is May. If his Majesty stay long in those parts, Chaplains for other months after October must be thought on for attendance. So I cease further to trouble your Lordship, and shall rest satisfied with what answer you please to give. Being ever

Your Lordship's most faithful Servant,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Sept 25, 1640.

LETTER CLXXXV.

TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE.

[Lambeth MSS. Numb. dcccxliii. p. 591.]

S. in Christo.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Since my last letters to your Lordship concerning the late oath [y], and the tendering of it to the Clergy, I have received other letters, by his Majesty's commands, which require me to signify to your Lordship, and to all the rest of our brethren, that he will have the oath totally forborne, both at ordinations and institutions as well as otherwise, till the next ensuing Convocation, which now draws on again. Of the performance of this you may not fail. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Octob. 6th, 1640.

LETTER CLXXXVI.

TO JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[Ussher's Works, vol. xvi. pp. 536, 537. Letter cccxxix.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—As I was coming from the Star-Chamber this day se'nnight at night, there came to me a

[y] [The celebrated 'etcetera' oath enjoined by the Canons recently passed.]

gentleman-like man, who, it seems, some way belongs to your Grace. He came to inform me, that he had received some denial of the keys of the D. of Westminster's lodgings[z]. I told him that I had moved his Majesty that you might have the use of these lodgings this winter time, and that his Majesty was graciously pleased that you should have them, and that I had acquainted Dr. Newell[a], the Sub-dean of the College, with so much, and did not find him otherwise than willing thereunto. But, my Lord, if I mistake not, the error is in this: the gentleman, or somebody else to your use, demanded the keys of the lodging, if I misunderstood him not. Now the keys cannot be delivered, for the King's scholars must come thither daily to dinner and supper in the hall; and the butlers and other officers must come in to attend them. And to this end there is a porter by office and oath, that keeps the keys. Besides, the Prebends must come into their Chapter-house, and, as I think, during the Chapter-time have their diet in the hall. But there is a room plentiful enough for your Grace besides this. I advised this gentleman to speak again with the Sub-dean, according to this direction, and more I could not possibly do. And by that time these letters come to you, I presume the Sub-dean will be in town again. And if he be, I will speak with him, and do all that lies in me to accommodate your Grace.

Since this, some of the Bishop of Lincoln's friends whisper privately that he hopes to be in Parliament, and if he be, he must use his own house. And whether the Sub-dean have heard anything of this or no, I cannot tell. Neither do I myself know any certainty, but yet did not think it fit to conceal anything that I hear in this from you. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your Grace's very loving Friend and Brother,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Oct. 23, 1640.

MY LORD,—We are growing here at London into some Edinburgh tumults, for upon Thursday last, the H. Com-

[z] [It will be remembered that Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was still Dean of Westminster.]

[a] [Robert Newell. See above, vol. iv. p. 228.]

mission being kept at St. Paul's, there came in very near 2,000 Brownists, and, at the end of the court, made a foul clamour, and tore down all the benches that were in the consistory, crying out they would have no Bishops nor High Commission [b]. I like not this preface to the Parliament, and this day I shall see what the Lords will do concerning this tumult [c].

To the Most Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Primate of Armagh his Grace, at his lodgings in Christ's Church in Oxford, These [d].

LETTER CLXXXVII.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 33, 34.]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations,—These are to let you know that I have sent you [one] hundred pound, which is the rent of the lands at Bray which I have given to the town for this half-year, ending at Michaelmas. The reason why I receive the money is because the rents are somewhat imperfect, and so will continue for about two years. And I am willing (if God lend me so long life) both to make all perfect, according to my gift: and to see it so ordered, as that nothing may cross with that which I have done for Oxford [e]. I desire you therefore to remember my love to your brethren the Aldermen, that they may know thus much, and do heartily pray you all both to pay the money, and to bind out the poor apprentices, at the times and in the manner as is prescribed in my conveyance, to which I refer both myself and you. And so God of His mercy bless the town, and my poor gift to it.

One thing more I shall desire yourself and the Aldermen

[b] [See Diary, Oct. 22, 1640.]

[c] [This last sentence, which Dr. Elrington pronounced illegible, has been supplied by the Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, who has also kindly corrected several verbal inaccuracies in Dr. Elrington's edition from the original letter.]

[d] [Ussher was now residing at Oxford, having been obliged to fly from Ireland. He was provided with lodgings by Dr. John Morris, Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church.]

[e] [The endowment of the Arabic Professor was derived from a portion of the lands at Bray. See Laud's Deed of gift in Mr. Bruce's volume, pp. 22, 23.]

to know; that the reason why I did not write unto you to recommend the choice of a burgess for this Parliament, as I did for the last[f], was, not out of any opinion that you would give me less respect now than you formerly did, but it was out of two considerations: the one, because I saw that in the former election there was a difference between you and the Commons about the right of choosing; which I was not willing to stir a second time;—though what your own right was, and what theirs, you might have certainly known before this time, had you followed my direction, and attended the King's Solicitor, Mr. Herbert, with your Charters. The other, because I found there was a great deal of causeless malignity cast upon me, for I know not what, as yourselves cannot but know by the tumult which lately beset my house[g]; and I was very careful that, whatsoever malice reported of me, or did to me, no part of it should in the least degree reflect upon the town, by choosing a burgess at my entreaty. I have nothing else to trouble you with, but hope that your officer hath taken a copy of my conveyance, to lie ready for your daily use, that the original may be kept the fairer and the safer. So wishing you all health and happiness, I leave you to God's blessed protection, ever resting

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth, November 13, 1640. W. CANT.

To my very loving Friends, the Mayor and Aldermen of Reading.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Ibid. pp. 37, 38.]

Salutem in Christo.

After my hearty commendations,—These are only to let you understand, that when Mr. Brackstone, one of your Company, was lately with me at Lambeth for the receipt of

[f] [Sir Edward Herbert, Solicitor-General, and Sir John Berkeley, afterwards one of the King's most faithful adherents, had been elected as burgesses to the previous Parliament. The two Sir Francis Knollyses were elected for the present Parliament.]

[g] [See Diary, May 11, 1640.]

the hundred pound due to your town from me at Michaelmas last, there was a suit preferred to me by some there whom I have cause to esteem, that, in the putting forth of this year's apprentices, I would give way that a widow woman, left with many children, might take a son of her own to be her apprentice, and have the allowance which is assigned by my deeds [h]. When Mr. Brackstone came to me, I was going in haste to the Parliament House, and so sent my answer by him only by word of mouth, which answer was, that I was contented, upon the entreaty made to me, to grant this one particular, but that, for hereafter, I would have no more done in that kind.

Now, lest my verbal answer then given should be in anything mistaken, or not remembered in the future, I thought fit to write these few lines to you, and to signify that, in all times to come, I will have poor men's sons bound to be apprentices, according to all conditions expressed in my deeds to the town, and no other. Neither will I any more permit, that any man, or widow-woman, shall have my pension, or allowance, to have any one of their children bound apprentice to themselves, because I easily see how my charity in that kind may be abused.

To the end, therefore, that this will and desire of mine may be strictly and perpetually observed, these are to pray you, the now Mayor and Aldermen, to register this letter in your Town-book, and to lay up this letter itself with the evidences for the land, that so it may be kept in memory, and my will herein not broken. This is all that, for the present, I have to trouble you with. But my prayers are, and shall be daily, for all happiness upon you, and that place. So to God's blessed protection I leave you.

Your very loving Friend,

Lambeth, November 29th, 1640. W. CANT.

To my very loving [Friends the] Mayor
and Aldermen [of the] town of
Reading, These.

[h] [The letter in which this request is made, is printed in Mr. Bruce's volume, p. 35.]

LETTER CLXXXIX.

TO JOHN SELDEN.

[General Dictionary, sub nomine SELDEN.]

Sal. in Christo.

WORTHY SIR,—I understand that the business about the late Canons will be handled again in your House to-morrow. I shall never ask any unworthy thing of you; but give me leave to say as follows. If we have erred in any point of legality unknown unto us, we shall be heartily sorry for it, and hope that error shall not be made a crime. We hear that ship-money is laid aside, as a thing [which] will die of itself; and I am glad it will have so quiet a death. May not these unfortunate Canons be suffered to die as quietly, without blemishing the Church, which hath too many enemies both at home and abroad? If this may be, I here promise you, I will presently humbly beseech his Majesty for a licence to review the Canons, and abrogate them; assuring myself, that all my brethren will join with me to preserve the public peace, rather than that any act of ours shall be thought a public grievance. And upon my credit with you I had moved for this licence at the very first sitting of this Parliament, but that both myself and others did fear the House of Commons would take offence at it, (as they did at the last) and said we did it on purpose to prevent them. I understand you mean to speak of this business in the House to-morrow, and that hath made me write these lines to you, to let you know our meaning and desires. And I shall take it for a great kindness to me, and a great service to the Church, if by your means the House will be satisfied with this, which is here offered of abrogating the Canons. To God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your loving poor Friend,

Lambeth, November 29, 1640. W. CANT.

To my much honoured Friend, Mr. John Selden, These.

I mean to move the King this day for a licence, as is within mentioned.

LETTER CXC.

TO KING CHARLES.

[Prynne's Cant. Doom, pp. 360, 361[i].]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—I conceive the Great Seal being left as it is[j], your Majesty will bestow all such livings as shall be void, and were usually in the gift of the Lord Keeper, of what value soever they be. This I took my duty to put your Majesty in mind of, since it in part belongs to the service which your Majesty was wont to trust me with. And I am the more bold to put your Majesty in mind of this; because by this means (if you please to make use of it) you may the sooner provide for the Scottish men which suffer, and for other men which have served your Majesty at sea. At this time I am informed that the Rectory of Ashen in Northamptonshire is void, and in your Majesty's gift. It is thought not to exceed one hundred pound a-year. The Bishop of Brechin hath a son (if your Majesty please) that is ready to take orders, and may be fit for it[k]. And by that means may be some help to his father, who certainly needs it. If your Majesty like of this, and let me know so much, I shall give warrant for it accordingly. But I submit all this, and my own unhappy condition, to God's will and your Majesty's.

You are right.

Give order accordingly. C. R.

Your Majesty's most humble Servant,

though unfortunate,

Jan. 3, 1640. W. CANT.

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[i] [This letter is still preserved in the State Paper Office. The marginal notes are in the King's hand.]

[j] [The Lord Keeper Finch having been impeached of High Treason, had fled the country, Dec. 22.]

[k] [John Whitford, the Bishop's son, was presented to this living, from which he was ejected in 1645. His father, who on his refusal of the Covenant fled from Scotland, and had been presented to the living of Walgrave, was also ejected. David Whitford, his younger brother, was likewise deprived of his Studentship of Christ Church. (See Walker's Sufferings, pp. 109, 402.)]

LETTER CXCI.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 39, 40.]

After my hearty commendations,—These are to remember my love to yourself and your brethren, and God's blessing be upon the town! I cannot but be sensible of the great affliction that lies upon me, in which yet, by God's mercy and goodness, I have two great comforts, my innocence, and my patience, both which it hath pleased God by His grace to give me. In this my misfortune I humbly thank God I have not yet forgotten myself, and, as long as I forget not myself, I cannot but remember that place.

These are therefore further to let you know, that I have received almost all the rent for Bray, and am ready to make the sum perfect. So that if you please to send such a man to me as you will trust with the receipt of the money, and let him bring with him an acquittance to me for the receipt, I will presently pay it him. It is in silver, and therefore I conceive fittest to be returned. But that I leave to your own wisdom: only I pray send a safe man to receive it, and the sooner the better. So with desire of your prayers for me, I commend you all to God's blessing, resting, so long as it pleases Him,

Your very loving Friend,

The Tower, October 28, 1641. W. CANT.

To my very loving friends, Mr. Peter Burmingham, Mayor of the town of Reading, and the Aldermen his Brethren, These.

LETTER CXCII.

TO THE CORPORATION OF READING.

[Ibid. pp. 40—42.]

After my hearty commendations, — I have received a thankful and a kind letter from you, in the name of the town, for that little with which God hath enabled me to do some good to that place, to which, under God, I owe my birth. And

I am very glad to hear from you, that poor gift of mine is like to be so beneficial to that place. God bless it that it may.

In these letters you put me in mind, that, at the three years' end, appointed for the visitation of my gift and the ordering of it, there is, and will be by my deed, thirty pound to entertain the visitors for one day and a night. This sum you conceive will be too large for that use; and that six pound of it, after the proportion of forty shillings per annum, may well be allowed out of it to your town-clerk, for his pains in registering the carriage of this trust residing in you. That so the visitors from time to time may see how careful you have been, both of me and the poor, in this business.

The truth is, I was careful that my visitors might be well entertained without any the least charge to the town, to whom I must be sufficiently beholding for their pains. But no man put me in mind of the town-clerk's pains. And my thoughts were so full otherwise, that I quite omitted it. But I heartily thank you for putting me in mind of it, and finding out this way for him. I do therefore order, that, out of the thirty pound reserved for the visitors' entertainment, there shall be for ever six pound, after the proportion of forty shillings a-year, be paid to the town-clerk for the time being, for his pains in this business; and for your so doing, this letter of mine shall be your warrant. And, therefore, I desire this letter may both be kept and registered.

One thing more I am to thank you for. And that is, your great care which I hear was taken at your last election of boys to be bound apprentices, in which you were like to be deceived with some not born in your town, but that your care prevented it. I thank you all heartily for this, and desire the continuance of it in all particulars; for if you shall give way to a breach in one, it will be taken in another, and nothing in the end remain entire. But I pray take heed that no journeyman, or any that is not a housekeeper for himself, or is an inmate, have any boy bound with him, for those great inconveniences which may attend upon it. And I am bold to give you this caution, because I hear this was like to be put upon you. I have nothing else to trouble you with at present, but do humbly and heartily desire of God, that no abuse may pervert my good intentions in that work.

To whose blessed and merciful protection I recommend both myself and you, and rest

Your very loving but unfortunate Friend,

W. CANT.

Tower, December 23, 1641.

I pray send me word of the receipt of this letter.

For the Right Worshipful my very worthy friends, the Mayor and the Aldermen of the Town of Reading, These.

LETTER CXCIII.

TO JOHN GREAVES.[l]

[Hearne's Curious Discourses, Append. Numb. vi. p. 298; Oxford, 1720.]

SIR,—Your kind letter of Novemb. 15 came not to my hands, till the beginning of this week, else you had certainly received my answer and thanks for your kindness sooner.

I see you have taken a great deal of care about the coins I sent to the University. And I hope, as you have seen the last I sent, with others, placed in their several cells respectively; so you have also seen their names written into the book, that both may be perfect and agree together[m].

For the placing of them I leave that wholly to the University, whose they now are; yet I must needs approve of the way of placing them, which you have thought on. Nor can there be any objection against it, but that which you have made about the MS. Commend my love to Dr. Turner[n] and Mr. Pocock[o]; and when you have weighed all circumstances, whatsoever you shall pitch upon shall serve, and please me. So to God's blessing I leave you, and rest

Your unfortunate poor Friend,

W. CANT.

Tower, Janua. 13, 164½.

[l] [See above, vol. iv. p. 325.]
[m] [See above, vol. v. pp. 136, 137. 227.]
[n] [Dr. Peter Turner, of Merton Coll.]
[o] [The Arabic Professor.]

LETTER CXCIV.

TO THE MAYOR OF READING.

[Bruce's Account of Abp. Laud's Berkshire Benefactions, pp. 42, 43.]

SIR,—Now that Michaelmas is past, and you settled in your office, I would heartily desire you, if you have any occasion of coming to London, you would come to me yourself; or, if not, that then you would send somebody to me whom you will trust for the town, to receive the money for this year past, or at least so much of it as can be gotten from the tenants; for I doubt Loggins[p] will not do well with me and the town at parting. When you come or send, you shall have my letters to yourself and the town, how I think fit the money should be disposed this year.

So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your very loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Tower, Octob. 20°, 1642.

I pray you, if you come not yourself, send one whom you and the town may trust, that you may receive the money safe these broken times.

To my very loving friend, Mr. Thackham, Mayor of the Town of Reading, These.

LETTER CXCV.

TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF READING.

[Ibid. pp. 44, 45.]

After my hearty commendations, &c.—I have sent you by this bearer one hundred and threescore pound of my rents from Bray, which is all I can get of my rents this year past. I hope I have ordered business so, as that the town will not suffer any more in that kind. But now, so it is, that Loggins's term being expired, he leaves the thing, but pays not the forty pound rent which is now due. I am informed he hath made over his estate to pay debts, but whether that be truth, or but a pretence, I know not, neither

[p] [Thomas Loggins, one of the tenants of the lands at Bray. See Bruce, p. 22.]

am I in a condition at present, fit to relieve myself or you. Nor am I in that case, that I can make up the sum for you out of my own means. Therefore I conceive there will be a necessity of proportioning this business this year according to this failing, which I conceive, also, is fittest to be done this way. I would not have the number of the maids which are now to be relieved, lessened. But I desire Mr. Mayor, and the Aldermen his brethren, to order it thus, that whereas forty pound is to be abated, they take one twenty pound of it from that which should otherwise have been paid to Dr. Lloyd[q]; and other twenty proportionably from each maid, so that each of them may have so much less as the twenty pound comes to. This is all the occasion I have at present to write to you, and am sorry with all my heart I should have it. And truly, if my fortunes had been such as they might have been, had it so pleased God, I would most willingly have supplied this want myself; but now I must desire them who by it are put to this loss, to bear it, as I do more, with patience. I pray God bless the town, and all that are in it; and let me have your prayers to help guide me to an end of my troubles. So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Your very loving poor Friend,

W. CANT.

Tower, October 27, 1642.

Whereas I am informed by Alderman Harrison[r], that the day for the Visitation is past, and that there will be no need of a Visitation during my life, I am contented for this time, that the money which is in bank for the entertainment of the Visitors, be applied to the charitable use, and then Dr. Lloyd may have all his money; and the maids must be content for this year to take their several sums with proportionable abatement.

W. CANT.

To my very loving friends, Mr. Thomas Thackham, Mayor, and the rest of the Aldermen of the Town of Reading in Berks, These.

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[q] [The Vicar of St. Lawrence.]

[r] [Alderman Harrison had been Mayor in 1640, and was so afterwards in 1647. He is mentioned above, vol. iv. p. 74.]

LETTER CXCVI.

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD.[s]

[Somers' Tracts, vol. iv. pp. 438—441. Lond. 1810.]

MASTER VICE-CHANCELLOR,

And you, gentlemen, the rest of my ancient friends and fellow-students;—God, whose judgments are inscrutable, before whom the wisdom of the children of men is but foolishness, hath been pleased to lay His afflictions on me with a heavy hand; glorified be His name in all His works; but no one among all the numbers of my miseries hath, or does more afflict me, than that I am, by my misfortunes, made incapable of serving you, and that famous nurse of good letters, your University (of which I had sometimes the honour to be Chancellor), with that entire zeal and devotion which my intentions aimed at. Man purposeth, and God disposeth; otherwise had His Almighty will been concurrent to my wishes, my endeavours should have rendered Oxford the glory of the Christian world for good literature; but men's hopes resemble much [the] sun, that at his rising and declension casts large shadows, at noon, when he is clothed in all his brightness, casts little, or none at all: when we are furthest from our expectations, they appear nearest to our hopes; our hopes feeding our imaginations with the prosperity of our intents, which then approach swiftly to ruin, like quite spent tapers, that give a sudden flash ere they extinguish. It was just so with me, who now, instead of all the honours I possessed, am now a prisoner, and so like to continue; and would take it as an ample testimony of God Almighty's mercy to me, were I but assured to carry my grey hairs down to the grave in peace; but His will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. I shall

[s] [This letter is printed from the copy in Somers' Tracts. The contemporary tract from which, it is presumed, Somers' reprint was made, has eluded the research of the Editor. He has not been able to find the paper itself, or any notice of it. It is not mentioned by Wood in his list of the Archbishop's publications; and the style and sentiments of the letter of themselves raise a suspicion of its genuineness. It would seem that in a former instance (see vol. v. p. 300) a forged letter had been published, pretending to be addressed by Abp. Laud to the Vice-Chancellor, and the Editor conceives that this is so also. It would serve party purposes to have it believed that Laud entertained the views expressed in this letter. The letter must have been sent out in the latter part of the year 1642, when the king had made Oxford his head-quarters.]

endeavour to make the best of my sufferings, that I may say with the Psalmist, *It was good for me that I was in trouble.* And surely I shall so demean myself towards God, my King, and the Commonwealth, in this my durance, that in my very enemies I shall beget compassion, in you, my friends, a hearty sorrow for my miseries, which have taught me that true dictamen of wisdom, that I shall advise all, especially you of my own calling, the Clergy, never to meddle with things above your reach; I mean State affairs; but to devote yourselves solely to the service and worship of God, the true feeding the flocks committed to your charge; for dangerous it is to meddle with the counsel of kings, especially for those who have professed themselves ministers of the Almighty, on whose laws they ought only to meditate; the affairs of State being theatres, on which whosoever acts his part, though it appear to him comical in the beginning, the end will produce his own tragedy, if he look not with the greater care to his performance; as it happened to that most famous clergyman of all our nation, that great Cardinal Wolsey; whom some (in a merry mockery) have unaptly made my parallel in dignity and fortune; who laden with disgraces, *jam sumus ergo pares,* not long before his departing minute exclaimed, that if he had served God with but half that integrity he had done the King, He would not have so deserted him in his old age. How I have served my King, than whom no man ever had the happiness to serve a more gracious master, the world must be my judge; how I have performed my duty to God, of that, my own conscience; nor shall I strive to give the world satisfaction in that point, only desire them to remember the Divine command, *Judge not, lest you be judged.* Howsoever I have demeaned myself, it is enough now I suffer, without either repining at the will of the Almighty, or exprobrating mine accusers with the least accusation of malice, though never man hath had so many scandalous abuses cast upon him; none ever (considering my calling) having been made so notorious a subject for ridiculous pamphlets and ballads. But it is not I alone that have endured injuries of that nature; they have fallen, with the same licentious petulancy, upon betters; and I have long since studied that precept of the wise man, *When*

a fool reviles thee, regard him not: and so enough of this matter, and all other, but the main cause of my writing to you. Impute this needless exordium to my human weakness, which is always prone to tediousness in relation of its misfortunes to those it is confident will lament and pity them: an instance whereof we have in children, who use to bemoan themselves to their mothers and nurses, purposely to have them bemoan them. But to my business. It is not unknown to you, gentlemen, nor to me, though darkness and the shadow of death have even encompassed me round, what myriads of increasing mischiefs these times have produced in this languishing and almost expiring kingdom; dissensions, wars, bloodsheds reigning in every place; fellow-subjects, like the ancient sword-players in the Roman cirques and amphitheatres, butchering one another, merely for their delight in blood.

> "Fraternas acies, alternaque jura profanis
> Decertata odiis[t],"

may fitly be applied to the condition of our distressed country, whose soul is, as it were, divided from the body, and itself only the carcase of that England it was formerly; the King's gracious Majesty, by fatal fears and misconstructions, being separated from the body of the commonwealth, the honourable the high court of Parliament. And if any comfort can arise to make a man love his misery, or take delight in his enthralment, certainly I have, that my durance was inflicted on me before this sad and lamentable breach (which heaven, in its great mercy, soon knit up) happened betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament; for, had I been at liberty, and enjoyed the gracious ear of my Sovereign, as formerly, surely I had not been to have had that aspersion cast upon me, as the author of this distraction; such a fatality as [is] always attendant on persons high in the favour of their prince, to have all the misfortunes of the commonwealth inflicted on them, who may be, perchance, not only innocent, but have also endeavoured to have diverted from the State those mischiefs of which they are suspected by some, and by some concluded, to have been the main incen-

[t] [Statii Theb. I. 1; pro 'jura' leg. 'regna.']

diaries. And surely I could wish, so my sufferings might have impeached the impetuous current of the kingdom's miseries, that I had undergone a thousand deaths before this disjunction had fallen out between the high court of Parliament and his Majesty, who being, as I am informed, now with you at Oxford, and intending there to reside, I thought myself engaged in conscience to intimate my intentions to you, and to give you that counsel, which if any one had given me in my prosperity, I might perchance at this instant, not have been unhappy. I know there are among you divers of great and able souls: take heed, I beseech you, lest you pervert those excellent gifts which God and education hath conferred upon you, by intruding yourselves into the affairs of the State, and inverting religion to advance and cherish the present distractions. The King is now amongst you; a good and gracious prince he is, as ever Heaven blest this land with. Do not you, by any ends whatsoever, increase the number of those malignants, who have given fire to all the cedars of Lebanon, at once kindled a flame, which in a moment hath almost burnt up all the glories of this kingdom. Let neither the disgraces cast on the Clergy by some factious spirits, without the licence or patronage of the Parliament, incense you to cherish the distractions betwixt his Majesty and that honourable and wise assembly, nor hope of preferment seduce you to it; for, credit me, who hath more experience in such affairs than many of you, though the beginning of proceedings of that nature may, in fair and specious outsides, court your imaginations, their period will be nothing but confusion and bitterness to the undertakers, as other sins are, which, like subtile panthers, display their gorgeous spots to entice the traveller to gaze upon them, till the careless wretches are surely in their reach, and then they assault and devour them. It is ill going between the bark and the tree, (says the proverb,) take heed of it: there is as near a relation betwixt the King and his Parliament; and though they may awhile be separated, that violence cannot be long-lived; it will at last conclude in the ruin of those that have caused this separation; they will be sure to suffer. It cannot be but offences must come; but woe be to him from whom they come: mischiefs always meet their catas-

trophes in the destruction of their authors. Since, then, his Majesty hath graciously been pleased to honour your university and city with his royal presence, like good Samaritans, endeavour to pour balm and oil into the wounds of the commonwealth; labour, as much as in you lies, to compose these dissensions. It is your calling to propagate peace as well as the Gospel, which is the testimony of peace, given by the King of Peace to the children of men. You may inform his Majesty, even out of your pulpits, and boldly, that nothing is more perquisite to the duty of a sovereign, than to acquire and advance the good of his subjects; which can no way so well and suddenly be affected, as by a fair accommodation of peace between his royal self and his high court of Parliament. And, as an incitement to move his Majesty to think of it, if such a wretched man as I be not quite lost to his memory, tender this to him, as the humblest petition of his unfortunate servant,—that his goodness would vouchsafe to reflect on my sufferings, who am impossibilitated, by his absence, of ever coming to my trial, and so likely to end my days in a prison; but this only as the least motive, because it is for myself. But further beseech his Highness from me, to look with a compassionate and tender eye on the religion, nobility, and commons of this unhappy kingdom, and by a speedy reconciliation with the honourable the high court of Parliament, at once finish all their miseries. And lastly, pray you signify to his Majesty, that I lay down my life in all humility at his royal feet, beseech God day and night for his prosperity, peace and happiness, desiring no longer life for any end but this, to see his Majesty, the glory of our Israel, return to his Jerusalem, all differences attoned betwixt him and his Parliament, which are the continual prayers of his Highness' humblest servant, and your true friend,

W. C.

APPENDIX TO LETTERS.

*** [The following letters did not reach the Editor in sufficient time to be inserted in their proper places in the series.]

LETTER CXCVII.

TO THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF BRISTOL.

[Tanner MSS. vol. cxxix. fol. 36.]

AFTER my hearty commendations.—His Majesty understanding that the marsh lying under the College walls of Bristol, (if the same were in hand,) would be a great accommodation to the Dean and other residentiaries, who are there but meanly provided for, and that there is now but one life remaining in the estate granted of the said marsh; and understanding, likewise, that there is a lease of divers tenements in the said city, let unto one Mr. Vowes for about seventeen years yet to run: out of which (if the same were made into several tenements) there might be good means raised, not only to improve the revenue of the said Dean and Chapter, but the choirmen there might thereby be conveniently accommodated with dwellings, whereof they are now destitute; his Majesty, of his pious care of the good of that Church, hath commanded me to signify to you, that it is his pleasure that you grant no further estate at all in the said marsh; but when it shall fall in hand that the same be divided, or used for a proportionable augmentation of the revenue of the Dean and residentiaries there; and that you likewise take order that, when the estate in the said tenements shall come to be renewed, the same be no more let in one lease. And that you take effectual care that, out of the said tenements, there be not only some provision made for accommodating the choirmen there with convenient dwell-

ings, but also an improvement of the revenue for the future advantage of the Dean and Chapter there. And of this his Majesty's command for the good of the said Church you are to make a register, to the end that the same may be duly observed by yourselves and your successors. And so I rest

Your loving Friend,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, 1°. September, 1639.

To my very loving friends, the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Bristol.

LETTER CXCVIII.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT CONWAY.[u]

[In the possession of Edwin H. Lawrence, Esq.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am very much bound to you, and I thank you for your love, which I will return upon all

[u] [The Editor is indebted to the courtesy of the present possessor of this letter, Edwin H. Lawrence, Esq., of the Stock Exchange, for permission to add it to this collection.

Both this letter and the one which next follows have lost either the whole, or a portion, of the fly-leaf containing the direction. But that they were both written to Lord Conway appears from the following considerations:—

First, they appear to have been both written to the same person; for the endorsements are by the same writer, and the following passage in the second letter, 'Concerning the horse, I told your Lordship in my last, that my Lord Lieutenant undertook to write to you what was fit,' is an evident allusion to the passage in the first letter, in which Laud speaks of his having left the Lord Lieutenant 'to give the answer.'

Secondly, sufficient of the direction of the second letter has been left to show that it was addressed to 'My very good Lord at Newcastle.' Again, they are evidently written to one in command of the army against the Scots. Lord Conway was at this time General of the Horse, and in command of that army at Newcastle. He was on intimate terms with Strafford; many letters which passed between these two noblemen being printed in the Strafford letters. In one of these, dated Aug. 27, 1640, Strafford comments severely on his mismanagement of affairs. (Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 413.) It appears also, both from this letter and from Clarendon's remarks, (Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i. p. 254,) that Conway had been very remiss in obtaining information of the enemy's movements, which is all of a piece with the hesitation, real or pretended, to employ a spy, on which Laud comments in this letter. Laud probably had been imposed on by Conway in this and in other ways, as appears from the tenor of Clarendon's remarks, that 'no man was more pleased with his being appointed general of the horse, than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to speak in the affairs of the Church, and taking care to be thought by him a very zealous defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he

occasions within my power. I have received two letters from you: One of April 29, and the other of Maii 5. The first of these was almost all one with that which you writ to my Lord Lieutenant[x], and I left him to give the answer, as being more proper a great deal for him than for me. But the passage in your letter concerning the sending of a spy into Scotland, may fit me well enough to answer. And first, I think you have taken a good resolution, to send one first, and dispute it after. Next, most true it is, the spy goes upon his own peril, and he is not sent to lie or deceive. He may dexterously do that for which he is sent, without either lying or deceit. And I do not find Joshua anywhere discommended for sending spies to Jericho. If when they are sent, they will do anything that is not justifiable, that I conceive under reformation of better judgment, is the fault of them, not of their mission.

Your Lordship's other letter made his Majesty, and all else that saw it, laugh. Sure the fellow is either mad or at Bedlam door, as near entering in as may be. But the verses which you sent, (such as they are,) I have given to my [Lord] Lieutenant, the rather because they so much magnify his very good friend. I am sure you hear before this that the Parliament was dissolved on Tuesday, May the fifth, so that noise is at an end; but what is next to be done, since they would do nothing, I dare not prescribe.

So to God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest,

Your Lordship's very loving Friend to serve you,

W. CANT.

Lambeth, Maii 9, 1640.

had no kind of sense of religion.' (Hist. of Rebell. ibid. p. 251.)

Thirdly, these inferences amount to a positive certainty, when it is added that the second of the two was undoubtedly addressed to Lord Conway. For in Prynne's Hidden Works (pp. 183, 184) is preserved a letter from Conway to Laud, in which he speaks of having received two letters from him, and refers to the disturbance at Lambeth and Strafford's illness, as the two principal subjects of the latter of them. This letter is dated, "Newcastle, June 8, 1640," and is unquestionably a reply to the second of Laud's letters, dated May 25, in which it will be seen that both these points are mentioned.]

[x] [Wentworth had recently been created Earl of Strafford, and made Lord Lieutenant, instead of Lord Deputy.]

LETTER CXCIX.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT CONWAY.[y]

[In the possession of John Dillon, Esq., Croydon.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I am sorry to hear you have had a mutiny; but I hope the speedy course which you have taken will remedy that, which suffered to grow will undo all. But it is an ill beginning,—I pray God, worse follow not. For the two-pence taken for arms, I remember nothing of it, and so can say nothing to it. I believe it was ordered at the Council of War; for had it been at our Committee, I should (I think) have recalled something concerning it, which now I do not.

I hear not yet of any meeting in London, but a blind man may see there is a great and frequent art to raise one; but who are the artificers, either is not, or will not be known. But at Lambeth my house was beset at midnight, May 11th[z], with 500 people, that came thither with a drum beating before them. I had some little notice of it about two hours before, and went to Whitehall, leaving my house as well ordered as I could, with such arms and men as I could get ready. And I thank God by his goodness kept all safe. Some were taken, and to be tried for their lives. But the day before the trial, some of their company came in the day-time, brake down the prison,—the White Lion, in Southwark, —let out all the prisoners, the rest as well as their own company. One of them hath been taken since, and on Saturday last was hanged and quartered. And this, it may be, is the mutiny which you heard was in London.

Concerning the Horse[a], I told your Lordship in my last, that my Lord Lieutenant undertook to write to you what was fit, but that from myself you could not look for any

[y] [The evidence for this letter having been addressed to Lord Conway is stated in a previous note.

The Editor desires to express his acknowledgments to its present possessor, for his kindness in permitting its publication.]

[z] [See Laud's Diary, May 11, 1640, and seq. vol. iii. p. 235.]

[a] [Strafford was to raise a thousand horse for the war against the Scots. See the King's order to him, March 2, 1640. Strafford's Letters, p. 393. The subject of 'the horse,' as well as the military arrangements generally, are frequently alluded to in his letters, see pp. 400. 403, 404. 408. ('I am sorry the horse that is raised prove so bad,' &c. April 10, 1640;) p. 411. ('If the horse have orders to march away into those parts.' April 15, 1640.)]

thing that way. Now that my Lord Lieutenant hath not written to you, the cause is too apparent, for he hath been very extreme sick, and though he now mend a little, yet very ill he is. And his mind is disquieted with these affairs, because all goes not so round as he hoped, and that, I fear, is a second disease to him. God send him health, and your Lordship happiness, which is the prayer of

Your Lordship's true Friend and humble Servant,

W. CANT.

Whitehall, May 25, 1640.

. . . . my very good Lord at Newcastle,
These.

LETTER CC.

TO THE LORD VISCOUNT CONWAY.[b]

[Dalrymple's Memorials of the Reign of Chas. I. p. 98. Glasgow, 1766.]

. . . IT is true that your letter that you sent, and the opinion you express, what would become of Newcastle, in case the Scots came in, was censured, and not to your advantage; and so much I wrote to my Lord Lieutenant since his going northward; and all that you wrote is found too true. But that which is thought might have been done more, is, that the hill on this side might have had some defence put upon it; and that, as yourself writes, more might have been done to hinder the passage of Newburnford; but if the soldiers there, and men of experience be of opinion, that as things were then conditioned, you could not hinder them; and that things which you did at the first advise, are now doing by the Scots, I think you mean surely that you cannot be blamed for the one, but somebody may be blamed for the other. . . .

[b] [This passage is cited in the Lord Conway's 'Relation concerning the passages in the late Northern expedition, 1640;' printed by Dalrymple from the Harleian MSS. vol. 1579.

He says, 'And for the second part, to think Newcastle would be lost, the Lord Conway conceiveth to be no sudden or rash opinion; for he had divers times before propounded that the town should be fortified, and declared that without fortification it was not tenable; as several letters, written to him after the same was lost, may witness. In one of which from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, amongst other things, these words were contained:—"It is true, &c."']

NOTES ON CARDINAL BELLARMINE.

THE Editor is indebted to the Rev. Dr. Todd, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, for the transcription of the following notes on Bellarmine, (referred to above, vol. iv. p. 289,) for his careful revision of them while passing through the press, and for the subjoined notice of the volumes in which they are written.

"The following notes occur in the margin of a copy of "Bellarmine's Disputations," now in the Library of St. Sepulchre's, commonly called Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin. This book belonged formerly to Bishop Stillingfleet, whose whole Library was purchased by Primate Marsh, and now forms a part of the public Library of St. Sepulchre's. It is thus alluded to by Stillingfleet, in the Preface to his "Discourse on the Idolatry of the Church of Rome: "—'I shall conclude all (although I might produce more) with the testimony of Archbishop Laud, who, in his Conference, with, &c. . . . . And in his marginal notes upon Bellarmine, (written with his own hand, now in my possession,) where Bellarmine answers the Testimony of the Council of Laodicea, &c.'

"The copy of Bellarmine which contains these notes, is in three vols. folio. Its full title is as follows:—"Disputationvm Roberti Bellarmini Politiani Societatis Jesv de controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus huius temporis Hæreticos." The first vol. is dated Lugduni, 1596; the second, Lugduni, 1597; and the third, 1596. They are all by the same printer:—"Apud Joannem Pillehotte, sub signo nominis Jesv." The second vol. is a little shorter than the other two. On the title-page of the first and third Laud had written his name, but this is now carefully obliterated with ink; and in the third vol. it appears to have been first scratched out with a knife until a hole was made in the paper, and then blotted out with ink. Still we can very plainly make out, in the first vol., "William Laud," and in the third vol., "William ————," the name being entirely erased, and the place it occupied scratched into a hole in the paper.

"From his having thus written his name, we may perhaps infer that these notes were written before he became a bishop.

"On the fly-leaf opposite the title-page is the following note in Laud's hand:—"Ad singula loca Bellarmini de quibus aliquid habet in Recognitione sua Impress. Ingolstadij, An. 1608, adiecj paginam Recognitionis, secundum eandem Recognit: in octavo,"—we may therefore reasonably assume that these notes were written at some period between 1608 and

1621, at which latter date Laud became Bishop of St. David's. He seems in fact to have been engaged in this study during the whole time that he held the Presidentship of St. John's."

It has not been considered necessary to print these references to the "Recognitio," nor similar references to other parts of Bellarmine's controversies, excepting where they seem intended to point out any modifications of or contradictions in his statements. And it would have been quite needless to publish any mere summaries of the contents of chapters and sections, and other like notices, which possess no special value, except as indicating the extreme care with which these volumes were studied.

The chapters and sections to which the notes refer have been carefully marked all through, by which means they can be found without much difficulty in any edition of Bellarmine.

DE VERBO DEI. LIB. I.

CAP. III.

Col. 6. A. § Apostolus.

DE VERBO DEI.

Nos fecit ministros Novi Testamenti, &c.] Annon hic locus contra eos vel maxime facit? non literæ, i. non literæ nudæ, sed et Spiritus, i. aut Spiritus qui author est hujus literæ, aut spiritualis gratiæ quæ sub litera continetur.

Et nos fecit ministros hujus Spiritus, ergo in ordinario ecclesiæ processu, a Spiritu sub litera per nos ministros, non per immediatam revelationem, et spiritus et instructio spiritualis expectanda.

Non litera] i. non litera legalis, quatenus legalis.

Col. 7. C. § Verissima igitur.

Primum, quod cum impleri non possit.] Dicit legem non posse impleri, i. sine gratia; ut patet ex conferendo præcedentia et subsequentia, ubi hæc (o) nota est, et col. 8. o et col. 9.

[This refers to a little mark (o) which the Archbishop has written in the margin of this and the next two columns, opposite to the following passages of Bellarmine's text:—Col. 7. "S. Augustini sententia est legem videlicet sine gratia literam occidentem;" &c. "sed ubi sanctus non adjuvat Spiritus inspirans pro concupiscentia mala." Col. 8. "quippe quæ humanæ infirmitati ad eas implendas vires præbet." Col. 9. "gratia data est, ut lex impleretur."]

CAP. VI.

Col. 17. A. § Nostro seculo.

Erasmus eandem hæresim.] "Hujus sententiæ [non omnia scripta esse dictante Spiritu Sancto] nec autor nec patronus esse velim." Erasm. in Matt. ii. 6.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 38. D. § Librum Ecclesiastici.

At Epiphanius . . . . auctorem hujus libri Jesum Sirach esse vult.] Epiphanius plane diversum docet, De mensuris et ponderibus, cap. 13.

DE VERBO DEI. LIB. II.

CAP. II.

Col. 63. B. § Sequitur nunc.

Hæretici . . . nimium tribuunt editioni Hebraicæ.] "Ubi hos Hebræos et Græcos codices ex veteri translatione corrigendos contenditis, ejus rei, promotis in medium evidentissimis rationibus, contrarium asserit Bellarminus." Osiander in Refuta. 8. propos. Costeri ad prop. 3 in fine.

Non citat locum Bellarmini, et nescio ubi sit, nisi intelligat illud; Hujus lib. c. 11. §. Ad illud, &c.

CAP. IV.

Col. 70. A. § De testamento novo.

Epistolam S. Pauli ad Hebræos Syriaca lingua scriptam esse.] "Omnes scripturas canonicas novi Testamenti, præter unum Matthæi evangelium, Græca lingua nobis traditas esse, non ignoramus." Hosius, Dialogo de Sacro vernacule legendo. p. 665.

CAP. V.

Col. 71. A. § Secunda translatio.

Facta est ab Aquila.] "Judæus Aquila, et Symmachus ac Theodotio Judaizantes hæretici, &c. multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt," &c. Hieron. in præfatione in Job. Tom. 3.

Col. 71. D. § Septima.

Multis ex Theodotione admixtis.] Unde Hieron. prefatione in Paralip. taxat eum audaciæ, &c.

CAP. VII.

Col. 77. D. § Et vero.

Nam etsi multa depravare conati sunt hæretici.] Sic æque probabile est hæreticos depravasse Græcam editionem novi Testamenti, atque Judæos corrupisse Hebraicam editionem veteris.

CAP. XII.

Col. 90. A. § Dico secundo.

Augustinus lib. 2. de Gen. contra Manichæos.] At S. Aug. ibid. non exponit literaliter.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 94. C. § Respondeo.

Quorum [sc. LXX.] Versionem omnes patres Græci et Latini sequuti sunt.] Nescio an de hoc loco solum loquatur, an de tota Scriptura.

DE VERBO DEI.

CAP. XV.

Col. 102. B. § Controversia.

An oporteat . . . . Scripturarum usum communem esse in lingua vulgari] i. liceat.

Immo et tradere in sua lingua] i. curare ut habeant.

Col. 102. C. § At Catholica.

Qui facultatem ab ordinario obtinuerint.] Melius est omnibus Christianis indifferenter permittere, et abutentes corrigere, quam sub hoc metu multos idoneos prohibere: præsertim si non habeant unde possint facultatem ab ordinario obtinere.

His maxime tribus linguis.] Quia Græca et Latina maxime notæ fuerunt Gentibus. His maxime, sed non his solum.

Col. 102. D. § Principio igitur.

Nam a temporibus Esdræ desiit in populo Dei lingua Hebraica esse vulgaris.] Ergo a data lege usq. ad transportationem Babylonicam Hebræa lingua vulgaris fuit, et sic populo lectitata lex; spero nihil iniqui perpetrarunt sacerdotes toto illo tempore legentes legem lingua vulgari et nota universo populo. Si peccaverunt sic faciendo, ostendant Bellarminus et alii, ubi reprehenderentur a prophetis aliisve, quod sic fecerint: quum non sit ullum peccati genus admissum ab iis, quin illud alicubi a prophetis reprehendatur. At privati homines non habuerunt forte apud se exemplaria divinarum Scripturarum, ut quando et quoties velint legerent. Imo aliqui privati habuerunt, docente Bellarmino L. 2. de verbo Dei. c. 1. col. 61. D.

Quocirca lib. Esdræ secundo cap. 8.] v. 9. et 12. At attulit Esdras librum coram cunctis qui poterant intelligere. v. 2, non coram cunctis simpliciter. Neque enim vel platea illa, ubi legit legem, universum populum recipere potuit, vel ipse ita clare loqui, ut omnes intelligant.

Et v. 8, intellexerunt quum legeretur; ideo lingua Hebraica nec quoad plurimos desiit esse vulgaris, vel saltem non ita desiit, ut non possit intelligi.

Quia alioquin nihil populus intelligebat.] Immo non ideo, ut patet, v. 8.

Col. 103. A. § Principio igitur.

Verba legis Esdra interpretante.] Forte interpretatus est sensum, non verba legis, i. non idioma Hebraicum: ut patet 2 Esdr. 8. v. 8. 9. 12.

Imo non est v. 12, *verba legis*, sed *verba quæ docuerat eos;* ergo de sensu loquitur, non de idiomate.

Col. 103. A. § Præterea.

Vide plura apud Hieronymum.] Quædam verba Syriaca admixta Hebræis, an faciunt, ut lingua Hebraica (licet minus sincera) non sit vulgaris, nec intelligatur post captivitatem Babylonicam sine interprete?

Col. 103. B. § Præterea.

Turba hæc quæ non novit legem] "non novit, i. non observat." Maldonatus in Jo. 7. *non novit legem*, i. an legis sensum? An idioma in quo scripta fuit lex?

Col. 103. B. § Probatur secundo.

Evangelium prædicarunt.] Qui prædicarunt per totum orbem, vide l. 3. de Rom. Pont. c. 4. col. 638. C.

Col. 103. C. § Probatur secundo.

Non scripserunt Evangelia linguis earum gentium quibus prædicabant, sed tantum Hebraice aut Græce.] Epistola D. Pauli scripta ad Romanos Græce, cur Latina lingua (quæ tum vulgaris fuit Romanis) lectitata? Quia illa una e tribus sacris linguis.

At hoc in hac quæstione nihil; nam quod una esset e tribus, non tollit difficultatem quod inidonei legerent scripturas.

Col. 103. C. § Quod autem.

Quod autem non scripserint ullis aliis linguis.] Quod non scripserunt aliis linguis forte fuit, quod hæ linguæ omnium communissimæ fuerunt (præcipue Græca), et multi omnium fere gentium eas intellexerunt. Aliter enim opus fuisset, ut idem evangelium sæpius, infinito quodam labore, diversis idiomatibus omnium gentium, repeterent scribendo. Col. 106. ‡ [referring to a passage in Col. 106, marked thus ‡, in which Bellarmine says, Apostoli omnia fere Græca scripserunt quia tunc lingua Græca erat omnium communissima]. Apostoli per multa negotia, et repetitas persecutiones non potuerunt per se, &c. Ita primæva ecclesia.

Col. 103. D. § Quod autem.

Qui ex variis regionibus convenerant ad urbem Hierosolymæ.] Immo non solum 'convenerunt,' nam dicuntur habitare in Jerusalem. Act. 2. 5. Ideo quid si dicamus viros hic vocari Judæos, non qui Judæi nati sunt, et postea habitarunt apud alias gentes discentes linguas earum: sed qui apud alias gentes nati et educati, postea, admissa circumcisione, vixerunt sub lege Judæorum, et ita addiscebant ipsorum linguam, ut non sint obliti sua? vel quid si de universo simul loquutus est Spiritus Sanctus?

Erant autem in Hierusalem Judæi] omittitur hic verbum 'habitantes.'

Col. 104. A. § Id ita esse.

Quod B. Augustinus . . . . dicit ad intelligentiam Scripturarum esse necessariam cognitionem tantum trium linguarum.] Dicit Aug. utile esse cognitionem trium linguarum, sed non reperitur eo loci exclusiva particula 'tantum.'

Col. 104. B. § Ad hæc.

In publico usu erat tantum editio Græca LXX.] At in Oriente Græca lingua diu mansit popularis, et patres Græce loquuti sunt in ecclesiis. Kemnit. Exam. p. 1. Sess. 4. Decr. 2.

Nam ut ex ipso Hieronymo discimus.] "Nunc vero quum pro varietate regionum varia referuntur exemplaria," &c. Hieron. Ibid. Non loquitur ibi Hieronymus (quantum assequor) de diversis exemplaribus diverso idiomate editis, sed de diversis editionibus translationis hujus, i. Septuaginta.

DE VERBO DEI.

Col. 104. D. § In Africa.

Nam nulla est mentio apud ullum auctorem ullius translationis Punicæ.] Concludit valde probabiliter sed non necessario.

Et D. Augustinus . . . dicit tempore suo Psalmos in Ecclesia Latine cantari consuevisse.] Colligitur hoc ex eo loco Augustini; sed aperte non dicit, (imo nec colligitur). Sed nihil videtur hic locus inferre. Nam

1. Forte non loquitur de Afris tantum, sed de aliis etiam, dicit enim in plurali de ore cantantium populorum, &c.

2. Forte si de Africa sola loquatur, non obscure colligitur linguam Latinam illis vulgariter notam fuisse, quum os populorum cantare potuit. Et aperte Kemnit. Exam. p. 1. Sess. 4. Decr. 2. "Erant" inquit "Latinæ linguæ homines," &c. Et quid aliud Bellarm: ipse L. 3. de Ro. pont. c. 24. col. 705. D. ubi scribit ex Possidio in vita B. Aug. Valerium episcopum Hipponensem commisisse presbytero suo Aug. officium prædicandi, quia, ipse Græcus quum fuit, non potuit *Latino populo* prædicare? Ergo populus Hipponensis Latinus fuit.

Col. 105. A. § At eo.

At eo tempore non fuisse Latinam linguam omnibus vulgarem in Africa.] Forte adeo immutata est lingua Punica post devictam a Romanis Carthaginem, &c. ut lingua Romanorum (quæ tum Latina fuit) vulgariter invaluit per multas partes Africæ. Et hoc quidni, quum hoc ipso capite col. 102. D. ita immutatum docet Bellarminus idioma Judæorum post captivitatem Babylonicam. Et in hac ipsa col. B. dicit proculdubio Gothos et Mauros novam linguam invexisse in Hispaniam, &c. Et probabile est, quia Aug. ipse L. 2. de Doctri. Chr. c. 13, (quem locum citat Bellarminus col. 104. D. et intelligit de Africa,) dicit populum canere, et colligitur quod canebant Psalmos Latine.

Col. 106. D. § Sed accedat.

Nisi enim sit Scripturarum publicus usus in lingua communi, tolletur imprimis communicatio ecclesiarum.] 1. An major cura erit (quod hæc ratio videtur inferre) paucorum qui peregrinantur in terra aliena, quam omnium qui in propria sua patria degunt. 2. Præterea ii difficultate non magna possunt linguam illic vulgarem quotidiano commercio perdiscere, non ita Latinam. 3°. Peregrini etiam in terra aliena possunt habere liturgiam ecclesiæ in templis sibi destinatis, et proprio idiomate; sicut Londini in Anglia, The French Church, The Dutch Church.

Non poterunt fieri ulla generalia Concilia.] Non sequitur; nam ut sint generalia concilia, non requiritur ut quotidie publicus usus Scripturæ sit lingua Latina, sed tunc tantum quando concilium congregatur. Et spero omnes qui ad concilium vocantur noverint linguam Latinam sine dono linguarum.

Possumus sane de aliis controversiis judicare per communionem linguæ Latinæ, sed non de translationibus tot gentium et linguarum. Nec opus est, nam quum quælibet in quamcunque vulgarem linguam scripturarum versio, ad illam solam gentem pertinet cujus versio est, illa provincialis ecclesia sufficiens judex est judicare de propria

translatione. Nec hinc diminuitur Catholicæ ecclesiæ unitas. Nam si quæ doctrinales controversiæ finiendæ sint, non judicantur secundum translationes in multas linguas vulgares (neque ideo earum peritia omnibus qui ad concilium veniunt necessaria) sed secundum fontes et vulgatam editionem. Col. 107. A.

Col. 107. A. § Quinto.

Ut omnes intelligerent. At certè populus non intelligeret Prophetas.] Doctissimi non intelligunt omnes partes Scripturæ; sed rudes possunt intelligere moralia præcepta saltem quoad generale quod vel mandant vel prohibent; possunt item intelligere minas Dei adversus peccata, &c.

Col. 107. B. § Quid quod.

Populus . . . etiam caperet detrimentum?] 1°. Omnes non capiunt detrimentum, imo nec plurimi.

2°. Si aliqui superbientes, qui putant se* plus sapere quam universalis ecclesia, detrimentum capiunt, non propter hos aliquos plurimis inferenda injuria.

3°. Non sequitur argumentum ab abusu ad non usum rei.

* sicut nec propter aliorum immunditiam, ut Aug. lib. 2. de Serm°. Domini in Monte, c. 20.

Col. 107. D. § Sexto.

Oporteret etiam singulis ætatibus mutare translationes.] Non sequitur; nam non ita mutantur vulgares linguæ, ut intelligi ab incolis nequeant, nisi diuturno tempore.

Nam non semper inveniuntur idonei interpretes.] At ea cura debet esse in qualibet provinciali ecclesia, ut non fiat mutatio translationum, nisi quando sunt idonei interpretes.

Col. 107. D. § Septimo.

Cum in sacris mysteriis multa sint, quæ secreta esse debent.] "Abscondi Legis mysterium quam fidelissime oportet." Lactant. L. 7. c. 26. Loquitur ibi Lactantius, quod abscondi debet ab irrisoribus, non quod ita abscondi debeat, ut non sit publicus cultus omnibus notus in ecclesia.

Col. 108. A. § Septimo.

Dicimus hoc ipso esse graviorem (Latinam linguam) . . . . quod non est vulgaris.] Nec hæc responsio est ad rem, nam et olim, quum Latina lingua vulgaris fuit, fuerunt quidem et versiones scripturarum in ea, et divina officia in eadem facta.

Col. 108. A. § His omnibus.

Refert Theodor. li. 4. hist. cap. 17.] Hæc loca D. Basilii et Hieronymi (quantum adhuc intelligo) respiciunt eos, qui sine modo de scripturis garriunt, qui sibi arroganter assumunt, privati quum sint et laici, decoquere divina, determinare sensum scripturæ, docere alios antequam ipsi didicerunt eum; sed nihil concludunt contra lectionem publicam Scripturarum in ecclesia per legitimum sacerdotem, et noto idiomate; imo nec contra privatam privatorum lectionem, modo reverentiam et modestiam retineant Christianam.

DE VERBO DEI.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 108. C. § Sed videamus.

S. Pauli ex priore ad Cor. cap. 14. *v.* 8, 9.] "Ad hunc locum ita respondet Bellarminus ut facile apparet cum nihil respondere potuisse." Keckermannus L. j. System. Theol. c. 8. p. 189.

Col. 110. A. § Alia est.

Hominem pro laicis in ecclesia constitutum.] Adhuc hæc expositio esset realiter eadem cum superiori.

Col. 110. C. § Vera igitur.

Apostolus . . . loquitur de oratione . . . quæ fit per donum linguarum.] Spiritus voce singulare linguarum donum significans, etc. Calvi: L. 3, Institut. c. 20. § 33. Et Kemnit. exponit locum de prædicatione, p. 1. Exam. Sess. 4. Decr. 2. Sed infert ut habetur Col. 114. B. [This refers to the part of this chapter where Bellarmine examines the objections of Kemnitius.]

Immo etiam quam non intelligebat sæpe is qui loquebatur.] Immo non loquitur hic Apostolus, ac si aliquis dono linguarum præditus ipsam, qua loquutus est, linguam non intelligeret; sed supponit tantum. Si inquit ipse orarem lingua mihi incognita, Spiritus quidem, &c. vel "Fructus ejus qui dicit est auditorum utilitas." Theodoret. Ibid.

Nemo enim audit, id est, nemo attendit, quia nemo intelligit.] Si hoc verum sit, eum non loqui de divinis officiis, tamen non valet hæc responsio; nam hoc certum est, per totum illud caput, 1 Cor. 14, laudat præ cæteris donum prophetiæ, et præ cæteris exhortationem ut omnia fiant ad ædificationem ecclesiæ: ergo validior est (ut mihi videtur) hæc consequentia; Apostolus non agens de divinis officiis tantam habet curam ædificationis populi in sapientia Christi, ergo in ipsis publicis divinis officiis peragendis majorem aut saltem æqualem curam haberet ille (et nos etiam habere debemus) ædificationis populi; quod quî fieri possit, cum tota fere plebs ignoret liturgiam et preces ecclesiæ, ego equidem non intelligo.

Col. 111. A. § At objicies.

Satis erat (ut multi de populo intelligerent), non enim volebat Apostolus, ut omnes possent respondere.] 1°. Non erat satis, nam ut audiant et intelligant verbum ejus, æqualis est cura Deo omnium, &c.

2. Aperte vult Apostolus ut omnes discant, 1 Cor. 14, 31, et proculdubio ut discant aliquid in divinis officiis, æque ac per prophetiam.

3. Ipse hoc ipso capite, Col. 110. ‡ [This refers to a mark put by Laud to the paragraph in Col. 110. beginning, Sed neque hæc explicatio videtur huic loco omnino quadrare] et verbis hic immediate sequentibus aperte ostendit ex B. Justino et aliis totum populum respondere solitum in ecclesia, quamdiu Christiani pauci erant. Sed sive pauci sive multi, potest ecclesia mutare ordinem, non abjicere curam ædificationis, imo nec scienter renuere.

Col. 111. B. § At objicies.

At divinorum officiorum nec est finis præcipuus instructio vel consolatio populi.] At cultus Dei requirit populum aliqua ex parte participantem.

Deinde nescio an ingratus Deo sit ille cultus, qui ita fit, ut populus, qui ad colendum accedit, nesciat quomodo colat, imo non certum sit utrum colat necne. Et Bellarminus ipse dum et hic et postea dicit instructionem populi et consolationem non esse finem præcipuum, concedit aliquo modo esse finem.

Col. 111. B. § Secunda objectio.

Falsum est ex publica oratione ecclesiæ nullum fructum a populo percipi.] Non nego posse populum aliquem fructum percipere per preces quocunque idiomate a Sacerdote fideliter pro populo effusas; sed in publicis divinis officiis peragendis non requiritur, ut solus sacerdos oret et colat Deum pro populo, sed ut ipse etiam populus simul oret et colat Deum, (quum cultus latriæ requiratur ab omnibus Christianis); et ideo laborandum est, ut populus non modo aliquem, sed quam maximum fructum percipiant.

Col. 111. D. § Præterea.

Etiamsi non intelligas illic recondita.] Forte id est, etiamsi non plene intelligas sensum, tamen, &c.

Ex ipsa lectione multa nascitur sanctimonia.] At ne legere potuit forte, si lingua aliena esset.

[These last two notes are on a passage quoted by Bellarmine from S. Chrysostom's third Homily on S. Lazarus.]

Col. 111. D. § Neque solum.

Quarum significationes multi eorum minus intelligebant.] Forte ignorabant plenitudinem significationis, interim tamen hæ figuræ et ceremoniæ exprimebantur lingua populo nota.

Col. 111. D. § Præterea idem Augustinus.

Per ignorantiæ simplicitatem.] Hic (ni multum fallor) apertissime agitur de sensu precum ab Hæreticis compositarum, quem non potuerunt simplices discernere, non de idiomate in quo scriptæ fuerunt. Nam aliter cur dicit [S. Augustinus] 'irruunt in eas' et 'utuntur eis.' Et ante sub nota (‡) *ex ipsa lectione*, &c. [referring to the passage from S. Chryst. quoted above.] Nam nec uti iis, nec eas legere possunt, multo minus facile irruere in eas preces quæ alieno idiomate conscriptæ sunt.

Col. 112. B. § Hinc Origenes.

Scriptura sancta . . . prodest, etiamsi sensus noster ad præsens intelligentiam non capit.] Manifestus et hic est de intelligentia sensus, non verborum, quia dicit [Origenes] 'ad præsens,' ac si postea posset et sensum attingere.

Et hoc aperte colligitur ex his verbis. [sc. ex verbis Bellarmini in sectione *Præterea si necessarium.*]

Col. 112. C. § Præterea si.

S. Antonius dicere solebat illam esse perfectam orationem, in qua animus ita absorbetur in Deum, ut non intelligat ipse verba sua.] Probent populum ita absorberi, et prævalebunt.

DE VERBO DEI.

Col. 112. C. § Neque his.

Populus hic labiis me honorat, &c. &c.] Utraque hæc expositio vera; et tamen nihilominus vera et illa esse potest de precibus in ignota lingua.

Col. 112. D. § In posteriore.

Sed ei anteponitur oratio quæ intelligitur.] Ergo et anteponuntur etiam orationes publicæ, quæ habentur lingua nota.

Col. 113. A. § Objectio tertia.

Innocentius III. præcipit, ut . . . Episcopus provideat viros idoneos, qui diversis linguis divina officia celebrent.] Hoc Decretum Concilii Lateranensis mire perturbat Hosium, Dialo: De sacro vernacule legendo, p. 665.

Col. 113. B. § Respondeo Innocentium.

Qui Græce Græcis et qui Latine Latinis, &c.] At hoc non tollit difficultatem, nam supponendo locutum concilium de Græca et Latina lingua tantum, tamen scopus est, ut Græci sua, et Latini sua nota lingua haberent sacra celebrata; et si illi, cur non et aliæ gentes?

Col. 113. C. § Respondeo, et.

Finis præcipuus divinorum officiorum non est populi instructio vel consolatio sed cultus Deo ab ecclesia debitus.] At hic finis . . . non impeditur vel . . . etur instructione populi.

Clericorum . . . officium est, nomine totius populi Christiani immolare sacrificium laudis.] Ergo videtur, populus Christianus non tenetur Deum laudare, orare, &c. quia sacerdos, &c.

Col. 113. D. § Respondeo, et.

Cæteri (imperitissimi) non instruerentur, etiamsi vulgari lingua officium celebraretur.] i. non plene, sed non igitur sequitur in nihilo eos instrui.

Non enim in verbis sed in sensu instructio est.] At in via ordinaria ecclesiæ non potest esse instructio in sensu, si verba non intelligantur; nam quid nomina, i. quid verba significant, est præcognitum in omnium scientia. Si verba ignoret populus, sensum minus scit.—Juel. Art. 3. § 13.

Col. 114. B. § Respondeo, hoc.

Cur Apostoli solum scripserunt Græce.] Vide Cap. 15. Col. 103. C.

Et nobis dubium non videtur, quin quibus ethnici linguis ad Deum adducti fuerunt, iisdem preces suas ad Deum facerent.—Juel. Art. 3. § 10.

Col. 114. C. § Respondeo, hoc.

Ita non licet argumentari, ministratur populis verbum Dei explicatum a concionatore, igitur administrari etiam debeat sine explicatione, et lingua vulgari scriptum.] Similitudo non recte aptatur, 1°. quia nemo dicit (quod scio) scripturam solum ut panem integrum debere dari infantibus Dei, sed et exponi debere per sacerdotes concionatores.

2°. Quia non est undique par ratio panis corporalis et spiritualis; nam in pane eum integrum tractare non adjuvat ad nutritionem; sed Scripturam legere, etiamsi omnia non intelligamus, facit ut et melius et

plenius intelligamus quæ a concionatoribus exponuntur in ecclesia; tum etiam, ut et retineamus fidelius, etc. DE VERBO DEI.

Col. 114. D. Respondeo, imprimis.

Utrum Hieronymus verterit in linguam Sclavonicam divinas literas non certo scio.] Vide Juel. Art. 3. § 6.

Editio Chaldaica non tam versio, quam paraphrasis est.] Sed sive versio sive paraphrasis fuit, fecit ad intelligentiam Scripturarum Chaldaice.

Col. 114. D. § Quod vero.

Non . . . in linguam Græcam translatæ sunt Scripturæ, quia ea lingua esset quibusdam vulgaris, sed quia communissima.] Sed sicut communissima, ita in multis locis vulgaris: et si Ptolomæo non fuit vulgaris, fuit tamen nota et tunc temporis doctissima, et ideo forte in eam voluit versam doctrinam Judæorum.

DE VERBO DEI. LIB. III.

CAP. V.

Col. 131. B. § Septimum.

Ascendi, inquit Paulus, Hierosolymam, &c.] Ascendi secundum Revelationem ver. 2. Sive revelationem habuit ut ascenderet, sive revelationem habens nihilominus ascendebat: magni ponderis locus est.

Col. 131. C. § Septimum.

Dicens fuisse Petrum, Jacobum et Joannem.] S. Jacobus præponitur S. Petro. Ibidem. Gal. 2. 9.

Diserte affirmant ecclesiam non esse Paulo credituram, nisi ejus Evangelium a Petro confirmatum fuisset.] Dicit ibid. diserte S. Paulus ver. 6. Jacobum, Petrum, Johannem nihil ei contulisse; et patet, neque authoritatis, neque doctrinæ, respectu Apostolatus sui. Sed respectu fidelium, qui certe noverunt Paulum prius fuisse persecutorem, de conversione ejus, et præcipue de vocatione ejus ad munus Apostolicum non ita ubique certiores fuerint, petiit ab Apostolis, ut certior fieret ecclesia, &c. &c.

Hoc sensu (ni fallor) intelligendi Patres illi. Et tum non valet quod infertur, nam nec Petrus solus fuit, nec Petrus et qui cum eo, de doctrina Pauli judicaverunt, sed tantum notam fecerunt ecclesiæ certitudinem vocationis ejus.

CAP. X.

Col. 140. D. § Secundum.

In corde eorum scribam eam.] ἐπιγρ ψω, superscribam, ita legitur Hebr. 8. 10. et 10. 16.; ergo scripta est hæc lex in Scriptura, et superscripta est in cordibus.

Col. 141. A. § Si tamen.

Etiam ista ultima verba [Hierem. xxxi. 34.] *de hoc tempore intelligenda esse.*] Quod patet ni fallor Hebr. 8. 8. usque ad finem capitis.

DE VERBO DEI.

Col. 142. A. § Sextum.

Oves meæ vocem meam audiunt.] Non meam solam immediate per revelationem, sed meam in et ex scriptura; per ministerium ecclesiæ.

DE VERBO DEI. LIB. IV.

CAP. III.

Col. 149. C. § At iidem.

Jam vero si non minor est auctoritas Apostoli ore præcipientis, quam literis mandantis.] Eadem est authoritas loquentis et scribentis Apostoli, sed iis tantum qui tam certi sunt de voce, quam de scriptura ejus; nobis autem forte non ita, nam infallibiliter certi sumus de scriptura, de traditionibus non item. De iis scimus ex scriptura aliquas ab Apostolis traditas, sed quas et quales per omnia opinor nescimus.

Deinde fidem ego non detraho venerandæ antiquitati, scriptis illis vetustis de apostolicis traditionibus magna ex parte credo, non tamen tam certo credo atque scripturæ sacræ, quia non tam certo scio esse apostolicas.

Col. 151. C. § Decimum est.

Nam Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus . . . inquit . . . facimus mentionem eorum.] Hic locus non videtur mihi necessario inferre invocationem Sanctorum. Nam 1°. Aliud est facere mentionem, aliud invocare.

2°. Non est difficultas, quî Deus orationibus illorum suscipiat preces nostras, sed quæritur an illi idéo orant, quia orantur a nobis, et distinctim pro particularibus necessitatibus nostris, an moti ex perfectione charitatis et in genere pro militante ecclesia, etiamsi non orentur a nobis.

CAP. IV.

Col. 154. B. § Matthæum.

Idem Eusebius ibidem.] Immo hoc capite (quod est in editione Christophorsoni 18) hanc causam meminit, sed prorsus aliam.

Col. 154. C. § Ex quo.

Et Beatus Augustinus libro de fide.] "Et reliqua quæ tamen serie traditionis scimus implenda." Aug. Et forte curaverunt Apostoli, ut scriberetur Symbolum, et tamen nihilominus vere dicatur ex traditione, quia (quantum novi) ad posteros tantum traditione perveniebat, ut scirent hujusmodi symbolum ab Apostolis efformatum. Et sic non ipsum Symbolum, sed Symboli notificatio facta ecclesiæ ex traditione erit.

Col. 154. D. § Probatur

Pet. Martyr in Locis, class. 4. c. 7. § 20.

Col. 154. D. § Deinde.

Non est ullo modo credibile non fuisse remedium ullum pro masculis morientibus ante octavum diem.] Nescimus utrum remedium fuit necne.

Vid. Bellarmi. L. de Sacramento Baptismi. c. 4.

Col. 154. D. § Tertio.

Gentiles multi salvari poterant . . . et tamen nihil prorsus de eorum justificatione . . . in Scriptura habetur.] Ni fallor fuit circumcisio, et aperte ponitur Gen. xvii. 12. 27.

Col. 154. D. § Quarto.

Quarto, necesse est nosse.] Hoc argumentum 4^{tum}, sicut et sequens 5^{tum} et sextum nihili sunt apud nos, (essent forsitan si inter nos et Judæos vel Gentiles disputatio esset) nam et apud nos, et apud Pontificios constat, et aliquos esse libros divinos, et hos quos manibus habemus illos esse: etc. Sic hoc (nempe Scripturam hanc esse veram divinam revelationem) supponitur ut concessum in hac controversia, et tum hoc concesso quæstio procedit.

At unde obtinuit ut concederetur pro principio, &c.

Col. 156. B. § Septimo.

Deducuntur quidem ex sacris literis, &c.] And yett the Nicene Creed tells us we believe these accordinge to ye Scriptures.

CAP. V.

Col. 158. D. § Deinde.

Quæ in toto modo prædicantur.] Mundo, vel in toto modo. i. in omnibus circumstantiis et ritibus. [This appears to be only the correction of a misprint. In other editions the word is read 'mundo.']

CAP. VII.

Col. 163. B. § Athanasius.

Quæ utraque eandem ad pietatem vim habent.] Forte eandem vim habent non eodem modo; una enim . . . propter se, altera non nisi per et propter authoritatem ecclesiæ. Non dicit ad fidem faciendam, sed pietatem. [He is commenting on a passage, quoted by Bellarmine, from S. Basil. de Spiritu Sancto.]

Col. 167. B. § Ad hæc.

Kemnitius respondet duo, &c.] Sic secundum Kemnitium quæstio Augustini [de rebaptizandis hæreticis] hoc loco est de exemplo et facto, non de jure.

CAP. XI.

Col. 183. C. § Ultimo.

Quæ necessaria sunt omnibus simpliciter.] Ergo quæ necessaria sunt omnibus et simpliciter, habentur verbo scripto; quod et fatetur Bellarm. Col. 179. [cap. eod. § Primum.]

Col. 183. D. § Item secundo.

Præterquam quod . . . accepistis.] Cap. 10. Col. 175. [§ Altera. He refers to Bellarmine's previous explanation of these words.]

DE CHRISTO. LIB. III.

CAP. IV.

Col. 343. D. § Itaque.

DE CHRISTO. *Verbum caro factum est, non ita debet intelligi ut illud, aqua facta est vinum*] i. non per conversionem, ut hæc.

LIB. IV.

CAP. V.

Col. 387. C. § Ad secundam.

Quod autem convenit Patri, convenit etiam aliis personis.] Ergo convenit Filio et Sp. S. generare, et addendum ergo qua Deus.

CAP. XI.

Col. 400. C. § Item.

Animas sanctorum ante Christi mortem fuisse in cælo, ut Calvinus et Beza volunt.] ⁎ L. 4. de Rom. Pont. c. 14. § Sed video cur. [The mark at the head of this note indicates the supposed discrepancy between these passages.]

CAP. XIII.

Col. 406. A. § Ad secundam.

Prædicationem Christi . . . . fuisse solum ad annunciationem gaudii magni piis animabus.] Vide C. 15. ⁎. [He refers to § Deinde non propter, at which there is a corresponding reference, Cap. 13. ⁎.]

Col. 406. D. § Hanc explicationem.

Hanc explicationem [*Christum descendisse non præsentia, sed effectu, et animas non fuisse in carcere sed in specula*] *dicit Calvinus.*] Non reperio hæc verba apud Calvinum, neque in Institut. loco citato, neque in 1 Pet. iii. 19. Quædam similia verba habet L. 2. Instit. c. 16. § 8. in fine, sed (ut patet) non referuntur ad hanc opinionem, de qua non agit nisi § 9, sed ad aliam.

CAP. XV.

Col. 411. C. § Tertio.

Ergo eodem tempore anima Christi fuit in multis locis simul.] Quid impedit, quominus anima Christi et possit esse, et sit in multis locis simul quoad effecta? Imo et plus quam hoc et ipse agnoscit in fine capitis *, et hic; et potest hoc argumentum sufficere contra Durandum, sed non dilucide satis se exprimit Bellarminus. Nam qui dicit Christum solum quoad effectum descendisse, nihil singulare dicit de Christo quoad descensum: nam multæ creaturæ possunt esse in multis locis simul per effecta. [The asterisk refers to the concluding words of the last § but one of this chapter,—" Nec enim Deo impossibile erat efficere, ut Christi anima esset in duobus locis."]

DE ROMANO PONTIFICE.

PRÆFATIO.

Pag. 442. § Porro.

Hæreticorum vero contentionem et impetum Isaias prædixisse videtur.] Rainal. in Collo. cum Magistro Hart. c. 2. Divis. 1. DE ROMANO PONTIFICE.

[The other notes of Laud on the Præf. are merely summaries of the contents of Bellarmine's text.]

LIBER I.

CAP. IX.

Col. 473. A. § Quamvis autem.

Populus gentilium unum ovile, et Deus unus eorum pastor.] ⁂ Lib. 2. De Grat. et lib. arbitr. c. 14. § Illa vero pulchritudo. [Where there is a corresponding mark and reference to this place on the words, "Christus vocat oves suas homines ethnicos et peccatores."]

CAP. XI.

Col. 486. D. § Sed contra.

Tria argumenta.] Duo tantum hoc capite urget Bellarminus.

CAP. XII.

Col. 490. D. § Respondeo, hoc.

Lutherus . . . dicit, non sunt datæ, vel promissæ claves Simoni, &c.] Immo, sed non ut est filius Jonæ.

Col. 495. B. § Restant.

Augustinum, cum ait Petrum gessisse figuram Ecclesiæ historice, hoc accepisse, &c.] Col. 488. A. [cap. xii. § Est animadvertendum. In this passage Bellarmine explains at length what he means by 'historice.']

Col. 495. D. § At inquies.

Ad literam non possunt esse vera, cum Christus sit justus.] Huic particulæ, ni fallor, non respondet Bellarminus.

CAP. XXV.

Col. 525. B. § Observandum.

Totius Africæ, &c.] L. 2. c. 31. §. Respondeo concilium. ⁂ [See below, col. 620. D.]

CAP. XXVII.

Col. 530. A. § Porro.

Radit iter lævum interior, &c.] Annon 'interior' hic dicitur ratione loci, non ratione positionis ad dextram vel sinistram?

DE ROMANO PONTIFICE.

LIBER II.

CAP. XII.

Col. 557. A. § Quinto, ecclesia.

Nullum aliud caput assignari potest præter Petrum.] Dicitur ibi caput de quolibet Prælato.

Col. 557. B. § Sexto.

Sacerdotum Testamenti veteris figura fuit sacerdotii Testamenti Novi.] An figura respondet in omnibus?

Col. 557. B. § Denique.

Denique omnia argumenta, &c.] Et omnia quæ negant, &c.

Col. 557. D. § Ut autem.

Successio ipsa ex Christi instituto.] Ubi apparet illud Institutum? vide § Et quoniam [eodem cap.]

Col. 558. B. § Observandum est.

Est tamen hoc ipsum de fide, Paulum habuisse penulam.] Ostende similiter scriptum, et vicisti.

Col. 558. D. § Respondeo, in.

In Apostolatu tria contineri.] c. 31. § Ex quo deducitur. [In this passage Bellarmine draws a distinction between succeeding to the Apostolate, and succeeding as Bishop of an Apostolic see.]

CAP. XVII.

Col. 578. B. § Quod vero.

Quod vero de nomine Vicarii.] c. 26. § Sanctus Bernardus. [He here refers to a passage quoted from St. Bernard, where the expression 'Vicarius Petri' occurs.]

Col. 580. D. § Observandum.

Observandum est enim in Pontifice esse tria, Pontificatum . . . personam . . . conjunctionem.] cap. 30. § Sed respondet ipse. [In other editions this § begins with 'Deinde,' the words 'Sed respondet ipse,' occurring in the middle of it. A remark of Caietan is quoted in this place, to the effect that 'Ecclesia non habet auctoritatem in Papam, sed solum in illam conjunctionem personæ cum Pontificatu.']

Col. 583. C. § Cum ergo.

Cum eventus docuerit mutationem illam [regni Francorum] felicissimam fuisse.] De hoc eventu vide Herod. et Pilat. c. 7. p. 38.

CAP. XXV.

Col. 600. B. § Sed hoc.

Vere non est solidum.] c. 12. § At neque hæc. [This refers to the passage in which the number of the Nicene Canons is discussed. See Col. 562. C.]

CAP. XXVI.

Col. 604. B. § Primo, nos hoc loco.

Neque ab omnibus simul in Concilio congregatis.] C. 27. § Objectio secundâ, [which is "Honorius papa a sexta synodo non solum judicatus, sed et damnatus est."]

CAP. XXVII.

Col. 606. A. § S. Bernardus.

Petri Vicario.] c. 17. §. Quod vero de nomine. [See above, col. 578.]

Col. 607. A. § Respondeo de Honorio.

Neque nos negamus, quin Pontificem hæreticum Ecclesia judicare possit.] c. 26. § 2. [This refers to the note on Col. 604. B. above given. In that section Bellarmine contends, 'Pontificem a nullo judicari posse.' He attempts to reconcile his statements on this head in cap. xxx.]

CAP. XXIX.

Col. 613. A. § Quod enim.

Sicut ergo ante Christianam legem homines subjecti erant imperatoribus . . . ita postea.] L. 5. c. 3. § 1. [In which chapter Bellarmine maintains 'Papam non esse Dominum totius orbis Christiani.']

Col. 614. D. § Respondeo, illud.

Videtur enim loqui (Gregorius) de disceptatione per juramentum.] Agit ibi Gregorius de Reprehensione, &c., quæ potest fieri a minori, &c. [This passage quoted, from Gregory IV., by Gratian (Caus. ii. quæst. vii. cap. 'Si quis') is as follows. 'Si quis super his nos redarguere voluerit, veniat ad sedem Apostolicam, . . . ut ibi ante confessionem B. Petri mecum juste decertet, quatenus inibi ex nobis sententiam suscipiat suam.']

CAP. XXX.

Col. 618. C. § Deinde, quod.

Sed respondet ipse.] C. 17. §. Observandum est. [See above, col. 580. D.]

Col. 619. A. § Est ergo.

Est ergo quinta opinio vera; Papam hæreticum manifestum desinere esse Papam.] L. 4. c. 9. §. Post biennium [which relates to the case of Liberius.]

CAP. XXXI.

Col 620. D. § At objicit.

Statuisse solum de Episcopis Africæ.] L. 1. c. 25. §. Observandum hoc. ✻ [See above, col. 525. B.]

Col. 622. D. § Tertio.

Quod nomen de nullo alio.] Epiphanius vocatur Apostolus et novus Præco Domini, in Epist. Acacii et Pauli præfixa operibus suis.

Col. 622. D. § Ex quo.

Antiochenum . . . et similes, . . . non successisse Apostolis in Apostolatu ullo modo.] C. 12. §. Respondeo in Apostolatu. [See col. 558. D.]

Col. 623. A. § Decimum quintum.

Omnes ita incipiunt.] Sed aliud est simpliciter Universalis Episcopus, et aliud Universalis magnæ Romæ, ut ibi dicitur.

Col. 623. B. § Alterum.

Quomodo in concilio Chalcedonensi . . . vocatur Leo universalis patriarcha.] Forte eo modo quo Justinianus sancivit ei um [*i.e.* primum] locum secundum definitiones Synodorum. Novell. Collat. 9. Tit. 6. Nov. 131.

Col. 623. D. § Respondeo duobus.

Qui habet curam totius Ecclesiæ.] Vide § Secundo quia. [In other editions this is printed as part of § Primo quia, which is referred to below.]

Et de hac significatione loquitur Gregorius.] Sed aut non de hac sola significatione: nam dicit L. 4. ep. 38. A. eum dici universalem, qui id agit ut omnia membra universalis ecclesiæ sibi supponeret. (Quod certissime facit Papa.) Aut si de hac sola, tum id agit, quod passim dicit universalem episcopum et solum episcopum idem sonare. Et ideo sæpe dicit esse nomen singularitatis. (Ibid.)

Col. 624. A. § Primo quia.

A Concilio Chalcedonensi.] Immo non a concilio, licet a quibusdam in Concilio.

Gregorius . . . asserit Petro totius ecclesiæ curam esse commissam.] Annon totius ecclesiæ cura commissa est omni episcopo in generali? 2 Cor. 11. 28. Quid ergo amplius dat Papæ? § Altero modo.

Quod est idem ac si diceret.] Aperte dicit S. Gregor. L. 4. Ep. 76. non esse idem.

Si idem sint, tum S. Gregor. ibid. asserit Universalem episcopum, quod apertis verbis impugnat.

Ut patet ex epistola 2. Sixti 1.] Annon his epistolis deest authoritas?

Col. 624. A. § Tertio, quia.

Idem esse quoad sensum, episcopum Ecclesiæ universalis, et episcopum Universalem.] Immo annon æque differunt ac, &c. Calvi. 4. Institut. c. 7. § 3.

Col. 624. B. § Respondeo duabus.

Quia quæstio tunc erat, an Joanni.] Sed cur prædecessores Gregorii tum, quum nulla erat quæstio, recusarunt nomen? Quod sæpe asserit Gregor. et L. 4. ep. 82. C.

Non autem an concedi posset.] At verba S. Gregorii sunt, Ib. Ep. 80. D. scripta Patriarchis, ut neminem sic nominent.

Col. 624. C. § Respondeo duabus.

Simpliciter et absolute Gregorius.] At S. Petrus non vocatur Universalis Apostolus, Ibid.

Col. 624. C. § Ad alterum.

Postquam (Gratianus) retulerat Canonem Concilii Africani quo prohibetur episcopus primæ sedis dici princeps sacerdotum, addit de suo, Universalis

autem nec Romanus Pontifex dicitur.] Immo ut patet ibid. Can. 'Nullus Patriarcharum' hæc non sunt verba Gratiani, sed Pelagii Papæ, &c. Quod et asserit gloss. [Decret. Dist. xcix. cap. iv.] DE ROMANO PONTIFICE.

LIBER III.

CAP. II.

Col. 629. C. § Idem probatur.

Ita ut in eo inhabitet omnis plenitudo diabolicæ malitiæ corporaliter; sicut in homine Christo . . . . omnis plenitudo divinitatis.] Eritne ergo Hypostatica Unio? An (quod melius dicere) sicut hic non est æqualitatis, &c.

Col. 629. D. § Idem probatur.

Lactantium in epitome, &c.] Et Lib. 7. c. 25. in fine.

Et Lactan. L. 7. c. 17. sic eum describit; "Alter Rex orietur ex Syria malo Spiritu genitus, &c." Ubi eum loqui de magno Antichristo patet, quia fere totum illud caput desumit ex Apoc. c. 11. Sed Lactant. ibid. c. 16. dicit eum oriundum ex extremis finibus plagæ septentrionalis.

Col. 630. B. § Si ergo.

Diserte . . . affirmat Irenæus . . . a Petro et Paulo sedem Romanam fundatam, &c.] Ergo non a solo Petro. Ostendant itaque vel rationem vel authoritatem solidam, cur successio Episcoporum in ecclesia Romana Petro soli deferatur, et non conjunctim Petro et Paulo: nisi quod antiquitas Petri sedem, et non Petri et Pauli sedem appellavit. Nam quod D. Petrus fuit ordinarius pastor totius ecclesiæ cui soli succedi debebat, et reliqui Apostoli extraordinarii, etc. quod docet Bellarminus Lib. iii. de Verbi Dei interpr. c. 4., fundamento carere mihi videtur.

Col. 631. A. § Secundo.

Non antea veniet Antichristus, quam omnino intereat Romanum imperium.] Lactantius L. 7. c. 25. mihi videtur aperte asserere, nec finem mundi nec adventum Antichristi esse posse, ante deletam urbem Romam.

CAP. III.

Col. 632. B. § Porro alii.

Itaque anno D. a Christo putavit (Lactantius) fore mundi finem.] Immo dicit 'videtur,' et prætérea eum ita non putasse satis constat, quum eodem Lib. 7. c. 14. aperte dicit, necesse esse ut maneat mundus in hoc statu per sex millia annorum; quem locum etiam citat Bellarminus, paulo infra. Et repetit hanc suam opinionem Lactantius etiam hoc ipso capite 25. L. 7.; ergo non putavit anno 500 a Christo fore mundi finem.

Forte hæsitavit Lactantius inter hæc duo; necesse est mundum manere per sex millia annorum; et necesse est mundum interire post sex millia annorum completa. Utraque enim verborum forma apud eum reperitur, L. 7. c. 14.

Col. 633. A. § Hæretici.

Cum omnes doceant Antichristum esse Romanum Pontificem.] At omnes, quos hic hæreticos vocat Bellarminus, non docent papam esse illum magnum Antichristum.

CAP. IV.

Col. 637. A. § Sciendum est.

Ita ut publica sacra omnino cessent.] Videtur aliquantulum restringere hæc verba Bellarminus, L. 3. de ecclesia militante. c. 16. § Ad illud Pauli, et c. 7. in fine.

Col. 637. A. § Prima ergo.

Impediet omnia exercitia veræ religionis.] Vide cap. 7. et cap. 14. col. 667. [§ Denique tempore Antichristi.]

Col. 638. C. § Ad loca illa.

Paulum, cum ait . . . exivit sonus eorum, accepisse præteritum pro futuro.] L. 2. de verbo Dei, c. 15. [§ Probatur secundo.] Col. 103. B. [Bellarmine's statement in this passage is 'Apostoli per totum orbem terrarum Evangelium prædicarunt.']

CAP. V.

Col. 639. B. § Probat hoc.

Sicut tibiæ duæ sunt, et longissimæ.] Infra §. Quod etiam non. [In the passage to which this note is annexed, Bellarmine seems to imply that both legs of the statue mentioned by Daniel are still remaining, and in the latter that only one remains.]

Col. 640. B. § Quod etiam non.

Quod imperium adhuc, &c.] Supra § 2. [This is a cross reference to the previous note.]

CAP. VI.

Col. 644. A. § Probatur secundo.

Item Lactantius lib. 7.] Lactantius ibidem non nominat Eliam, sed dicit tum Deum missurum magnum Prophetam, &c.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 648. B. § Ad id vero.

Certum numerum pro incerto poni, quando ponitur aliquis numerus plenus et perfectus, ut 10. 100. *mille.*] infra. c. 13. § Nunc ad argumenta. [In this passage Bellarmine maintains that the seven hills of prophecy are not to be understood as a certain fixed number.]

CAP. IX.

Col. 650. B. § Denique idem.

Ante mundi finem.] Annon sequitur hinc, neminem posse scire Antichristum, nisi qui et mundi finem, quod hominibus omnibus negavit Christus? Et c. 17. § Neque obstat.

CAP. X.

Col. 651. B. § Præterea conjectura.

Cum enim Antichristus debeat esse Rex potentissimus.] Cap. 12. § Nam Antichristus. [In this passage Bellarmine maintains that Antichrist

will first be manifested to the Jews, who will form his first followers, and not the Latins, as Irenæus supposed.]

CAP. XI.

Col. 655. B. § Quarto.

Nisi characterem ostenderit.] Verba sunt, 'nisi habeat,' [Apoc. xiii. 17.] et nescio an opus erit palam ostendere.

Col. 655. C. § Pari ratione.

Romanæ Ecclesiæ adhærere . . . signum fuit et character hominis vere Catholici.] Sed an signum permanens, quæritur?

Col. 656. C. § De adoratione.

Prostrata, inquit, ante crucem.] Aliud est adorare ante crucem, et aliud adorare crucem ipsam. Nam antequam Superstitio invaluit, pie devoti, sæpe (ni fallor) istis sensibilibus objectis, memoriam in divinis tardam refricantibus, et ad orandum, et ad adorandum movebantur.

CAP. XII.

Col. 657. A. § Non esset.

Antichristum nasciturum ex Diabolo] "Erit malo spiritu genitus." Lactant. L. 7 c. 17.

Col. 657. B. § Non esset.

Et eo modo hominem gignere.] Difficultas est, an ita potest hominem gignere; ne transferendo semen vires amittat.

Col. 659. B. § Nam Antichristus.

Qualis erit Antichristus.] Cap. 10. § Præterea conjectura. [See above, Col. 651. B.]

Col. 659. D. § Denique.

Denique R. Levi Gerson . . . exponit de Pontifice Romano.] At interim Judæi nonnulli putant Papam esse Antichristum.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 660. B. § Quod autem.

Quod in ipsa Christi Ecclesia sedem suam sit habiturus Antichristus, probant ex Paulo, qui . . . intelligit verum templum veri Dei.] Col. 664. [In this latter passage Bellarmine maintains that the temple must not be understood of the Christian Church, but literally of the temple at Jerusalem.]

Col. 661. A. § At hæc.

Si Ecclesiæ Christi solum ruinæ supersunt.] Non dicit simpliciter solum ruinas ecclesiæ Christi superesse, sed superesse inter eos. Nam etsi portæ inferi nunquam prævalebunt adversus Ecclesiam secundum se totam, prævalebunt tamen, et sæpe prævaluerunt adversus partes ejus; et pars tantum, et una provincia ecclesiæ Catholicæ Italia est.

Col. 661. B. § At hæc.

Illa enim jam ruit.] Ita: sed non simpliciter, sed apud illos, &c. [Lutheranos et Calvinistas.]

Col. 662. D. § Ratio autem.

In privatis domibus loca quædam destinabant orationi.] Qui ergo potuerunt redire post destinationem hanc ad usum communem.

Col. 663. D. § Nunc ad argumenta.

Per septem autem montes.] Supra. c. 8. § Ad id vero. [See above, col. 648. B.]

CAP. XV.

Col. 672. B. § De miraculis sanitatum.

Quo miraculo evidens est, &c.] Herba illa ubi crevit ad fimbrias imaginis, omnia malorum genera curavit: ergo Deus voluit, &c. . . .

Ego non video hanc consequentiam. [The case here referred to is that of the statue erected by the woman whom our Lord cured of an issue of blood. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 14.]

CAP. XVI.

Col. 673. C. § De secundo.

Lactantius, lib. 7. cap. 16.] Loquitur de tribus [Regibus] occidentis, sed non nominat eos: Ubi et dicit potentissimum illum hostem ab extremis finibus plagæ Septentrionalis oriundum.

CAP. XVII.

Col. 675. A. § Secunda opinio.

Lactantii, lib. 7. cap. 24, &c.] Aliquid simile hic narrat Lactantius, non tamen quod multum sit similitudinis. Neque nominat Gog et Magog.

Col. 675. B. § Hæc opinio.

Eusebius, lib. 3. Hist.] De mille annis loquitur ex Papia, sed de præliis post mille annos verbum nullum.

Col. 678. C. § Neque obstat.

Cum tamen constet post Antichristi mortem non futuros nisi XLV dies.] Annon hinc sequitur, quod qui tum vivunt, et vident non modo adventum sed et mortem Antichristi, determinate scire posse diem in quo finitur mundus, si adeo certum sit, post mortem ejus non futuros nisi 45 dies?

Et annon hoc contra Christum, Matt. 24. 36. De die et hora nemo scit, &c. . . .? Vide supra c. 9. § ult. [on which Laud has a similar note; see on Col. 650. B. supra.]

CAP. XIX.

Col. 681. D. § Et hoc dicitur

Prodesse autem defunctis vivorum preces.] Hoc supposito quod prosint, quo jure ea communicat Papa?

CAP. XXI.

Ibidem. D. § Jam vero.

Si recte accipiatur.] At utrumque minus recte profertur. [This refers to statements attributed to Luther and to one of the Popes, that Scripture was the source of heresies.]

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 695. A. § Porro ad.

Porro ad . . . monumenta religiosa non aliter alligamus cultum . . . quam alligaverit olim Deus ad sanctuarium.] An ergo eodem modo? Si enim sic, tum quædam non nisi ad hæc monumenta, nam quædam sacra Judæorum non nisi in templo.

Col. 697. C. § Evangelium quidem.

Illud unicum Sacrificium non posse . . . repeti . . . per manus sacerdotum Evangelium nusquam docet, &c.] Et ubi docet debere repeti? 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.' An illud ad Sacramentum tantum refertur, et non ad Sacrificium?

Col. 699. D. § At ubi, quæso.

Honorabile conjugium in omnibus. Cæterum si in omnibus, omnes . . . comprehendit.] In omnibus, in patre, aliter filiam legitimam non habuisset, et in filia, ut, cui possit et velit, nubat, sed in Domino. Sed misera fallacia est, non licet patri ducere filiam, ergo non licet ducere uxorem. Et sic in reliquis, &c.

Col. 700. A. § At ubi, quæso.

Vobis autem probandum superest, rite et legitime eos copulari, qui perpetuam continentiam Deo voverunt.] Et quibus, quæso, probandum restat, omnes qui perpetuam continentiam voverunt, debuisse ita vel vovere, vel posse præstare quod voverunt?

Col. 701. C. § Obscuravit quoque.

Iste fumus (in Apocalypsi) obscuraverit.] Sed quæritur an *iste* [Lutherus] fumus?

Col. 702. A. § Veniamus ad.

Lutherani caput unum proprie non habent.] Infra § Denique Angelus. [Bellarmine there speaks of Satan as the invisible head of the Lutherans.]

Col. 704. A. § Sed forte.

Inferos veros et locales.] Quasi non possint esse veri, nisi sint locales. Quum vel Deus ipse, qui maxime verus, minime localis sit.]

CAP. XXIV.

Col. 706. C. § At contra.

Ado . . . docet nullum fuisse Ioannem inter Leonem IV. et Benedictum III.] At quid si tantum veritatem celet? Nec enim expresse dicit non fuisse Papam Johannem 8um.

LIBER IV.

CAP. III.

Col. 713. A. § Quæ expositio.

Et tu, fratres tuos.] At qui dicunt orasse Christum pro ecclesia universali, non negant aliquid dictum Petro. Et ille habuit fratres.

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Col. 713. B. § Quæ expositio.

Hoc non potest Ecclesiæ toti convenire, nisi dicamus totam ecclesiam aliquando esse pervertendam.] Ergo nec de Petro, nisi aliquando esset pervertendus.

Col. 713. B. § Altera expositio.

Pro perseaerantia solius Petri.] Vide § Respondeo ad primum.

Col. 714. B. § De primo.

Plurimis aliis Patribus.] Ubi sunt?

Col. 715. A. § Præter hos.

Theophylactus in c. 21. *Lucæ.*] Quid non ante Theophylactum?

CAP. IV.

Col. 719. A. § Observandum est.

Item Cyrillus et Ruffinus.] Sed cur non citat ubi dicunt?

Col. 719. A. § Præterea S. Cyprianus.

Ad quos perfidia habere non potest accessum.] Annon locus hic manifeste intelligitur de perfidia in facto, &c.?

Romanam fidem.] Ro. fides non potest [mutari], sed Ro. Ecc. potest amittere illam fidem saltem in quibusdam articulis.

Col. 719. B. § S. Gregorius Nazianzenus.

Semper eam retinet sicut decet urbem.] Non dicit 'retinebit.' Et 'Decet;' Quis dubitat? Sed non semper facit, aut credit, ut decet.

Col. 720. C. § Secundo, hoc.

Christum omnino voluisse, ut Petrus Romæ moreretur.] Cap. 'Per venerabilem.' [Tit.] 'Qui filii sint legitimi.' v. et Dist. 22. Ca. 'Omnes.'

CAP. IX.

Col. 732. C. § Post biennium.

Pontificatus abrogari.] L. 2. c. 30. § Est ergo quinta. [See Col. 619. A.]

CAP. XI.

Col. 734. D. § Decimus septimus.

Leo I. qui in epist. 79. . . . *dicit*] 34. q. 1 et 2. Can. 'Cum per bellicam.' [This is a reference to Gratian's Decretum par. ii. Caus. xxxiv. quæst. 1 and 2, where the letter of S. Leo, which Bellarmine refers to, is quoted.]

Col. 736. A. § At contra, extat.

Gratianus dist. 19. *Canon 'Ita Dominus.'*] Et Can. 'Secundum Ecclesiæ.' [i.e. Dist. xix. can. viii.]

Similiter ordinatos, vere esse ordinatos.] At Anastasius ibi loquitur non de charactere tantum, sed de executione, &c., quam Catholici negant ordinatis ab hæreticis. Verba sunt ibid. [Decret. Dist. xix. cap. vii. Ita Dominus.'] 'Rite fungi officiis acceptis debere decrevit,' &c. Sed et, hæc verba sunt etiam Gratiani non Anastasii, &c.

CAP. XII.

Col. 747. C. § Respondeo errasse.

Ad sortem laicorum redactus.] § Sed objicies. ⁜ [This mark is intended to imply that those words are inconsistent with the statement of the § Sed objicies, which occurs just below.]

CAP. XIV.

Col. 753. D. § Deinde circa.

Scripsit Otho Frisingensis.] Blackwell Exam. § 5. producit et Sigebertum et Othonem Frisingensem improbantes hoc factum Gregorii, &c. [The book here referred to is 'The examination of George Blackwell upon occasion of his answering a letter sent by Cardinal Bellarmine, who blamed him for taking the oath of allegiance. Lond. 1607.' Blackwell, it will be remembered, was 'archpriest of England' at that time. Bellarmine's letter to him is printed in King James's 'Triplici nodo triplex cuneus.']

Col. 755. A. § Respondeo nec.

Nec Celestinum, nec Innocentium aliquid de ea re (sc. de vinculo matrimonii per hæresim soluto) certi statuisse, &c.] At aliquid certe statuit Concilium Trident. [De Matrim. Canon V.] Cur huic hic non respondet Bellarminus?

§ Respondeo in primis. [Laud here refers to the following statement made by Bellarmine in this §, which occurs below, 'adhuc sentire licebat sine periculo hæresis, nulla enim adhuc præcesserat Ecclesiæ definitio.']

Col. 758. A. § Sed video cur.

(*Calvinus*) *dicit, solum Christum esse in cælo.*] ⁜ L. 4. de Christi anima. c. 11. § 'Item Zachar. 9.' contrariam opinionem ascribit Calvino et Bezæ.

Sanctos mortuos una nobiscum adhuc esse fide conjunctos.] Hoc est objectio apud Calvinum: objectio tamen quam ipse format.

CAP. XVIII.

Col. 775. C. § Ad id quod.

Nam leges absolute impositæ vix inveniuntur aliæ quam quatuor.] At sub his multæ particulares. At annon ita apud Judæos?

§ Quod autem. [In this § Bellarmine speaks of these four laws as rather a special application of the Divine law, than new laws in themselves.]

LIBER V.

CAP. II.

Col. 788. C. § Quod ad primum.

Dominium non . . . descendit ex jure divino.] c. 7. § Tertia ratio. [This refers to the use which Bellarmine makes of this statement, when he

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proceeds to show that a Christian people is bound not to tolerate a heretical King, if he attempts to establish heresy, the Pope being the judge of this latter point.]

Col. 789. A. § At Alexander.

At Alexander VI. divisit orbem nuper inventum Regibus Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ.] Blackwelli Exam. § 135.

CAP. IV.

Col. 791. D. § Ex quo manifeste.

Nemo unquam . . . haberet potestatem . . . de posteris Jechoniæ, &c.] Annon Zorobabel qui nepos fuit Jechoniæ? Matt. 1.

CAP. V.

Col. 794. A. § Secundo objiciunt.

Bonifacius VIII., in extravaganti 'Unam sanctam.'] That Clemens V. made a Constitution to the impeachment of this of Boniface, Et quod hoc licuit, &c. Blackwell. Exam. § 92. 93.

Col. 794. B. § Respondeo, ad literam.

Ut postea exponemus.] § Item potest. c. 7.

Col. 795. C. § Respondeo ex illis.

Posteriorem Canonem.] At Canon hic, puto, est apud Gratianum: licet forte non apud eos qui urgent, et eorum methodum sequitur Bellarminus. [The Canon referred to is 'Quæcunque contentiones.' Decret. par, ii. Caus. xi. Quæst. i. cap. vii.]

CAP. VI.

Col. 794. D. § Explicanda.

Explicanda est sententia Theologorum.] Blackwell. Exam. § 61. et 62, &c. wishes Bellarmin had not meddled with the question 'De indirecta potestate Papæ,' unless (if it have anye truth in it) he had handled it more pithilye, &c.

What a blowe Bellarmin hath given to the Pope's authoritye, &c.

Col. 795. D. § Quantum ad personas.

Tanquam ordinarius judex.] Ergo non potest omnino: nam extraordinaria potestas non transit ad successorem, &c. Blackwelli Exam. § 60.

At quid si hic sit sensus, non potest ut Papa ordinarie, directe: sed potest ut Papa ordinarie sed indirecte? &c.

CAP. VII.

Col. 798. A. § Sic enim habent.

Ita loqui in libris illis Bernardum, ut veritas ipsa loqui videatur.]. Calvinus ibid. dicit Bernardum ita loquutum hæc (scilicet quæ ipse ibi ex illo protulit) tanquam si, &c., sed non dicit eum ita loquutum omnia quæ in illis libris, &c.

Col. 798. A. § Tertia ratio.

Non licet Christianis tolerare Regem infidelem.] At quum regna fundantur nec in fide, nec in gratia,—howe can they be shaken under pretence that either of them is impugned? Blackwell's Exam. § 123. Ob. et p. 150, etc.

Col. 798. B. § Probatur.

Si ille conetur avertere populum a fide.] Negat Blackwell. Exam. § 78.

Col. 798. B. § Quod si.

Quia deerant vires temporales.] Blackwell's Exam. § 48. et 49, &c. improbat hoc.

Herod et Pilat. c. 2. p. 6. probat habuisse vires ex Tertulliano. Carlton de jurisdictione. c. 4. § 13.

Col. 798. C. § Quod si.

Si vires adfuissent.] Blackwell. Exam. p. 2. negat.

Ergo si tum habuissent Christiani vires, peccassent non deponendo Neronem, &c., nam in eo fuit et meritum infidelitatis, quod est ratio Thomæ; et persequebatur Christianos, quod est ratio Bellarmini. Et tamen suadet Apostolus obedientiam, &c., quid non temporariam, donec succrescerent vires? &c. vide Blackwell. Exam. § 2. 3.

Col. 798. D. § Denique, cur.

Innocentius III. cap. Gaudeamus, extra de divortiis.] Magis aperte ibid. cap. Quanto. [Decretal. lib. iv. tit. xix. De divortiis, cap. 7. Bellarmine had quoted cap. 8.]

CAP. VIII.

Col. 802. C. § Deinde si quam.

Nam deinceps per annos, &c.] Ergo a translatione Imperii Constantinopolim ad translationem ad Germanos fuerunt anni circiter D.

Col. 803. C. § Nonum exemplum.

Gregorius VII. Henricum IV. deposuit cum approbatione et plausu.] It was done with great dislike and repyninge, &c. Blackwelli Exam. § 52.

CAP. IX.

Col. 804. A. § Quantum ad.

Mero latrocinio.] § ult. [In this § Bellarmine maintains the assertion, 'imperia per latrocinium acquisita tandem longo tempore fiunt legitima.']

DE ECCLESIA.

LIB. I. DE CONCILIIS.

PRÆFATIO.

P. 814. § At quod.

DE CONCILIIS. *At quod sacramentum . . . Papa mutavit?*] Sacramentum Euch. in unam speciem.

P. 815. § Ita vero.

Ita vero esse, &c.] Non, ne fiat concilium, sed quia ita celebratum p. 818. [Referring to Bellarmine's words, 'Sed dicet . . fortasse, optabant . . . generale Concilium, sed non ejusmodi quale Tridentinum fuit.']

LIBER II. DE CONCILIORUM AUCTORITATE.

CAP. I.

Col. 867. C. § Ac ut a prima.

Concilia errare non posse in tradendis morum præceptis] cap. 7. § 'Potest etiam,' et de universalibus etiam ibi. [Bellarmine admits in this passage, 'Concilia priora emendari per posteriora quoad præcepta morum.']

CAP. IV.

Col. 871. D. § Accedat.

Nihil enim est majus generali Concilio.] Papa est. Annon? Sed certe concilium et Scriptura.

Col. 871. D. § Tertio.

De multis . . . Scripturæ libris . . . tamdiu est dubitatum, donec a Concilio res declarata est.] Non dubitavit Ecclesia, licet quidam in ea.

Col. 871. D. § Quarto.

Concilia præcipua . . . ediderunt . . . novas sententias.] Non erant novæ secundum substantiam.

CAP. V.

Col. 872. A. § Altera propositio.

Hæc propositio non est æque certa.] Et quare non: quum tota certitudo concilii dependat a Papa?

Col. 872. C. § Secundo idem.

Ut Pelagianorum, &c.] ✻ c. 10. § Tertio Prosper.

Col. 872. C. § Quarto.

Vocantur ejusmodi decreta divinitus inspirata.] Sed non omnia.

CAP. VII.

Col. 874. B. § Respondeo, non.

(Gregorius Naz.) desperaret se legitimum Concilium . . . visurum] Non excipit Sardicense quod legitimum fuit.

Col. 875. A. § Respondeo, Augustinum.

Quid enim est veritas auctoritatis, nisi vera et certa auctoritas.] Sed diverso gradu, &c.

Col. 875. A. § Aliud testimonium.

Sic priora emendatione indigent, &c.] c. 8. p. 890. § Respondeo, quæstionem. [In this § Bellarmine admits, in some cases, the propriety of St. Augustine's statement, that earlier Councils may be amended by subsequent ones.]

Col. 875. B. § Respondeo, primo.

Præcepta enim mutantur.] c. 2. § 1. Quid? num præcepta morum? [See above, col. 867. C.]

Col. 875. D. § Respondeo Concilium.

Quo anteponitur Episcopus C. Politanus Alèxandrino.] Imo in hoc conc: [Chalced.] non est actum ut anteponeretur aliis; quod antea, &c.; sed ut par esset ejus authoritas Ro. Patriarchæ, &c. Junius.

[This is a reference to Fr. Junius *Animadv. in Bellarmin.* Opp. Theol. tom. ii. col. 1074. lin. 23.]

CAP. VIII.

Col. 878. D. § Quinto.

Non esse idoneos ad sacerdotium.] Bellarminus in respon. nec reddit canonis hujus [Conc. Nic. Can. i.] rationem: nec quomodo hic cum sequenti canone [Can. iii.] convenit, ostendit.

Col. 882. A. § Secundus error.

Decretum . . . de honore Sedium . . . poterat mutare.] Ergo non est de fide secundum Bellarminum.

Col. 882. B. § Respondeo inprimis.

Concilium Carthaginense esse majoris auctoritatis . . . quia posterius, &c.] Infra § De concilio. [See following note.]

Col. 885. A. § De Concilio.

Anteponendum est Conc. Nic. II. quod . . . universalius, antiquius,] Supra, [§.] Respondeo inprimis. [This refers to previous note.]

Col. 886. B. § Primo, quia.

Libri illi Carolini.] p. 888. Libri Carolini extant tom. 3. Concil. *Jun. tom.* 2. p. 1032. [This is a reference to tom. ii. Opp. Theol. Francisci Junii, Fol. *Genevæ.* 1607.]

Col. 886. D. § Neque etiam obstat.

Auctor . . . librorum (Carolinorum) hoc mendacium finxit.] An hoc potuit esse incognitum illis?

DE ECCLESIA MILITANTE.

CAP. IX.

Col. 891. D. § Respondemus.

Major pars (meliorem) . . nunquam vincit.] Hooker L. 5. p. 85.

CAP. X.

Col. 893. C. § De Provincialibus.

Et ideo ipso (Conc. gen.) errante tota Ecclesia erraret.] An sequitur?

Col. 894. C. § Quod autem.

(Concilia quædam particularia) videntur ipso usu Ecclesiæ quoddammodo probata.] Approbatio hæc melior [quam] Pontificis.

CAP. XI.

Col. 895. D. § Quarto, potest.

Nam non tenentur Episcopi . . . . sequi illam instructionem.] Ergone agnoscunt Papam infallibilem, et tamen non tenentur sequi?

LIBER TERTIUS DE ECCLESIA MILITANTE.

CAP. IV.

Col. 921. B. § Respondeo, varias.

Posse dici eos esse in ecclesia postquam exierunt.] Cap. 10. [See Col. 941. B. § Ac primum.]

CAP. V.

Col. 922. B. § Præterea Scriptura.

Cyprianus libro de unitate ecclesiæ.] Libro de simplicitate prælatorum. [The same correction is made throughout whenever Bellarmine quotes Cyprian de Unitate ecclesiæ.]

CAP. VII.

Col. 929. A. § Respondeo primo, sæpe.

Sicut lilium inter spinas, &c. . . . . Augustinus Epist. 48. '*Dicuntur,*' *inquit,* '*spinæ propter malignitatem, dicuntur filiæ propter communionem sacramentorum.*'] Hoc [Cant. ii. 2.] de sancta ecclesia dictum omnis Christianus agnoscit, inquit Aug. lib. de Unitate ecclesiæ. c. [35.]

Col. 931. A. § Pari ratione.

Quomodo etiam intelligi debet . . . . auctor operis imperfecti in Mutthæum, Hom. XX., ubi dicit eum qui ab Ecclesia cadit, nunquam fuisse Christianum, intelligit enim secundum prædestinationem.] Ergo tu ipse, Bellarmine, sic vis intelligi, quum dicis Tom. 3. lib. 3. De Justifi. c. 14. fideles posse penitus deficere a fide vivificante; non intelligis fideles secundum prædestinationem, sed secundum Sacramentorum communionem, et professionem veræ fidei.

CAP. X.

Col. 941. B. § Ac primum.

Jam desierunt omnibus modis.] Immo non omnibus modis secundum ipsum Bellarminum, c. 4. [See Col. 921. B. § Respondeo, varias.] adhærent enim ecclesiæ secundum aliquid.

CAP. XII.

Col. 949. A. et B. § Primum ergo.

Sive intelligas Christum . . . sive Petrum, &c. &c. . . . fundamentum Ecclesiæ est aliquid sensibile.] Ergone Christus, an Petrus, nunc sensibiles?

Col. 950. C. § Ultimo.

Abscondi non potest.] Et ideo necesse est, ut omnibus terrarum partibus nota sit: quæ verba immediate sequentia apud Aug. [Lib. iii. contra Epist. Parmen. cap. 5.] miror prætermissa a Bellarmino.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 951. D. § Accedant tertio.

Parabolis, quibus omnium consensu significatur Ecclesia.] Ipse tamen hoc negas. c. 4. [§ At licet. 'Melius respondetur cum Augustino . . . per agrum non significari Ecclesiam, sed mundum.']

CAP. XIV.

Col. 953. C. § Secunda.

Ad episcopos qui sunt Ecclesia repræsentative.] Aliud est ad episcopos et totum clerum: aliud ad Episcopos in concilio.

Col. 954. A. § At contra.

Hoc modo officinæ librariorum essent columnæ veritatis.] Scurriliter; neque enim sic ecclesia custos.

Apostolus non meminit hic Scripturarum.] Quoties ipse rejecit hoc genus argumentandi.

Col. 954. B. § Præterea secundo.

Si Ecclesia . . . erraret, Christo et Spiritui Sancto error tribueretur.] Neutiquam, sed est infirmitas quum non sequitur Dominum suum.

Col. 954. D. § Respondet Calvinus, ideo.

Non igitur est verum, Ecclesiam nihil docere.] Sed ultima resolutio fidei hic non est in hoc, quod ecclesia ita docet.

Col. 955. A. § Quinto.

Antequam Scripturæ scriberentur.] Sic ante Novum Test., ergone nunc non est necessarium?

Multæ barbaræ nationes.] Et quid hoc ad viam ordinariam?

Col. 955. B. § Probatur.

Augustinus, lib. 1. *cont. Cres.*] Et loquitur de re, cujus non est exemplar in scriptura. Ibid. [cap. xxxiii.] prin. (non exemplum sed doctrina vel deductio, &c.

DE NOTIS ECCLESIÆ.

Col. 955. B. § Jam quod etiam.

Si omnes episcopi errarent, tota etiam Ecclesia erraret.] At omnes episcopi nunquam fuerunt in aliquo corpore repræsentativo.

Col. 955. C. § Jam quod.

(*Augustinus*) *vocat decretum Concilii generalis Ecclesiæ universæ consensum.*] Et est in sensu sed non simpliciter.

CAP. XV.

Col. 957. C. § Quod ut melius.

Minor [*qui subsunt hodie Romano Pontifici sunt cœtus fidelium*] *est evidens.*] Ergo hæc conclusio (Qui hodie subsunt Rom. Pont. sunt Ecclesia Christi) non est simpliciter, sed tantum partim, de fide.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 960. C. § Ad illud Pauli dico.

Omnes prorsus qui tunc invenientur in Ecclesia occulti hæretici, ab Ecclesia discedent.] Bellarminus lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. c. 4. dicit 'Signum verum concomitans magnum illum Antichristum, esse persecutionem magnam et notissimam, ita ut publica sacra omnino cessent.' (At quum publica sacra omnino cessent, Ecclesia desinit esse visibilis etc. Ergo.) Et paulo post: 'impediet omnia publica exercitia veræ religionis.'

CAP. XVII.

Col. 963. C. § Dico secundo.

Præterea Luc. 22. *dictum est Petro, Rogavi pro te.*] Argumentum itaque quod protulit Bellarminus, tom. 3. lib. 3. de Justifi. c. 24. de Petri fide amissa nihili est.

LIBER QUARTUS, DE NOTIS ECCLESIÆ.

CAP. V.

Col. 972. A. § In omni.

In omni insigni mutatione religionis.] Hoc capite § Tertio dicunt.

Col. 974. B. § Præterea Matth. 13.

Sed etiam Deus valde dormivisset.] * Cap. 9. § Porro eleganter.

CAP. IX.

Col. 989. D. § Sabellius.

Nunc ea sententia [*Sabellii*] *in multis locis.*] Quid hoc ad nos?

CAP. X.

Col. 995. C. § Veniamus nunc.

August. lib. 18. *de Civil. Dei. c.* 52. *dicit.*] Non reperio,

DE CLERICIS.

CAP. XIX.

Col. 1082. C. § His testimoniis.

Eusebium lib. 5. Historiæ cap. 24.] In meo codice c. 25. et versio est 'Septem cognati mei.'

CAP. XX.

Col. 1085. D. § Ad locum igitur.

De piis fœminis . . . quæ sequebantur Apostolos.] An hoc irridente mundo, et persequente propter fidem, suspicione et justo scandalo caruisset? Vide et Junium, Tom. 2. n. 18. p. 1229.

CAP. XXI.

Col. 1088. C. § Nam sicut.

Non tenemur comedere, nisi quando periculum est, ne pereat individuum.] Vel detrimentum saltem gravius accipiat.

Non tenemur ducere uxorem, nisi quando periculum esset, ne species humana periret.] Vel esset detrimentum castitatis, ut § Adde etiam.

Col. 1091. B. § Argumentum quartum.

Nec omnes debent esse sacerdotes, sed solum ii, qui videntur hoc donum habere.] Qui habent; aut non est responsio. Nam argumentum est; Non omnes capere videntur: sed non omnes capiunt.

CAP. XXIV.

Col. 1102. D. § Ad hæc, illa.

Et illi quoque qui fornicariam.] Intelligit ergo notam fornicariam, &c.

CAP. XXVIII.

Col. 1115. D. § At objicit Calvinus.

Theodoretus lib. 1. hist. c. 20.] In aliis editionibus est c. 19. fine.

Col. 1116. A. § Respondeo, more solito.

Non dicit episcoporum.] At immediate præcedentibus verbis mentio est episcoporum et non populi.

Col. 1117. C. § Respondeo primo.

Dominum loqui de seipso tantum.] Et videtur quod loquatur de seipso tantum, nam qui didrachma accipiebant accedentes ad Petrum interrogant de Christo solo, Magister Vester non solvit didrachma? Matt. 17. 24.

At tum cur Christus respondet, Da iis pro me et te, v. 27? pro te quia tu debes: pro me ad evitandum scandalum: ideo dicit (ne scandalizemus), tu pro aperta injustitia: Ego quia non est satis iis nota filiatio mea.

DE MONACHIS.

DE MONACHIS.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 1160. D. § Porro illa.

Præceptum hoc affirmativum.] Affirmativa enim præcepta non obligant ad semper.

Col. 1164. B. § Respondeo, negandum.

Non enim peccat qui non facit quod non potest.] Nisi in ipso sit quod non potest.

DE LAICIS.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 1307. B. § Contra, primo.

Non in verbis sed in sensu est fides.] Sed an est in sensu intellecto?

Col. 1308. C. § Quinto, non potest.

Credere debeo Sanctos invocandos, quia eadem Ecclesia hoc dicit.] Eadem forte: sed non eodem modo se habens.

LIBER PRIMUS, DE PURGATORIO.

CAP. III.

Col. 1332. A. § Decimus locus.

Ambrosius in Psal. 36.] To. 4. p. 489. Non potest intelligi de purgatorio. [S. Ambrose's words are, 'Igne ergo purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezekiel, igne David . . . . Salvi erimus per fidem, sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem.' Enarr. in Ps. xxxvi. § 26. Op. i. coll. 789, 790. Ed. Bened.]

CAP. V.

Col. 1339. D. § Alii intelligunt.

Qui verus et realis] § Secundo quia hæc. [In which passage Bellarmine states, 'Opera . . . . igne materiali examinari non possunt.']

Col. 1341. B. § Quarto, quia illud.

Judicium confutans errores non affert detrimentum sed lucrum.] At nihilominus detrimentum patitur respectu illorum operum quæ in cæcitate erroris facit, &c. &c.

CAP. VI.

Col. 1343. D. § Prima est.

Qui baptismum suscipiunt nomine alicujus amici sui defuncti.] "Annua die baptizari solebant in spem resurrectionis." Jo. Scalig. Annotat. in Nov. Test. Lond.; in 1 Cor. 15.

Col. 1343. D. § Primo, quia. DE PURGATORIO.

Apostolus debuisset . . . insinuare hunc esse errorem, ne daret occasionem.] Ipsa forma verborum tollit occasionem errandi.

Non solide argumentaretur.] Solide ad illos quorum, aut inter quos, ille error fuit.

Quod ita credant quidam errantes.] At forte generalis tum error fuit in Ecclesia Corinthiaca.

Nullus veterum Historicorum.] At argumentum negativum est, &c. Et § sequenti dicit Tertullianum hoc asserere, &c.

Col. 1344. A. § Primo, quia.

Itaque merito Chrysostomus, &c., hanc expositionem ut falsam rejiciunt.] Circulus enim esset ut videtur; Tertullianus dicit hunc errorem fuisse tempore Apostolorum, quia in hoc loco 1 Cor. 15. sic dicitur; sensus autem hujus loci hic erit, quia ita hunc locum exprimit Tertullianus.

Hanc expositionem ex Paulo approbat Jo. Scalig. notis in novum Testam. Lond.

Col. 1345. C. § Hæc expositio refellitur.

Non ergo recte dicitur baptizari aliquem pro mortuo.] Non potest recte dici: at quid inde; quum ut 1ª sit opinio ex errore quorundam hic disputat Apostolus; error autem potest ea dicere quæ non recte dicuntur.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 1351. B. § Ad hunc locum.

Catholici fere omnes Epulonem in Gehenna esse dicunt.] L. 2. c. 2. § 3. et c. 4. § Respondeo nos, &c. [The former reference is to Lib. ii. c. 2. § Secundus ibidem, to the words "Neque loquitur de inferno inferiore, sed de inferno in genere, ut complectitur omnia loca ad quæ descendebant omnes homines ante Christi resurrectionem." The second reference to cap. 4. § Respondeo vos, is especially to the words "id enim omnes Catholici credunt ex cap. 16. Lucæ." Bellarmine having here said only "*fere* omnes."]

CAP. XV.

Col. 1374. B. § Ad quartum.

Non dubium est, prodesse.] Et in Enchir. c. 110. non est negandum etc.

Col. 1374. B. § Respondet Petrus.

Necesse est dicere Augustinum . . . . de aliqua re dubitasse.] At dubitavit ibi de toto.

Col. 1374. D. § Dico igitur.

Ideo recte Augustinus dicit posse quæri.] Non plane video, quî huc referri possunt illa verba Aug. Enchirid. c. 69.

DE PURGATORIO.

LIBER SECUNDUS DE PURGATORIO.

CAP. II.

Col. 1379. A. § Secundus ibidem.

Neque loquitur de inferno, &c.] ✻ L. 1. c. 4. § Ad hunc locum. [See above, Col. 1351. B.]

CAP. VI.

Col. 1391. A. § At his non obstantibus.

Omnes aut incerti aut obscuri.] At inter eos Tertullianus, Justinus, Isidorus.

CAP. XVIII.

Col. 1408. C. § Sententia communis.

Per exclusivam 'solis.'] Non reperio hoc vocabulum 'solis' in loco illo apud S. Augustinum.

CAP. XIX.

Col. 1412. A. § Ad aliud ex Conc. Elibertino.

Quia fiebat ex superstitione gentilium.] Hæc responsio videtur non satisfacere rationi allatæ a Patribus in Concilio, scilicet de non inquietandis spiritibus defunctorum. Præterea quæri potest cur putarit concilium spiritus defunctorum inquietari per hanc cerεmoniam: et eo magis quod displiceat illis ejusmodi error, &c. &c.

DE SANCTORUM BEATITUDINE.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 1451. C. § Primo modo.

Et singulis annis, &c.] Hæc ultima verba 'et singulis annis, &c.' non sunt apud S. Cyprianum.

CAP. IX.

Col. 1452. C. § De tertio.

Posse Pontificem errare.] Annon ipsi agnoscatis totam ecclesiam posse errare in iis quæ sunt facti?

Col. 1452. C. § Altera est.

Insolentissimæ insaniæ esse disputare.] Annon ibi disputat S. Aug. [Epist. cxviii. (liv. Bened.) sect. 5.] de iis quæ ex antiqua traditione descenderunt in universalem ecclesiam, et non de iis quæ nupero præcepto Papæ imponuntur toti Ecclesiæ?

Col. 1452. D. § Altera est.

Denique tenemur obedire Pontifici.] Quid si certe noverimus ipsum in mediis blasphemiis mortuum et in vita hypocritam egisse?

Col. 1453. B. § Quarto, probatur.

Non est . . . credibile Deum non adesse ecclesiæ suæ sic dispositæ et supplicanti.] Ecclesia sic disposita petit multa a Deo quæ non concedit, neque tamen hinc concluditur quod ei non adest, &c.

Col. 1453. B. § Ultimo, probatur.

At in hoc nullus usquam error deprehensus est.] Forte deprehensus ab iis qui volunt videre. Si non, quid inde? quum raro potest sine revelatione e cælo?

CAP. X.

Col. 1454. A. § Quantum ad tertium.

Nullum est enim sacrificium in ecclesia, nisi commune et a Deo ipso institutum.] Sed sacrificium debetur Sanctis canonizatis, hic, et c. 7. § 3.; ergo ostendant ubi a Deo institutum, quod hic requirit.

CAP. XII.

Col. 1455. A. § Tertium argumentum.

Non meminisset latriæ.] Nominatim non veniebat in quæstionem latria. Calvin. L. 1. Instit. c. 12. § 3.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 1466. C. § Porro Calvinus.

Litaniis Papistarum nullam unquam fieri Christi mentionem.] "Ubi sanctis mortuis nihil non honoris defertur." Omisit hæc. Nec hæc verba [scil. "nunquam nobis in precibus Christum occurrere."] ibi sunt.

Col. 1466. D. § Porro Calvinus.

Et terminantur 'per Christum Dominum nostrum.'] Hoc præoccupat Calvinus, ibid.

Col. 1466. D. § Tertio dicit.

Dicit (Calvinus) solum Christum introisse.] Non dicit solum in Sanctuarium ingressum, &c.

Col. 1467. A. § Quarto dicit.

Plane ut Deos, &c.] Non secus ac in tutelarium Deorum fidem se contulerunt.

Col. 1467. C. § Septimo.

Calvinus deducit non posse invocari Sanctos, &c.] c. 17. § Est tamen. [In the section here referred to Bellarmine asserts that, 'quantum ad verba,' we may say 'S. Petre, miserere mei,' though in the present section he concedes that, 'oratio sacrificantis dirigatur ad Patrem.']

CAP. XVIII.

Col. 1470. C. § Accedat ultimo.

Calvinus dicit . . . . . Deum voluisse ut nullum nobis esset commercium cum sanctis mortuis.] Omnes ejusmodi rationes subduxit Deus. Loquutus autem est de variis et particularibus votis.

Sed nec illis nobiscum] "quantum assequi licet conjecturis." ibid.

DE SANCT. BEAT.

CAP. XIX.

Col. 1473. A. § Sequitur quinta.

Sancti . . . pie atque utiliter . . . invocantur.] c. 20. § Deinde quod ad. [In this § Bellarmine speaks of our necessity urging us to this course, 'nullum mandatum requiritur, quando ipsa necessitas nos impellit,' though in the passage before us he looks on it only as 'pium et utile.' See below, Col. 1487. C.]

Col. 1473. C. § At solutio.

Quæ verba Salomonis, &c.] Vide Bellarmin. in Psal. 131.

CAP. XX.

Col. 1480. B. § Ad locum Ambrosii.

Qui astrorum cursus colebant.] Agit de astris, sed ratio quam reddit generalis est omnibus creaturis.

Col. 1480. C. § Ad locum Ambrosii.

'Non esse opus suffragatore' intelligitur ex parte Dei.] Addit S. Ambros. 'sed mente devota,' ergo non opus suffragatoribus nec ex parte nostri.

Col. 1480. C. § Dices, hoc idem.

Dices, hoc idem poterant respondere Gentiles.] Ergo immediate accessibilis est: ergo quidni sic accedamus? &c. § Præterea Coloss. infra, e. § Deinde quod ad.

. *Theod. in cap.* 1. *ad Coloss.*] Ergo et aliter potest [Deus accedi] quam per sanctos.

Col. 1481. D. § Hinc solvitur.

Mediatorem quodammodo redemptionis.] S. Aug. ibid. [Contra Epist. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 8.] meminit interpellationis: mediatoris: exorationis: orationis: et ne verbum addit de redemptione. Ergo verisimile est quod ibi agat de mediatore intercessionis, non redemptionis. Et omnia hæc, dum respondet loco S. Johan. 9. 'Deus peccatores non exaudit.' Ergo de intercessione.

Quin et Bellarmin. hic dicit 'quodammodo:' et sic ni fallor, omnis qui intercedit, innitendo scilicet et premendo meritum Christi.

Col. 1482. B. § Urget Calvinus.

Respondeo, B. Augustinum velle dicere Christum esse per quem omnes interpellant.] At S. Aug. ib. bis dicit 'interpellat,' &c. &c. et opinor satis novit quod voluit dicere.

Col. 1482. C. § Urget Calvinus.

Quia ipsi egent Christo.] At quî, quæso, egent [Angeli] Christo (quod subnectit) si non oratione ejus. Et si Angeli non indigebant oratione Christi, quia nunc confirmati: ergo nec animæ beatæ, quia nunc et illæ confirmatæ.

Col. 1482. D. § Ad tertium locum.

Concilium (Laod.) non damnat quamlibet venerationem Angelorum.] Sed verbum Theodoreti est, 'Ne precarentur Angelos:' ergo preces illis fundere, idololâtria illa fuit de qua concilium loquitur.

Col. 1484. C. et D. § Alii postremo.

Revelari eis a Deo orationes nostras.] Ergo revelat Deus orationes nostras, ut illi easdem orationes ad Deum deferant. Quid hoc? Ergo etiamsi sciant, non tamen ideo invocandi, &c.

Col. 1486. B. § Respondeo, nihil.

Unde Job ult. dicit Deus: Ite ad servum meum Job] Sed Jobus tum in vivis. "Membrorum omnium adhuc in terra laborantium, preces invicem, &c." S. Aug. l. 2. con. Epist. Parmen. c. 8. Et infra, § Promissio denique. [In this § Bellarmine meets this objection by stating that the Saints after death 'tunc maxime vivunt.']

Col. 1487. B. § Argumentum sextum.

Nullum exstat Scripturæ mandatum, vel exemplum.] Kemnit. par. 3. Exam. p. 293.

Col. 1487. C. § Deinde quod.

Quando ipsa necessitas nos.] At c. 19. § 1. dicit pie et utiliter sed non necessario. [See above, Col. 1473. A.] Et supra § Dices hoc idem. [See Col. 1480. C.]

Col. 1487. D. § Sed ut ad rem.

Deum posse . . . sine Sanctis etiam multa vel omnia dare.] Quid! an invitus concedit quod potest omnia?

DE RELIQUIIS ET IMAGINIBUS SANCTORUM.

CAP. IV.

Col. 1502. A. § Dices, nec coluerunt.

Credibile esse corpus (Moysis), licet mortuum, conservasse adhuc splendorem.] Negatur apud S. Aug. l. 1. de mirabil. S. Scrip. c. 35.

Col. 1502. C. § Dices, idem.

Nec desunt in ecclesia qui et literis et sermonibus populos doceant.] Nec defuerunt in ecclesia Judaica tempore Ezechiæ, quum tamen cultus latriæ serpenti æneo deferebatur.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 1512. D. § Quarto probat.

Si Gregorius in scholæ Spiritus edoctus fuisset] 'Hac in parte' addit Calvi. Lib. 1. Instit. c. 11. § 5.

CAP. IX.

Col. 1520. C. § Ad tertium dico.

Quæ non habentur pro Diis.] Nam de idolis quæ habentur pro Diis, fatetur et ipse, c. 13. § Quartum mendacium.

DE CULTU SANCTORUM.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 1532. D. § Secundum mendacium.

Secundum mendacium est.] Mendacium illis attribuit Calvin. L. 1. Instit. c. 11. § 10.

Col. 1534. B. § Quartum mendacium.

Calvinus lib. 1. *cap.* 2. § 9.] Et postea ultimis verbis ejusdem §.

Col. 1534. C. § Quartum mendacium.

Ut vere crederent ipsa idola vivere.] c. 9. § Ad tertium dico. [See above, Col. 1520. C.]

DE CULTU SANCTORUM.

CAP. X.

Col. 1601. B. § Quod igitur.

Qui existimabant debere Christianos servare dies festos Novi et Veteris Testamenti.] Hoc non impedit quominus ad tempus utriusque Testamenti festa fuerint observata. Et infra § Prima sententia, et infra. § Quarto docent, et § Neque argumenta, et cap. 11. § 4, et cap. 12. § Ad authoritatem.

Col. 1602. A. § Tertius error.

Tum etiam ut aliquam remissionem concedamus famulis.] Infra § Denique summa, et § Quarto opera.

Col. 1602. C. § Quarto docent.

Non potuit imponi postea sub necessitate.] Infra § Neque argumenta.

Col. 1602. C. § Præterea quia.

Paulus . . . . resistit Pseudo-apostolis volentibus inducere obligationem festorum.] Sed Judaicorum, ut infra § Neque argumenta.

Col. 1603. A. § Tilemanus dicit.

Heshusius . . . significat Christum sibi esse Deum alienum.] At quid si dicat corpus Christi esse Deum alienum; ei enim instituitur festum illud, et non ipsi Christo.

Col. 1603. B. § Calvinus dicit.

Et quidquid agimus esse peccatum.] Imo peccabiles circumstantias esse in omni quod agimus.

Col. 1603. B. § Prima sententia.

Nullo modo licet Christianis Sabbathum observare.] At hoc non impedit, quominus a prima cessatione legis licuit.

Col. 1604. B. § At hæc solutio.

Vitam beatam præfigurat.] Infra § Sed contra. ['Non enim sustulimus observationem certorum dierum, sed mutavimus.']

Col. 1604. C. § Secundo probatur.

Quos etiam adversarii.] Non omnes: quod satis notum est.

Col. 1609. B. § Quarto antiqua.

Nego illum (Paulum) aliquando coluisse Diem Sabbathi.] § 2. [See above, Col. 1601. B.] Et § Quarto docent.

Col. 1609. C. § Adde ultimo.

Ad testimonium Socratis dico, Socratem hæreticum fuisse Novatianum.] Et Novatiani errabant circa festa, c. 12. § Quintus error.

Col. 1610. B. § Secundo objiciunt.

Respondeo (Augustinum) loqui de præcepto Sabbathi, ut est generale præceptum.] Sed annon ergo per speciale præceptum subintellectum magis prohibet peccatum illo die quam alio?

Col. 1610. D. § Objicies, si.

Non . . . omnia peccata prohibentur hoc præcepto . . . de Sabbatho, quia non erat necesse.] At quid si utile fuit, ut magis?

CAP. XII.

Col. 1615. A. § Ad auctoritatem.

Johannem celebrasse Pascha XIV die, ut se accommodaret.] At diu vixit S. Johan: an illa accommodatio sic semper in usu? Cur ergo dicitur in illis initiis? cap. 10. § 2.

Col. 1615. C. § Quintus error.

Quintus error est Novatianorum.] Victor et Polycarpus statuerunt non hinc solvendam communionem, sed ut pro consuetudine loci. Sozom. 7. c. 19. Et reprehensus Victor quia excommunicavit, &c. et veteres etiam sic, &c. &c. Socra. 5. c. 21. Euseb. 5. c. 25, 26.

Col. 1615. D. § Iste autem error.

Qui Pascha egerint ante æquinoctium cum Judæis.] Imo Judæi non ita, hoc ipso cap. § Adde etiam.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 1622. B. § Itaque prima.

Dicitur septuagesima.] Cur non dicebatur septima: ut sic tolleretur error de numero dierum?

CAP. XV.

Col. 1622. D. § Natalis Domini.

Meminit Clemens lib. 5.] Cap. 16. § Ad objectionem. [In this section the feast of Christmas is spoken of as of later introduction.]

TOMUS SECUNDUS.

DE SACRAMENTIS.

LIBER PRIMUS DE SACRAMENTIS.

CAP. VII.

Col. 14. A. § Sic etiam.

Calv. lib. 4. *Instit. c.* 14. § 13 . . . *de nomine Sacramenti . . . non obscure reprehendit.*] Non video cur dicatur reprehendere.

CAP. IX.

Col. 22. A. § De aliis.

De aliis sacramentis non est ita notum.] D. Field in Appen. L. 3. De Eccles. § 15.

CAP. XVII.

Col. 45. A. § Tertio dico.

Quasi circumcisio (ut hæretici volunt) in quocunque esset, testificatio esset justitiæ illius.] Sic etiam, quasi Baptismus in quocunque esset, testificatio esset Justitiæ ejus? Et tamen Baptismus omnibus, &c. &c.

Col. 46. A. § Respondeo, Iris.

Si quis crederet verbo, non egeret illis signis.] Ergone Fidelis non egebat apud Judæos circumcisione? Quid igitur sibi vult Institutio Dei?

Col. 46. A. § Adde quod.

Eis perpetuo memoriali, &c.] Sed non memoriali tantum.

Signum circumcisionis . . . fuisse postulatum a Deo ab hominibus.] Non lego ubi homines postulaverunt circumcidi: Immo sensus est, Deus exigit ab hominibus.

Col. 47. B. § Hæc etiam non.

Distinguitur baptismus noster a baptismo Judæorum.] i. a latronibus.

Col. 48. B. § Secundo, S. Petrus.

Non obsignando et testificando.] i. non tantum: et nos non negamus justificare.

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 74. D. § Prima igitur.

(*Alensis*) 4 *par. q.* 24, *membro.* 1. *dicit Sacramentum Confirmationis post mortem Apostolorum institutum esse.*] Est q. 9. m. 1., sed addit, 'Quantum ad formam verborum, et materiam elementarem,' &c. &c.

Idem Alexander Quæst. 59. *m.* 3 . . . *Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ non fuisse a Christo institutum.*] Tot quæstiones non sunt. Sed p. 4. q. 14. M. 1. A. 3. apertissime dicit, sacramentum Pœnitentiæ institutum a Domino. Ultimis tamen verbis addit, 'Quodammodo Institutio dici potest.'

CAP. XXVI.

Col. 89. D. § Respondeo, negando.

Per Spiritum Sanctum . . . . intelligimus potestatem remittendi peccata.] * L. de Sac. ordinis. c. 2. § Secundum facile.

LIBER SECUNDUS DE SACRAMENTIS.

CAP. XXV.

Col. 174. D. § Secunda probatio.

Errasset tota Ecclesia per annos C D. perniciosissime, &c.] Et quid ita quæso si lata tantum significatione Sacramenti vocabulum usurpavit?

Magis perniciosus est error circa sacramenta, quam circa alia dogmata.] Quid num omnia alia? si ita, falsum est. Si non, ita periit vis argumenti.

Sacramentorum cognitio . . . pertinet . . . ad praxim singulorum hominum.] Num omnia sacramenta septem ad singulos?

Sincerus Sacramentorum usus ad notas Ecclesiæ pertinet.] Sed num ergo numerus, latiori scilicet vocis ambitu?

Col. 175. B. § Secundum testimonium.

Græcos idem omnino cum Latinis semper sensisse.] Et quid hoc etiam, si latiori tantum vocabuli usu?

Col. 175. C. § Secundo mentitur.

Et sane non tam facile accepissent.] At non explicuisti quam facile.

Col. 175. D. § Tertium testimonium.

Si tollamus auctoritatem . . . præsentis Concilii.] Quid, sive legitime congregatum sit illud concilium, sive non?

Historici . . . non (possunt) parere fidem, nisi humanam.] Ergone vox ecclesiæ parit divinam?

CAP. XXVIII.

Col. 183. B. § Ordo excellit.

Confirmatio aliquando . . . confertur a . . . sacerdote.] ✻ L. de Sacramento ordinis. c. 5. § 5.

DE SACRAMENTO BAPTISMI.

Col. 205. D. § Neque testimonia.

Potest autem ille ignis.] Lib. 2. de effectu Sacramentorum. c. 3. [§ Tertio, negari non potest.]

CAP. VI.

Col. 221. D. § Ad argumentum.

Sed non potest decedere (Martyr) sine charitate.] Ergo aut falsum est quod dicit Apostolus, 1 Cor. 13.; aut distinguendum est inter traditionem corporis ut ardeat, et martyrium.

DE SACRA. EUCHA.

LIBER PRIMUS DE SACRAMENTO EUCHARISTIÆ.

CAP. II.

Col. 337. B. § Sexto, Concilium.

Substantialiter, tum contra Calvinistas.] Immo fatetur Calvinus, 4. Instit. c. 17. § 19.

Col. 337. C. § Sexto, Concilium.

Substantia . . . neque ordinem habet ad locum, &c.] Non habet ordinem ad locum: ergo non occupat.

CAP. III.

Col. 341. B. § Et præstantioribus.

(Agno Paschali) respondet Agnus Ille, qui tollit peccata mundi quatenus manducatur, quod certe non aliter fieri solet, quam in Eucharistia.] L. 1. de Missa. c. 7. § 1, &c. [In this passage Bellarmine compares together the Passover and the Eucharist, as both being 'immolatio victimæ Deo oblatæ.']

CAP. IV.

Col. 343. B. § At in hac.

Quod Hebræi eandem escam inter se comederint.] Cap. 5. § Quintum est in. Et cap. 6. § 4. Et cap. 13. § Respondeo, S. Augustinus. Et c. 14. § Duodecimus locus.

Col. 343. C. § At in hac.

Id est, divinam Christi providentiam.] At c. 3. § Tertia figura, exponit hæc ipse Bellarminus de sacramentis Baptismi et Eucharistiæ. Et c. 5. § Quintum est.

Col. 343. C. § Unicus restat.

Quasi idem sit quod bibere petram.] Certe: si intelligamus de petra materiali, quæ non est potabilis. Sed Christus, ut est petra spiritualis, est comestibilis et potabilis. Vide c. 5. § Quantum ad primum.

CAP. V.

Col. 346. D. § At hæretici.

Calvinus . . . subjungit, excipiunt, illic non agi de sacramentali esu, quod ego fateor.] At quid si hoc verbum 'illic' non refertur ad locum, S. Johan. 6, fatendo ibi non agi de Sacramento: sed ad rem ibi tractatam, i. non agi illic, non simpliciter de sacramento, sed non de sacramentali ejus esu, illic, sed de spirituali?

Col. 348. B. § Quartum argumentum.

Idem . . . est manducare et bibere in sumptione per solam fidem.] Et in sumptione sub una specie.

Col. 348. C. § Quintum est.

Corpus Dominus, ut sumitur sola fide, non defuit veteribus.] c. 4. § 2. 3. * [In these sections Bellarmine maintains the contrary position to this against Peter Martyr.]

CAP. VII.

Col. 354. C. § Ad ultimum.

Verbum Christi acceperunt Capharnaitæ.] At horum opinionem non correxit Dominus, sed tantum arguit eorum dubitationem. Ibid. c. 6. § Secundo ex.

Col. 356. A. § Respondeo verba.

Verba, quæ citantur, non pertinent ad Sacramentum proprie.] Sed cur non proprie pertineant ad sacramentum? Eodem modo loquitur de pane vitæ hic, et ver. 51. ubi incipit agere de Sacramento, secundum Bellarminum. Ibid. c. 5. § 2. Quin et de Manna agit. v. 31, et v. 49. æque ac v. 58. Quem panem typum fuisse Eucharistiæ probat Bellarm. c. 3. § Tertia figura. Cur ergo magis typus post v. 51, quam ante? c. 5. § 2.

Col. 356. A. § Respondeo primo.

Tamen mens legislatoris . . non erat obligare nisi ad res ipsas sumendas . . quæ . . . sumuntur . . . sub una specie.] Petitio principii est: nam unde hoc constabit?

Col. 356. B. § Respondeo primo.

Fructus . . . perceptionis oritur . . . non ex modo sumendi.] At hic quum sit pars institutionis, non est tantum modus, et deficit comparatio.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 356. D. § Quantum ad primum.

Una in pronomine 'Meum.'] Sed c. 10. refutat quatuor fundatas in pronomine 'hoc.'

CAP. IX.

Col. 360. A. et B. § Respondeo nihil.

Distinguenda sunt præcepta . . . a cohortationibus.] At multa præcepit Dominus, quæ omnes noverunt etiamsi non præcepisset: an ideo sequitur eum non tam præcepisse quam hortari? &c.

Col. 360. B. § Quod attinet ad dogmata.

Deus est unus.] Quam difficultatem ponit, credere Deum esse unum.

Col. 361. B. § Argumentum secundum.

Loquebatur cum solis Apostolis.] An etiam et ita Paulus cum solis Apostolis?

CAP. X.

Col. 366. B. § Quod igitur.

'Est' . . . potest dimittere suam significationem.] At dicitur, Ego sum Vitis: et ego sum ostium: an ipsam essentiam notat? &c.

Col. 368. C. § Altera tamen.

Hoc est illud corpus.] Illud corpus; esto. Sed annon fieri potest sub figura?

Col. 368. D. § Altera tamen.

Panis enim, ut Symbolum . . . utrumque corpus significat et mysticum et naturale.] Utrumque certe. Sed an in uno aliquo loco utrumque?

DE SACRA. EUCHA.

Col. 369. A. § Dicent, panis.

In recto, non in obliquo.] c. xi. § 6. [Est igitur altera.] ⁎

Col. 369. B. § Est autem hic.

Communicationem ipsius et omnium bonorum ejus.] Calvin. 4. Instit. c. 17. §. 19. et 31.

Col. 370. B. § Secundo, omissa.

Ergo ineptus est etiam qui dicit.] Non infertur conclusio absolute sed ex hypothesi, i. posita Calvini sententia.

Nihil aliud tribuit Calvinus Eucharistiæ, nisi ut sit symbolum.] At 1°. nulla exclusiva particula est apud Calvinum: Deinde sunt et hæc verba: 'Christus se cum omnibus bonis suis in cœna offert, et nos recipimus fide,' &c. Hoccine nihil aliud quam revocare in memoriam?

CAP. XI.

Col. 371. C. § Ut solvantur objectiones.

Quibusdam codicibus Cypriani.] Et ita habet codex meus.

Col. 372. B. § Est igitur altera.

Non demonstret præcise panem.] Ergo annon illud præcise demonstrat ad quod proprie pertinet ea demonstratio? Vide § Sed S. Thomas, infra, et § Ad id dico.

Hoc, id est, hæ species sunt corpus meum.] C. 10. § Dicent panis ⁎.

Col. 373. A. § Ad ultimum.

Et benedictione mutatum.] Petitio principii est.

Col. 375. D. § Tota igitur.

Apud hæreticos etiamsi hæc verba non proprie dicantur forma sacramenti.] Quis dicit illa verba non esse formam Sacramenti?

Col. 379. B. § Denique illud.

Licet impediri possit effectus per nostram indispositionem.] At quæ illa indispositio in infantibus? non enim instabit Bellarminus in obice Reprobationis, &c.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 386. B. § Ad hæc si.

Immo opinione adversariorum.] Sed parvorum, sed insipientium, et pro talibus apud suos non potest respondere Bellarminus.

Col. 387. A. § Jam altera.

Apostolus . . . crimen ponit in ipsa sumptione.] Sed et illi (quantum adhuc video) ponunt crimen in ipsa sumptione, non in omissione sumptionis. Verba sunt, quod non recipiunt vere: non quod non omnino recipiunt. Et apud S. Aug. sæpe, vere comedere, et utiliter comedere, idem sunt. Infra § Respondeo apud, &c. Et Calvin. L. 4. c. 17. § 34. negat valere externam receptionem. Quis unquam dixit valere?

Col. 389. B. § Sed urget Calvinus.

Impios . . . comedere corpus Christi . . . solum Sacramento tenus.] Non tamen ita plane Calvin: sed obiter et quærendo interpretationem, &c. nam contra ipsum, &c.

Col. 389. B. § Respondeo, eo loco.

Per corpus Christi accepit Augustinus corpus Christi mysticum, &c.] Dicit S. Aug. [de Civ. Dei, lib. xii. cap. 25.] horum opinionem fuisse de his qui manducaverunt corpus Christi: At quis, quæso, unquam corpus ejus mysticum comedit? Verba quidem quæ immediate subjungit ex 1 Cor. 10. de corpore mystico sunt, sed sequuntur manifestissime constitutionem in corpore, non manducationem corporis, &c. Nec (quantum video) refellit opinionem hanc (ut vult Calvinus) de manducatione reali Christi corporis; sed sequelam quam inde deduxerunt, salvos nempe fore qui in unitate ecclesiæ percepissent hoc sacramentum, etiamsi impii essent.

Ita accipiebat corpus Christi.] Non ita accipiebat: nam aliud est Sacramentum hoc percipere in Ecclesia, et hoc esse Sacramentum corporis mystici, (quod utrumque dicit S. Aug.): aliud vero hoc sacramentum sumi quum comeditur pro ipsa ecclesia.

Neque . . . impios comedere corpus Christi.] Sed quid ergo? An secundum Aug. (ibid.) impii re vera comedunt? Non dicit S. Aug. nisi ex horum errantium opinione, &c. Inquiunt, &c.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 390. D. § Sed urget Martyr.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ est corpus Christi, &c.] Si non est, quî transubstantiatio?

Col. 391. A. § Respondeo cum.

Quid fiat de speciebus corruptis.] Ergo an accidentia sine substantia possunt ingredi stomachum et corrumpi?

Col. 398. B. § Denique illa.

Ita Christus vere ascendit.] At non undique par ratio propter humanitatem Christi.

Col. 401. A. § Dico secundo.

Non igitur apud Augustinum eadem erat esca Judæorum et Christianorum quoad rem ipsam, sed solum quoad significationem.] At annon S. Aug. antea hoc ipso § dicit illa et nostra, utcunque signis et specie (i. elementis) diversa sint, tamen esse in re quæ significatur paria? Et quî in re paria, si solum in significatione, ut hic? Aliud etiam (ni fallor) est, paria sunt in re quæ significatur (quod dicit S. Aug.), et quoad significationem quod hic, &c.

Col. 402. B. § Respondeo, si.

Illam præfationem 'Sursum Corda' quam . . . adversarii negligunt, &c.] Non Ecclesia Angliçana.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 551. § Respondeo, ad singula.

Pro articulo fidei proponi non poterit, quod libri Evangelistarum . . . sint Scripturæ divinæ.] At Kemnitius loquitur supponendo scripturas.

DE SACRA. EUCHA.

Col. 552. A. § Tertio addit.

Qui Scripturam condidit.] Est idem Spiritus Sanctus. Quæstio solum est an Ecclesia semper declarat secundum eundem, saltem an ecclesia Romana?

LIBER QUARTUS.

CAP. XX.

Col. 632. B. § Explicatis iis.

Privaverit populum usu calicis.] c. 24. § Respondeo non.

CAP. XXI.

Col. 634. C. § Cæterum veritas.

Istam veritatem inventum Scholasticorum.] i. concomitantiam.

Col. 635. D. § Tertium principium est.

In specie panis cum corpore Christi.] Et quid hoc ad ipsum sacramentum, quum non instituit Dominus in una specie, sed in duabus?

Col. 635. D. § Accedat nunc.

Tamen vivum et integrum permanere.] Et tamen in duobus elementis respectu sacramenti instituti.

Col. 636. A. § Accedat nunc.

Non enim ponunt animam, sed corpus tantum et sanguinem.] Quis dixit, aut quæ ratio probat?

Col. 636. C. § Denique communis.

Sub specie panis se accipere.] c. 23. § penult.

CAP. XXII.

Col. 638. D. § Secunda propositio.

Eucharistia . . . est . . . quædam imitatio sacrificii in cruce peracti.] Quæritur, si imitatio sit, quî offertur proprie et vere Deo corpus et sanguis Christi? Quod asseritur, L. 1. de missa. c. 5. § E contrario vero.

Col. 639. D. § Utraque autem.

Illa duo signa, species videlicet panis, et species vini, non tam essentiales, quam integrales partes hujus Sacramenti esse videntur.] c. 24. § Quartum incommodum. [In this section Bellarmine speaks of the two species, as 'partes *sacrificii* (not merely *sacramenti*) integrantes potius quam essentiales.']

Col. 640. A. § Utraque autem.

Ad eandem rationem pertinere cibum et potum spiritualem.] Non sequitur; in Scriptura vel patribus exprimitur aliquando per unam speciem totum sacramentum, ergo sic et administrari. Nec hoc: exprimit una species sufficienter et perfectionem et unionem, ergo, &c.

Col. 640. B. § Jam quod attinet.

Nam tota efficientia nascitur ex ipso Christo.] Quin et hoc supposito, non sequitur deserendam esse formam institutionis.

Col. 640. C. § Huc accedit.

Nec ullo modo ut Sacramentum sit, una species pendet ab altera.] Annon hoc modo, quod conjunxit ea Christus in ipsa institutione?

Col. 640. C. § Accedit etiam.

Fidelium consensus, &c.] Immo sunt fideles qui dicunt mutilum, etiamsi tu non dicis.

Col. 640. C. § Accedunt denique.

Accedunt denique typi, &c.] Figuræ in una specie non concludunt institutionem: quia figuræ sunt ad plurimum imperfectæ adumbrationes.

Col. 640. D. § Accedunt denique.

Etiamsi Apostolus conjungat . . . cibum spiritualem . . . et potum spiritualem.] c. 24. § 3. Et c. 24. § Respondeo, non.

Col. 641. A. § Quarta propositio.

Siquidem sumantur . . . temporibus diversis . . . sunt duo Sacramenta.] Sed annon mutila utraque?

Col. 641. B. § Ex his ad.

Atque integri Sacramenti ratio.] Non integri.

Col. 641. C. § Ad confirmationem.

Populo datur cibus spiritualis, qui . . . virtualiter continet, &c.] At quid hoc ad institutionem: si debuit in scedulis duabus?

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 642. A. § Ac ut a sententia.

Tamen oculis utramque sumunt non minus quam sacerdotes.] Sed non instituit Christus, ut oculis tantum.

Col. 642. C. § Tertia propositio.

Et confirmatur hæc ratio ab exemplis similibus.] At hæc institutio non pertinet ad omnes.

Col. 642. C. § Præterea.

Quam ex rara sub utraque.] Deinde quæ necessitas, ut sit rara sub utraque?

Col. 642. D. § Denique posita.

Sub duabus sine illo ingenti obedientiæ fructu.] Consequens esset, quam qui sub duabus ut Christo obediat?

Col. 642. D. § Sit ultima.

Nihil spiritualis fructus.] Ergo obedientia Institutioni est nihil.

Col. 643. B. § Probatur igitur.

Vel ex re contenta.] Vel ex vi institutionis, quod omisit.

Col. 643. C. § Respondeo, Symbolum.

Si significet plenius, id est, aliquid plenius.] Plenius, relatione ad institutionem, utroque sensu.

Non tamen aliquid significat . . . quod ab altera specie . . . non significetur.] Quid est ergo sanguis effusus?

DE SACRA. EUCHA.

Col. 644. A. § Respondeo, jam.

Fructum ex utraque specie a populo capi posse, &c.] Quid hoc ad institutionem? neque enim de posse disputatur.

Sacramentorum fructus consistat in confirmanda fide.] Non dicitur totus: et tum quid absurdi?

Col. 644. B. § Respondeo, sancti.

Non tribuunt peculiarem effectum sanguini Domini, ut distinguitur contra corpus.] At quid opus ad hæc confugere, quum Christus in utraque instituit? Et quid in peculiarem aliquem effectum utrique tribuit?

Col. 644. D. § Respondeo, alius.

Qui est cibus quidem, sed potum continens.] Dent ergo panem intinctum vel maceratum.

Col. 645. A. § Quartum argumentum.

Eucharistia sub specie panis Sacramentum est.] Non integrum.

Col. 645. A. § Respondeo, idem.

Idem argumentum fieri posset de duabus particulis consecrati panis.] Institutio nihil meminit de particulis vel haustibus.

Col. 645. B. § Respondeo, idem.

Nisi . . majori . . ardore spiritus percipiatur.] Quod plerumque fit.

Col. 645. C. § Neque ideo frustra.

In his omnibus [*miraculis*] *nihil erat inutile et superfluum.*] At ubi est institutio aliqua de miraculis?

Col. 646. A. § Quintum argumentum.

Nam si in triduo mortis Domini eucharistiam Apostolus aliquis consecrasset.] c. 21. § Denique communis. Et hic huic particulæ nihil respondet Bellarminus.

Col. 646. A. § Respondeo, corpus.

Instrumenta formaliter differunt per diversam virtutem, &c.] Et quid impedit, quominus habeant diversam virtutem operativam, licet ejusdem rei, et per eandem causam.

Col. 646. B. § Respondeo, corpus.

Etiamsi panis non convertitur in divinitatem.] * Annon asseruit, c. 21. § Sed hæc?

CAP. XXIV.

Col. 646. D. § Quod igitur.

Pleræque figuræ Eucharistiæ manducationem sub una specie significant.] c. 22. § Accedunt denique.

Figuratum enim figuræ respondere debet.] Nulla necessitas ut in omnibus.

Col. 647. B. § Neque obstat.

Nam Gregorius ponit duas explicationes.] Non ille ponit distincte duas expositiones.

Significetur potus sanguinis.] Nec dicit hanc esse minus probabilem.

Potum sanguinis absolute.] Et verbum est bibere. Nec somniavit de neganda specie vini.

Col. 647. D. § Respondeo, quod.

Non respondet manducationi victimarum.] Sed cur non magis responderet?

Col. 647. D. § Respondeo, non.

Non contendimus nos pro necessitate unius speciei.] Infra § Denique addit. c. 20. § 1.

Col. 648. A. § Respondeo, non.

Quod autem (Melchisedec) dederit manducandum ex nullo verbo colligitur.] Cur non ex illis, v. 19. Benedixit ei, &c.; et utique dando panem et vinum quæ protulit ad refectionem et non ad sacrificium solum.

Col. 648. B. § Respondeo, non.

In cap. 19 Joan. . . . sub una tantum specie Eucharistia designatur.] Significationes partiales an concludunt contra expressam constitutionem?

Col. 648. B. § Secunda ratio.

Unam speciem sufficere docet ad salutem.] Unam exprimens pro duabus non statim dicit unam sufficere.

Col. 649. A. § Instat Kemnitius.

Non enim Augustinus dicit Christum dedisse utramque speciem.] Nec negat.

Col. 649. B. § Denique addit.

Non addidisse 'hoc facite,' cum panem benedictum in Emaus dedit.] At dixit 'Hoc facite,' ubi utramque speciem [dedit]; ergo voluit nos, &c.

Hoc exemplo licere . . . communicare sub una.] Supra § Respondeo non, &c. [See above, Col. 647. B.] Immo a nudo exemplo non semper sequitur utile esse.

Col. 649. C. § Neque Kemnitius.

Lucas describit . . . quid populi facerent, &c.] Numquid ergo populus fregit? aut num solus populus perseveravit, &c.?

Col. 650. A. § Et miranda est.

Et ex uno calice.] Sunt hæc verba in editione, Genevæ, 1583. Et in Marg. editionis Plantinianæ, 1568.

Col. 650. B. § Quarta ratio.

Manichæi nunquam communicabant nisi sub specie panis, &c.] c. 26. § Altera solutio. [Bellarmine here remarks, 'S. Leo ad Manichæos detegendos jubebat observari, non eos, qui modo sub una, modo sub utraque specie communicabant, sed eos tantum, qui nunquam sub utraque communicabant.']

Manichæi . . . negabant Christi veram mortem.] Negant etiam in veritate carnis natum; ergo indigne etiam corpus accipiebant. S. Leo. ibid. Et recusabant nisi latendi gratia.

Nec Epiphanius, nec Augustinus notarunt errorem illum.] Quia includebatur in prædicta hæresi.

Col. 650. C. § Deinde testimonium.

Si omnes coacti fuissent bibere.] At quid si mulier illa putasset sufficiens esse, si profanaverit unam speciem?

DE SACRA. EUCHA.

Col. 650. C. § Alterum exemplum.

Si autem Romæ non fuisset libera Communio sub utraque specie.] Infra § Cardinalis, et § Ordo Romanus. [The first of the sections refers to Cardinal Hosius's attempt to show that Communion in one kind was always observed in the Church of Poland, and the latter described the peculiar practice enjoined in the Ordo Romanus for the admixture of a small portion of consecrated wine, with a mixture of unconsecrated wine and water for the use of the people.]

Col. 650. D. § Alterum exemplum.

Asservatio Sacramenti, &c.] Omnia hæc possunt esse exhibita sub utraque specie.

Quæ ex his et aliis necessaria putabantur, forte occasionem præbuerunt communicandi sub una specie. Sed non debent pervertere generalem institutionem. Infra § Primum incommodum.

Col. 652. B. § Quintus ritus.

In pœnam gravis alicujus delicti.] Aut aliquid est in communione sub una specie tantum, aut nihil. Si nihil, quî potest esse pœna pro gravi delicto? Si aliquid, cur negatur laicis?

Col. 652. C. § Quod in Parasceue.

Ex quo intelligimus in publico etiam cœtu Ecclesiæ usum fuisse unius speciei.] C. 25. § Ultimum postulatum. Calvin. 4. Institut. c. 17. § 49. et § 48.

Col. 654. B. § Ordo Romanus.

Parvo calice effundi, &c.] Abusus hic fuit. Deinde concludit non solere populum bibere, quia bibebat.

Quod revera esset sanguis Domini.] At ipsi docent consecrari quicquid sit in mensa.

Col. 654. C. § Est autem conjectura.

Neque enim unquam fuit usus consecrandi multos simul calices.] Sed annon sicut et nunc vas aliquod majus? Nec plures?

Col. 654. D. § Est autem conjectura.

Non potuisse in eadem actione repeti sæpius consecrationem.] Potuit et hoc, licet an factum sit quæro.

Col. 655. B. § Neque ad hoc incommodum.

Nam Christus instituit quidem sub duplici specie, sed non jussit dari omnibus sub duplici.] Et tamen est, 'Bibite ex hoc omnes.' Et ipsa institutio est præceptum respectu materialium: quæ nulla authoritas ecclesiæ potest mutare.

Col. 655. C. § Joannes Brentius.

Cur Ecclesia Catholica jus non habebit interpretandi.] Quia necessitas est interpres, et non illa! et § Sequenti.

Col. 656. A. § Quartum incommodum.

Cum duæ illæ species.] C. 22. § Utraque. [See above, Col. 639. D.]

Col. 656. A. § Denique hoc.

Sed quis dedit Philippo auctoritatem mutandi sacramentorum materiam?] Nemo Philippo, sed Deus necessitati forte, aut sub una specie in eo casu.

CAP. XXV.

Col. 658. C. § Primum est.

Calvinus in antidoto Articulorum Parisiensium.] Et Lib. 4. Instit. c. 17. § 50.

Col. 659. A. § Respondeo, Christus.

Non tamen prohibuit dari, &c.] Sic nec prohibuit calicem: et æque jussit in verbis, Hoc facite.

Col. 659. B. § Respondeo, Argumentum est.

Paulus vel Domini exemplo, &c.] Quasi non esset præceptum.

Col. 660. A. § Respondeo, removeantur.

Quia sacrificium integrum esse, et integre consumi debet.] Annon esse debet etiam sacramentum integrum recipientibus?

Col. 660. D. § Respondeo, mirabilis.

Post datum autem calicem illud (hoc facite) non repetivit.] But there is 'post datum calicem.' 1 Cor. 11. 25. Vide § Jam vero illud.

Col. 661. A. § Nec quidquam.

Similiter et calicem, &c.] At cur non sic: similiter et.

Col. 661. D. § Sed hæc omnia.

Ubi videmus tradi historiam de Institutione Sacramenti, non autem præceptum de utraque specie sumenda.] Et cur non in institutione tale præceptum, quale in institutione fuit.

Col. 662. A. § Postremo falsum est.

Ita ut omnia quæ ibi (in Epist. ad Corinth.) habentur, ad omnes pertineant.] At hoc non dicitur.

Col. 662. B. § Jam vero illud.

Non significant igitur hæc verba posteriora, ut calix debeat dari.] At ver. 26. est etiam 'quotiescunque comeditis.'

Col. 662. B. § Quæritur.

Quæritur . . . an demonstret (Hoc facite) consecrationem et distributionem . . . . an . . . . manducationem et bibitionem.] c. 27. § Respondeo dupliciter. [In this passage Bellarmine admits that the words include both meanings.]

CAP. XXVI.

Col. 663. D. § Respondeo, illa.

Ubi nulla fit mentio Communionis.] Sed quis docuit separare quæ conjunxit Christus.

Col. 664. A. § Eadem solutio.

Tertullianum dixisse nos sanguine vesci, non bibere.] At qui corpore et sanguine vescitur, quum sanguis est sub elemento vini, præsupponitur bibere non comedere vinum.

DE SACRA. EUCHA.

Col. 664. A. § Respondeo, primo.

Satis est, si in ecclesia aliqui sint, qui id faciant.] Aliqui, i. solus sacerdos conficiens.

Col. 664. D. § Quod autem.

Qui dant in sola aqua consecratum . . . mutant materiam.] Utrum gravius mutare materiam: an tollere partem materiæ? vide infra § Undecimo proferunt.

Col. 665. B. § Respondeo, primum.

Jussit . . . bibi, sed ad hoc satis est, si ab aliquibus bibatur.] At in textu est Omnes.

Col. 666. C. § Respondeo, duplex.

(*Sacrificantes*) *nullo modo debent unam speciem sine altera sumere, cum ipsorum sit holocaustum consumere.*] Ergo an debent comedere totum panem qui offertur?

Col. 666. D. § Altera solutio.

(*Ut supra diximus*) *S. Leo . . . ad Manichæos detegendos jubebat observari.*] c. 24. § Quarta ratio. [See above, Col. 650. B.]

Fecerunt ut laterent; latere non potuerunt, nisi utramque receperunt, si utraque semper in usu. Omnino declinabant calicem: ergo sub utraque specie eis obtulit ecclesia.

Col. 667. A. § Decimo tertio.

Bibi autem debere . . . non dicunt.] Sed verba Christi sunt, Bibite ex hoc.

Col. 667. D. § Secundo observandum est.

Nulli . . tunc erant ministri a credentibus distincti.] Sed institutio generalis fuit pro omnibus.

Col. 668. C. et D. § Vicesimo.

Verba . . . sunt ista in Sess. 13. [*Conc. Constant.*] *Licet Christus instituerit ut omnes, et Licet Christus instituerit et dederit, &c.*] Apud Nicolinum Tom. 4. p. 301.

Consului locum, et adhuc mihi non satis apparet cur (hoc non obstante) non referatur etiam ad clausulam de una specie: quum ante hæc verba æque mentio sit de utraque specie: et de tempore post cœnam: et illatio quæ sequitur verba, licet prius de jejunis et postea de una specie.

CAP. XXVII.

Col. 669. D. § Respondeo, si proprie.

Quia quælibet species continet rem utriusque speciei.] Ergo, in sola etiam vini specie potest.

Col. 670. B. § Respondeo, hæreditas.

Qui non bibunt, accipiunt idem in una tabula, &c.] c. 22. [§ Quarta propositio.]

Col. 670. B. § Respondeo, dupliciter.

Commemoratur Christi mors uno modo per repræsentationem . . . altero modo per memoriam.] Sed hoc facile refertur tam ad manducandum quam ad consecrandum. c. 25. § penultima.

Col. 670. D. § Sexta ratio.

Catholici non quærunt . . . palati . . . consolationem.] Nec ille.

Respondemus . . . sanguinem totum in specie panis contineri.] Ergo an Sacerdotes, qui utraque specie plus toto? An totus bis? c. 22. § penultima.

Col. 671. A. § Septima ratio.

Non est autem pars essentialis species vini.] Annon partes essentiales sunt, materialis et formalis? pars cujus materiæ est calix.

Baptismus fiebat per immersionem, &c.] Baptismus instituitur in una materia, Cœna in duabus.

Minus abluit aspersio quam immersio.] Qu. An immersiones sint partes integrales an materiales Baptismi?

CAP. XXVIII.

Col. 671. D. § Ac primum.

Communio autem est usus Sacramenti.] Sed usus Sacramenti debet esse de tota essentia rei permanentis.

Col. 672. B. § Tertio movit.

Movit Ecclesiam . . . concordia populi Christiani.] c. 24. § Alterum exemplum. [See above, Col. 650. C.] et § Cardinalis, &c. [See Col. 654. A.]

CAP. XXIX.

Col. 674. A. § Ad hoc argumentum.

(*Respondet Lutherus*) *non ait Accipite et adorate, sed Accipite et manducate.*] Sed an qui dicit 'accipite, manducate,' inhibet ut adorantes manducemus?

CAP. XXX.

Col. 675. C. § Quarto argumentantur.

Quia in omni creatura Deus est.] Deus in omni potest. Sic Vasquez, L. 3. de Adora. Disputat. per totam.

DE MISSA.

CAP. II.

Col. 682. C. § Hæc sententia.

Scriptura . . . opponit opera . . . virtutum sacrificiis.] Ita: sed typicis.

Verum, ac proprie dictum sacrificium.] Cur verum et proprie dictum conjungit, (quod et hic et passim facit) non satis intelligo. Quum omne verum non sit statim proprie dictum. Et ipse inter hæc distinguit infra § Sed facilis est responsio.

Col. 682. C. § Secundum argumentum.

In omni sacrificio proprie dicto requiritur res aliqua sensibilis, quæ offeratur.] Quid si responderent, hoc verum esse in sacrificiis typicis?

DE MISSA.

Col. 682. D. § Secundum argumentum.

Et hunc habere aliquid, quod offerat.] Quia hic erat Pontifex novæ legis, cujus sacramenta illi dicunt esse sacrificia typica, § 3.

Col. 682. D. § Tertium argumentum.

Negari non potest, quin sacrificare sit actus proprius . . . . . religionis.] Vide. cap. 3. § 1. &c.

Col. 683. A. § Tertium argumentum.

Opera virtutum . . . vocantur . . . sacrificia . . . cum addito, ut sacrificium laudis.] At § 4. ex Psal. 50. Spiritus contribulatus dicitur sacrificium Deo. Et Hebr. 11. 17. Vide. c. 27. § Quod ante sit.

Col. 683. B. § Tertium argumentum.

Non sacrificium, &c.] c. 9. § Respondet secundo. [See below, Col. 714. D.] Et c. 10. § Catholici contra. [See below, Col. 716. B.]

Col. 683. § Quartum argumentum.

Unum est tantum verum ac proprium sacrificium.] At quî ergo sacrificium Missæ aliud ab hoc? c. 6. § 4.

Col. 683. C. § Quintum argumentum.

Sacrificio improprie dicto sacerdotium improprie dictum respondeat.] At quid si sacerdotes novæ legis sint improprie dicti sacerdotes? nam sunt tantum ministri summi sacerdotis cui nullus est successor. c. 6. § 4 et 5. et § Respondeo sacrificium.

Col. 684. D. § Unum est.

Sacrificium . . verum est omne opus . . . relatum ad illum finem, quo beati esse possimus.] Non dicit S. Aug. et proprie dictum. Vide supra. § 4.

Col. 685. B. § Sed omissa.

Sacrificium . . . requirit . . . consumptionem rei quæ offertur.] § His ergo rejectis. [The idea of a consumption is omitted in the definition of a sacrament given in this section.]

Col. 685. D. § Neque his.

Colligimus eum . . . sacrificasse, ita ut panem illum et vinum ad honorem Dei consumpserit.] Edebant, &c. Gen. 14. ul., ergo Melchisedech non consumpsit panis et vini illius substantiam: quod requiritur in horum doctrina respectu Eucharistiæ; Et expresse c. 21. § 3. Et tamen c. 25. § Ad aliud argumentum, dicit manducationem esse Sacrificii Missæ consumptionem.

Col. 686. C. § Tertio mirum est.

Non posse colligi ex divinis literis.] Non haberi in, sunt verba Kemnitii, ut supra § Venio nunc ad.

Col. 686. D. § His ergo rejectis.

A legitimo ministro res aliqua . . . consecratur.] Cap. 6. § 4.

Et transmutatur.] C. § Sed omissa. Et cap. 15. § Adde ultimo. Et c. 20. § penult. Et c. 21. § 3. Et c. 27. § Quod autem sit.

Col. 687. A. § Primo igitur.

Tingere, offerre, docere,] cap. 6. § 5.

Col. 688. A. § Quinto diximus.

A legitimo ministro.] Vide c. 7. § Denique quid clarius.

CAP. III.

Col. 688. D. § Sed una occurrit.

Ratio sacrificii a nobis descripta requirit, ut . . . sit actio . . . religionis.] Non video in ipsa descriptione. § His ergo rejectis. cap. 2. Sed est, Ibid. § Tertium argumentum.

CAP. IV.

Col. 690. A. § Nunc de partitione.

Sacrificium igitur proprie dictum.] Cap. 15. § Ad hunc secundum.

Col. 690. B. § Ratione formæ.

In holocausta, hostias pro peccato, &c.] C. 7. § Ex his igitur.

Col. 690. C. § Ratione formæ.

Quæ hoc solum differebant a superioribus, quod istæ poterant etiam in crastino manducari.] An hoc (quæ et istæ poterant in crastino, &c.) referatur ad utramque speciem pacificorum? Certum est pro beneficio accipiendo i. ad 2^am^. speciem referri. Ergo, agnus pascalis non fuit hostia pacifica pro accipiendo beneficio. Exod. 12. 10. Et tamen sanguis in poste illitus pro liberatione fuit. Eadem etiam est ratio, si verba illa referantur ad alteram speciem pro beneficio accepto liberationis, &c. c. 7. § Denique tertium.

Col. 690. D. § Colligit secundo.

Sacrificium pacificum (significat) statum proficientium.] At § præcedenti sacrificium pro peccato dignius est pacifico: Et sic quod dignius est, minus dignum significat, si pacificum denotet statum proficientium, et illud pro peccato, incipientium.

CAP. V.

Col. 691. C. § Formula Calvini.

Omnes aliæ (formulæ) . . . cavent, ne ulla fiat mentio oblationis.] Infra § 6. [Idipsum docent.]

Col. 692. A. § Idipsum docent.

Negant eucharistiam Deo offerri posse.] Supra § Formula Calvini.

Col. 692. A. § E contrario.

In Missa offerri Deo vere ac proprie corpus, &c.] L. 4. de Sacram. Euchar. c. 22. § 4.

Col. 692. B. § Ex his colligimus.

Utrum in Missa offeratur sacrificium propitiatorium.] An ergo est aliud sacrificium vere et proprie dictum in nova lege, quod non sit propitiatorium: nam fuisse in veteri nemo negat.

DE MISSA.

CAP. VI.

Col. 693. C. § Est etiam alia.

Cui nullus debeat succedere, &c.] Cap. 25. § 3. Et § proximo. Ergo si nullus debet succedere Christo in sacerdotio, nihil debet succedere corpori ejus in sacrificio, præcipue si relativa hæc sunt, ut c. 12 § Quintum argumentum.

Col. 693. D. § Est etiam alia.

Aliud sacrificium esse oportet.] C. 15. § Præterea patres. Aliud ergo in Eucharistia non est sacrificium corporis et sanguinis Christi: cujus ergo? Vide Cyprianum, infra § S. Cyprianus. Et c. 27. § Tertia propositio. Et L. 2. c. 4. § Quæ sententia. Et § Atque hinc tria. Et L. 1. c. 2. § Quartum argumentum.

Quæ Christo . . . per ministros suos tribuatur.] Ministri de quibus hic agit sunt sacerdotes (aliis enim non tribuit actionem sacrificandi:) ergo hoc nomen (ministri) non adeo vile, &c. Et c. 2. § His ergo rejectis. Et hic infra. § Euseb. Cæsariensis. Et § finali. Et c. 15. § Sed istæ omnes. c. 25. § 4. 5. Et § Respondeo mira. Et c. 27. § Quinta propositio.

Col. 694. A. § Præterea ante.

Si . . . Christus . . . ante incarnationem . . . sacerdotio fungebatur, quanto magis post incarnationem.] Certe et magis fungebatur in cruce figurarum veritas.

Quorsum . . . . sacerdotium illius manet, si nunquam deinceps sacrificare debet?] Sacerdotium manet, etiamsi non ultra significat, quia alia sunt munia sacerdotis præter sacrificare. Ut c. 2. § Primo igitur dicimus, ex Tertul.

Col. 694. B. § Ad hæc argumenta.

Tamen esse secundum ordinem Melchisedech.] Infra § S. Hieronymus.

Æternitatem quoque.] Infra § S. August. Et § Theophylactus.

Col. 694. D. § Sequitur in sententia.

Nulla erat causa, cur corporalem refectionem præberet Melchisedech Abrahæ. . . . Quid igitur opus erat pane et vino iis, qui spoliis abundabant.] Nullane causa, quia non opus? At voluit gratias agere Deo pro victoria fidelium: et præterea amoris signum ipsi Abrahamo.

Deinde postea dicitur quod juvenes comederunt: At quî probabit hoc cognovisse Melchisedech? &c.

Col. 695. A. § Sequitur in sententia.

Scriptura . . . . debuit profecto alicubi tradere.] Miserrimam sapit hæc vox [*sc.* debuit] arrogantiam.

Siquidem ad sacrificium ordinatur sacerdotium, &c.] Non ad solum. c. 2. § Primo igitur dicimus.

Sacrificio ignoto necesse est etiam sacerdotium ignorari.] Non sacerdotium: sed quædam sacerdotii. Et quid si illud concedatur?

Erat enim sacerdos.] Erat sacerdos; ergo tum sacrificavit, non sequitur. Deinde adduntur hæc verba, non ut probent eum sacrificasse Deo, sed benedixisse Abrahamo. Sequitur enim ver. 19.

Col. 695. D. § Præterea non.

Et Jacob, Gen. 48.] Annon ergo Jacob sacerdos?

Col. 696. B. § Sed præterea.

In typum Eucharistiæ.] At potuit esse in typum Eucharistiæ, interim ut non sit sacrificium: hic enim mera est petitio principii.

Oblatum . . . et eo modo sanctificatum.] Sanctificatum proculdubio: et ideo non profanum: gratiarum scilicet actione et benedictione Dei. Ut ver. 20., sed de eo modo dubium est.

Col. 696. C. § S. Cyprianus.

Suum scilicet corpus.] Supra § 4.

Col. 697. A. § Eusebius Cæsariensis.

Melchisedech in sacrificio, solo pane et solo vino usum.] Vino solum et pane usum dicit Eusebius, sed non addit in sacrificio.

In specie panis et vini.] Non dicit in specie panis et vini: sed vino et pane repræsentantibus mysteria, &c. &c.

Col. 697. B. § S. Epiphanius.

Forma juxta virtutem quæritur.] Quorsum hæc?

Col. 697. D. § S. Augustinus.

In Eucharistia offerenda consistere æternitatem.] Supra § 6. [See above, Col. 694. B.]

Col. 699. C. § Ad hæc testimonia.

Secundum ordinem Melchisedech.] Infra § Sed hæc loca.

Col. 699. C. § Respondeo, falsum est.

Illa enim verba Paulus ne citat quidem.] Rem citat, ut patet.

Col. 699. D. § Respondeo, falsum est.

Sed sacerdotem Abrahamo majorem.] Sed Dei tamen: quod exprimitur.

Col. 700. A. § Respondeo, causa.

Quod autem obtulerit panem et vinum, non perspicue ad excellentiam facit.] Siccine! non perspicue ad excellentiam, quod Christus corpus et sanguinem suum in specie panis et vini (ut hi volunt) obtulit, quum Aaron tantum animalia bruta? Ergo ad propositum facit maxime, &c. Cur ergo omisit S. Paulus?

Col. 700. A. § Accedit præterea.

Apostolus . . . omisit oblationem panis et vini, ne cogeretur explicare mysterium Eucharistiæ, quod altius erat.] At cur mysterium Eucharistiæ capere non potuerunt Hebræi, quum antea illud, quicquid sit, Corinthiis explicuerit, licet non in typo Melchisedech, &c.

Col. 701. A. § Et præterea ratio.

Sed commune cum Abel cum aliis nonnullis.] Annon itaque Abel successionem habuit? Et qui sunt illi alii nonnulli?

DE MISSA.

Col. 701. C. § Respondeo, primum.

Aaron offerebat sacrificia . . . tam cruenta, quam incruenta.] Ergo ut sit cruentum, non est necessaria conditio sacrificii Aaronici. Ut sequitur infra § Respondeo, sacrificium, &c.

Col. 701. D. § Respondeo, sacrificium crucis.

Sacrificium crucis, si per se, &c.] Ergo præcipuum Christi sacrificium ipse obtulit secundum nullum ordinem sacerdotii: aut ostendant tertium; aut si partim secundum Aaronis, partim Melchisedech, illud ostendant vel in Scriptura vel patribus. Et tum ubi est illud Bellarm. c. 2. § Quintum argumentum.

Sacrificio Missæ præstantius.] Supra § 4.

Sacrificium crucis, &c.] Paulo infra § Ex qua ratione.

Col. 702. A. § Ex qua ratione.

Si per se consideretur, &c.] Et ita § præcedenti; quare autem adjicitur vide infra § Respondeo, Christus.

Col. 702. C. § Respondeo, Christus.

Non quomodocunque sed in æternum.] At 'in ætérnum' notat durationem non modum.

Perpetuo frequentandum erat.] Quid si de duratione secundum virtutem et efficaciam loquatur Apostolus: et non de frequentatione? vide infra § Octavum argumentum. Et § Secunda causa.

Col. 704. C. § Atque hinc etiam.

Levitici sacerdotes post resurrectionem dicerentur sacerdotes in æternum, quia habuerunt sacerdotium.] At an tum post resurrectionem vivent ut sacerdotes Aaronici, nam 'habuerunt et vivent,' est a male divisis secundum tempora.

CAP. VII.

Col. 705. D. § Alterum testimonium.

Celebratio Agni Paschalis figura erat expressa . . . Eucharistiæ.] Immo Christi in cruce: cruenta enim fuit, infra § 3. et § Illud autem alterum.

Sed illa immolatio quædam erat.] Sed Agni cæremonia non tam positiva fuit in immolatione, &c. L. 1. de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. c. 3. § Ex præstantioribus.

Col. 706. A. § Dicent enim.

Debuit ergo præcedere immolatio Christi . . . . manducationem cœnæ.] Et præcessit: sed non actu: sed sicut dicitur occisus ab origine mundi.

Col. 706. C. § Ad hæc si non.

Dicant adversarii, quando eam impleverit.] Quando effudit sanguinem in cruce.

Col. 708. C. § Ex his igitur.

Habemus Agnum Paschalem vere et proprie sacrificium fuisse.] At nec holocaustum, Deo enim totus consumeretur: nec hostia pro peccato: nec pacifica: Quia illæ partim tantum manducabantur. Agnus autem totus ut c. 4. § 2.

Col. 708. D. § Denique, quid clarius.

Et ideo quantum ad hoc sacrificium, mansit antiquum privilegium, ut omnes patresfamilias sacerdotio fungerentur.] At non mansit antiquum hoc privilegium, quia institutum fuit hoc ante determinationem Aaronis: nam ex illa ratione, cur non et aliæ præinstituta? Sed quia id expresse mandavit Deus, Exod. 1. 2.—Cap. 2. § Quinto diximus. [In this passage Bellarmine expressly states 'in lege scripta soli filii Aaron,' without alluding to any exception in favour of heads of families.]

CAP. VIII.

Col. 712. B. § Hoc fundamento.

Ipse fuit victima in cœna immolata, &c.] In cruce.

Col. 713. A. § Sed nos contra probamus.

Ex quibus testimoniis Patrum.] Ex dictis illis Patrum nihil sequitur contra illud Kemnitii, nisi forte ex loco S. Aug.

Col. 713. A. § Secundo probatur.

Aliæ cæremoniæ sacrificiorum . . in cruce impleri non potuerunt.] At sicut in parabolis non quælibet circumstantia observatur, sed scopus: ita forte in figuris.

CAP. IX.

Col. 713. C. § Sed contra objici.

Objici posset . . . impletum illud vaticinium in Samuele vel in Sadoc.] Samuel ergo an fuit Sacerdos? Immo potuit succedere ei etiamsi non in sacerdotio.

CAP. X.

Col. 715. A. § Hoc testimonium.

Non potest intelligi [*Mal.* i. 11.] *de sacrificio crucis.*] At quid si dicamus intelligi de Eucharistia, quæ sacrificium est improprie dictum, et typicum respectu sacrificii crucis? Vide c. 11. § Verba autem.

Quia illud non offertur in omni loco.] Quid si dicatur offerri in omni loco, quoad meritum: licet in uno tantum, quoad actum?

Col. 715. C. § At inquit ille.

Vel paucissimi et rarissimi, &c.] C. 11. § penult. [Tertium argumentum.]

Col. 718. C. § Tertium argumentum.

Nullum est . . si Eucharistia non est sacrificium proprie dictum.] C. 11. § penult.

CAP. XI.

Col. 722. D. § Gen. 22. Abraham.

Quia non poterant in alio loco . . . sacrificia rite offerri.] § penult. [See next note.]

Col. 723. D. § Tertium argumentum.

Quæ apud Judæos non fiebat legitime, nisi in templo.] § 2. Et c. 10. § 4.

DE MISSA.

Col. 724. A. § Tertium argumentum.

Quod aut nullum est, aut Eucharistia.] Immo sacrificium crucis: respectu cujus Eucharistia typus est. § 5. Vide et c. 10. § Tertium argumentum.

CAP. XII.

Col. 725. D. Ad secundum.

Cum sanguis reipsa de corpore non egrediatur.] § Tertio quia Lucas.

Col. 726. A. § Ad quartum.

Agnus occidetur ab origine mundi.] Immo agnus qui adhuc actu non occiditur, sed in plenitudine temporis occidetur, pro certitudine ejus, et in præscientia Dei dicitur occisus.

Col. 726. C. § Tertio, quia.

Indicavit sanguinem . . . fundi in cœna.] Sed non proprie: et proinde nec proprie esse Sacramentum. Supra § Sed ista Kemnitii, &c. Et § Ad secundum.

Col. 726. C. § Secundum argumentum.

Ex vera præsentia.] Quis negat veram præsentiam?

Col. 726. D. Secundum argumentum.

Pro nobis oblatæ.] Proprie in cruce.

Ergo necessario in ipsa cœna prius immolantur.] Certe necessario, sed improprie, et in repræsentatione proprii sacrificii in cruce.

Col. 726. D. § Sumi autem.

Sumi autem . . . ut participationem victimæ Lutherani non negant.] Negat Lutherus. c. 15. § 4. [Sed videamus.]

Ad modum occisi et mortui corporis.] Ubi ergo concomitantia ad stabiliendam unam speciem?

Col. 727. B. § Respondeo primum.

Christi enim corpus post resurrectionem . . . victima dici non poterat.] Cap. 14. § ult.

Col. 727. D. § Restat una.

Manifesta est actio immolationis . . . nimirum ipsa consecratio.] * Contra ipse c. 15. § Deinde esto. Sed apparenter tantum.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 728. D. § Septimum.

Ministrantibus, inquit.] Cap. 15. § Igitur primus. Et § De loco Actorum.

Col. 729. A. § Significari.

Neque significare potest ministerium verbi, aut sacramentorum.] At etiamsi hæc non exhibentur Deo: annon tamen qui illa exhibent populo, dicuntur Domino ministrare?

Col. 729. B. § Dices, qui.

Non addidisset et jejunantibus.] Quid ni? quum etiam jejunantes sint qui sacramenta administrant.

CAP. XIV. DE MISSA.

Col. 729. D. § Ex his verbis.

Nunquam altare proprie dictum erigitur nisi ad sacrificia proprie dicta.] At immediate dixit antea, mensam Domini esse quoddam altare: quod videtur improprie dictum altare, &c. Et infra § ult.

Col. 730. B. § Tertium argumentum.

Ergo Deum hac oblatione cultu latriæ honorat.] Annon hæc omnia vera esse possunt, interim ut sit sacrificium tantum improprie dictum? vel an sequetur eum qui manducat Eucharistiam improprie fieri participem altaris?

Col. 730. D. § Deinde Kemnitius.

Ubi edenda apponebantur idolothyta.] § Sequenti. f. [The letter f refers to the note marked 'f' which occurs just below.]

Col. 730. D. § Hæc prima solutio.

Quid enim est idolium.] Et annon possunt ad mensam aliquam in idolio discumbere, nisi ad ipsas aras fiat discubitus?

Non erat quæstio, an liceret in conviviis Gentilium interesse.] f. Annon de edendis idolothytis apertissime Kemnitius, § præcedenti?

Col. 731. D. § At neque hac.

Manducamus id quod immolatur in mensa Eucharistiæ.] Quid impedit, quominus sit id quod immolatur in cruce, et repræsentatur in mensa?

Per novam immolationem.] C. 12. § Respondeo primum. [See above, Col. 727. B.]

CAP. XV.

Col. 732. B. § Hic igitur modus.

Eucharistiam solum esse sacramentum . . . ut adversarii sentiunt.] At non negant forte sacrificium esse, sed proprie dictum sacrificium.

Col. 732. C. § Sed videamus.

Tutius est omnia negare, quam Missam sacrificium esse concedere.] At concedunt Lutherani sacrificium esse; sic Bellarm. c. 12. § Sumi autem Christi. Et Kemnit. Ibid. § Respondeo primum.

Col. 733. D. § Præterea patres.

Sacrificium quod in ecclesia, &c.] C. 6. § 4. [See above, note on Col. 693. D.]

Col. 735. A. § Igitur primus.

Vocat . . Cyprianus oblationem Deo factam ipsam consecrationem panis, &c.] Infra § Deinde esto. [See next note.]

Col. 735. B. et C. § Deinde esto.

Non . . . possunt verba Patrum exponi de sola consecratione.] Supra § Igitur primus. Annon c. 12. § Restat una conditio, Ipse dixisti ipsam consecrationem esse actionem et immolationis et oblationis? Ita, sed actio oblationis non est ipsa oblatio.

DE MISSA.

Col. 736. B. § Jam vero Cyprianus.

Materia sacrificii futuri.] Cap. 27. § Quarta propositio.

Col. 736. D. § Denique Cyrillus.

Baptismus immediate refertur ad nostram sanctificationem.] Infra § Tertio baptismus. [See Col. 738. A.]

Col. 737. B. § Ad hunc secundum.

(*Patres*) *loquuntur de immolatione in propria specie, sive de cruenta immolatione.*] At cruentalis non est sola propria species sacrificii, cap. 4. § 2.

Nunc autem non proprie, sed per repræsentationem agitur.] Non satis intelligo, quî proprie dicatur fieri, quod fit per repræsentationem.

Col. 737. C. § Porro Longobardus.

Ad quem modum etiam S. Thomas et alii Scholastici non fuerunt solliciti de eo, quod nunc est in controversia.] Dr. Field in appen. ad L. 3. de Eccles. § 19.

Col. 737. D. § Quod autem Patres.

(*Augustinus*) *dicit sacrificia Veteris Testamenti fuisse commemorationem sacrificii crucis.*] Significatio vel typus: sed commemoratio rei futuræ valde improprie dici videtur. Et c. 21. § 4.

Sacrificii crucis postea futuri.] Figuræ tantum. Et Biel. Lect. 85. in canonem Missæ, E.

Col. 738. A. § Secundo si Patres.

Unum enim tantum est, quod repræsentatur.] Sed forte dicunt Patres victimas et sacrificia offerri, quia hoc repræsentativum sæpius iteratur in ecclesia.

Dicimus . . nos habere . . multas imagines Cæsaris, sed non dicimus, nisi inepte multos Cæsares.] Non est idem modus loquendi secundum ipsum Bellarm., nam imago Cæsaris non est simul imago et res, Eucharistia vero est.

Col. 738. A. § Tertio, Baptismus.

Nulli veterum Baptismum sacrificium . . . unquam appellaverunt.] Rationem adjungit supra § Denique Cyrillus. Et talem quæ non tollit hoc de sacrificii repræsentatione: nam hoc posito, quod actio Eucharistiæ sit tantum repræsentativum [*sic*], &c. tamen erit cultus soli Deo debitus; et ideo vocari sacrificium, quo nomine non gaudet Baptismus.

Col. 738. B. § Quarto, si.

Non possemus vere Deo dicere, offero Tibi hoc munus.] At in toto hoc § reperitur vere, re ipsa, realis: quod conceditur: sed de proprie dicto nulla mentio, quod sæpissime ante inculcavit. Nam ubi unum et idem sit repræsentatio et res repræsentata (ut Eucharistia est), ibi idem potest dici commemorativum, et tamen non desinere esse verum et reale sacrificium: sed an proprie dictum, qua commemorativum, illud quæritur.

Col. 738. C. § Quinto, Patres.

Patres . . . addunt epitheta, quæ soli vero sacrificio conveniunt, &c.] Nec hic reperio proprie dictum.

Col. 738. D. § Denique ultimo.

At si non esset hoc sacrificium nisi repræsentatio . . . sacrificii crucis.] Nisi repræsentatio, et sola repræsentatio, et similes loquendi formulæ, si in aliquibus authoribus occurrunt, opponuntur forte sacrificio proprie dicto, non vero et reali; quæ hic iterum confundit Bellarminus.

Col. 739. A. § Ultimum Kemnitii.

Oblitus ejus, quod antea scripserat.] Immo non oblitus: nam certe 'qualescunque, &c.,' non est regula fidei, sed testimonium plurimi faciendum, de usu, sensu, et applicatione regulæ. [Kemnitz's words here commented on are 'Neque veterum qualescunque sententiæ, sed Scriptura canonica regula est.']

Prima causa (Kemnitii) est, quia Scriptura divina Cœnam Domini nusquam vocat sacrificium.] At multa alia vocabula sunt in optimo ecclesiæ usu, quæ tamen in scriptura non reperiuntur. Vide c. 17. § 2.

Col. 739. B. § Istæ vero causæ.

Significant . . . Patres . . . maxima incommoda ecclesiæ attulisse.] Immo non illas attulisse, sed ecclesiam posteriorem sinistra interpretatione sibi intulisse.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 739. D. § Alterum caput.

Si . . Patres . . . altaria semper habuisse demonstrare poterimus.] At quid si apud Patres improprie dicantur altaria, sicut et sacrificium?

CAP. XVII.

Col. 740. C. § Tertium caput.

Sacerdotes proprie ordinari ad sacrificium.] Sed sacerdotes iterum proprie dicti: At vide § 4 et 5.

Contendunt . . dedisse Christum Ecclesiæ . . . ministros tantum verbi et sacramentorum.] Cap. 25. § 4. [In this passage Bellarmine himself makes frequent use of the word 'minister.']

Col. 740. D. § Porro veteres.

Licet in Scriptura Testamenti novi ejusmodi vocabulum in hac significatione non inveniatur.] Cap. 16. § Ultimum Kemnitii. [See above, Col. 739. A.]

Col. 741. C. § Quare manifeste.

Proprie dicuntur sacerdotes.] § 1. e. [This mark is intended to refer to sect. 1. at the words 'Sacerdotes proprie ordinari ad sacrificium.' See above, Col. 740. C. § Tertium caput.]

Col. 741. C. § Neque valet.

Sequeretur omnes Patres . . . . vel ignorasse vim hujus vocis vel de industria illa abuti voluisse.] Neutrum sequitur: nam qui improprie vocant sacerdotes utpote ministros improprie dicti sacrificii, non statim ignorant vim vocis, aut de industria ea abutuntur; sed applicant vocem debito sensu rei.

DE MISSA.

Col. 741. D. § Neque valet.

Nullum offerunt sacrificium?] Cur hic iterum omittit proprie dictum?

CAP. XIX.

Col. 742. C. § Jam vero Patres.

Patres . . . offerunt Eucharistiam pro peccatis vivorum et defunctorum.] Sed tantum ut sacrificium repræsentativum crucis, &c.

CAP. XX.

Col. 744. B. § Probatur igitur primo.

Omnia sacrificia in hoc unum respiciebant . . . Non igitur distinguitur Christiana religio ab antiquis per sacrificium crucis.] At annon Missa (etiam secundum ipsum Bellarminum passim supra) in illud unum respicit? Cur ergo sacrificium crucis ut præteritum non distinguit Christianam religionem, æque ac Missa quæ illud ut præteritum respicit? Et infra § 4. c. 21. Et c. 25. § Respondeo, remissio, &c.

Col. 744. B. § Secundo, sacrificium.

Sacrificium crucis . . . neque mansit postea nisi per effectum.] Mansit in repræsentatione in cœna: et sic permanebit.

Col. 744. C. § Tertio, religio.

Religio quævis sacrificium externum ac visibile requirit.] Cur hic non addit proprie dictum?

(Sacrificium crucis) est . . . respectu Christianorum invisibile.] Illud quod in Eucharistia improprie et commemorative dicitur offerri, et visibile est, et potest frequentari, &c.

Col. 744. C. § Quarto, sacrificium.

At Christi occisio . . . neque ritus dici potest.] At quum Christus fuit sacerdos et victima, forte fraus est in verbo 'occisio;' mors dici debuit. Illa vero veritas: et determinata a Deo; et cultus latriæ; et propriissime sacrificium.

Col. 744. D. § Quarto, sacrificium.

Cum fuerit ipsa veritas.] § ult. [See next note but one below.]

Col. 744. D. § Accedat denique.

Si Eucharistia manducando consumeretur.] Cap. 2. § His ergo rejectis.

Col. 745. A. § Dices, cur ergo.

Ut præcise obtulit sacrificium crucis.] Quî ergo fuit veritas (ut § Quarto sacrificium) si non in sacrificio crucis? et si ibi, quî non successit typo Aaroni?

CAP. XXI.

Col. 745. B. § Probatur consequentia.

Christus non omnino sustulit (instituta veteris legis) . . . sed aut perfecit, aut mutavit in meliora.] Quæ mutavit in meliora annon sustulit?

Præcepta non sustulit.] i. moralia.

Col. 745. C. § Secundo, sacrificium. DE MISSA.

Quarum ipsa substantia in Dei honorem consumitur.] Cap. 2. § Neque his repugnat.

Col. 745. C. § Tertio, causa.

Habuerunt . . sacrificia, ut Christi mortem . . . sæpe repræsentarent et commemorarent, &c.] Cap. 15. § Quod autem patres.

CAP. XXII.

Col. 746. B. § Tertia ratio.

Ita videmus in Baptismo, aliisque Sacramentis accidere.] Forte in hoc differt Eucharistia a Baptismo, quia qui hunc accipit nondum est intra ecclesiam, et ideo non potest seipsum, &c. Et similiter in reliquis quæ dicuntur sacramenta, qui accipiunt sunt extra quasi respectu illorum, &c. At sacerdos qui ministrat sibi Eucharistiam supponitur nullo modo extra. Deinde in Matrimonio (quod ipsi sacramentum volunt) partes contrahentes sibi ministrant, quod ad realia contractus pertinet.

Col. 746. D. § Denique, nullum.

Debere Deo offerri id, quod habemus optimum.] Forte id quod habemus de proprio.

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 747. C. § Ex hoc igitur.

Non enim ecclesia Christi esse potuit, quæ palam idololatriæ tot seculis servivit.] Non sana et incorrupta.

Col. 747. D. § Ex hoc igitur.

Qui prædixerunt post Christi adventum idololatriam cessaturam.] Sed an simpliciter, ut nullibi esset in ullo gradu?

Portæ inferi non prævalebunt.] Non absolute.

Idololatras, impios, et sacrilegos fuisse.] Potest esse impietas et sacrilegium in Ecclesia, interim ut sancti in ea non sint impii.

Desiit Christi fides esse in terris.] [The letter 'a,' here inserted in margin, refers to the note on Col. 747. C. above, meaning that the same remark 'non sana et incorrupta' applies here.]

CAP. XXV.

Col. 750. C. § Respondeo, nullus.

Nullus Catholicorum affirmat sacerdotes . . . Christo succedere.] Cap. 6. § 4.

Col. 750. C. § Quod autem attinet.

Vel potius ministros Christi.] Cap. 6. § 4.

Col. 750. D. § Quod autem attinet.

Et in hac re vicarii.] Ergo non per se sacerdotes, et proprie. Vide cap. 17. § 1.

Col. 751. A. § Ad locum autem.

Qui respectu Christi ministri sint.] Cap. 6. § 4.

Col. 751. D. § Respondeo, quod.

Sacrificia repræsentantia.] Infra § Respondeo, non.

DE MISSA.

Col. 753. C. § Respondeo, non.

Instrumenta justificationis] § Respondeo quod.

Col. 754. D. § Ad aliud argumentum.

Consumptio hujus sacrificii non debet esse occisio.] Cap. 2. § Neque his.

Col. 755. B. § Respondeo, mira.

Qui per ministros sacrificium offert.] Cap. 6. § 4.

CAP. XXVII.

Col. 757. D. § Secunda propositio.

Corpus et sanguis Domini sunt id sacrificium, quod in Missa proprie offertur.] In sacrificio proprie dicto debet esse consumptio substantiæ, § 21. § 3. Ita ut desinat esse id quod ante erat, c. 2. § ult. At corporis Christi substantia non consumitur in Ecclesia. c. . § . [Left blank thus in original.] Si enim consumeretur, quî maneret juge sacrificium. Ergo corpus et sanguis Christi non sunt proprie sacramentum [*sic* in MS. sed legend. *sacrificium*] in Missa. Vide § Septima propositio, et § Quod autem sit. Nec transubstantiatio panis potest dici consumptio corporis, panis enim non est de essentia Sacrificii, infra § Quarta propositio.

Col. 758. A. § Tertia propositio.

Non sunt duo sacrificia sed unum.] L. 2. de Missa. c. 21. § Sed ad argumentum. [See Col. 823. B.]

Col. 758. B. § Tertia propositio.

In Missa non offertur panis ut sacrificium perfectum, sed ut sacrificium inchoatum.] Et tamen corpus proprie offertur: ut propositio 2ª. Et panis tantum pertinet ad rem quæ sacrificatur: ut propositio 1ª habetur. Et ad integritatem sacrificii, non ad essentiam: ut propositio 4ª. Unde annon sequitur? Ergo illud quod non pertinet ad essentiam sacrificii est unum sacrificium cum eo quod proprie est. Et illud quod aliquo modo, ut propositio 1ª, cum eo quod proprie. Vide cap. 6. § 4.

Col. 758. C. § Quarta propositio.

Oblatio . . . ad integritatem et plenitudinem sacrificii pertinet, non tamen ad essentiam.] Estne ergo materia sacrificii futuri, ut c. 15. § Jam vero Cyprianus; et nunc non pertinet ad essentiam? Vide supra c. 6. § S. Cyprianus. Ita panis et vinum sunt materia: non tamen oblatio panis: præcipue vocalis ut hic. At apertissime § Prima propositio, non dicit oblationem panis et vini sed panem et vinum pertinere, &c. materia autem rei non pertinet ad rem, sed est pars essentialis ipsius rei.

Persona ipsius ministri.] Cap. 6. § 4.

Col. 759. A. § Quinta propositio.

Orationem Dominicam addidisse dicantur.] Supra § 3.

Col. 759. A. § Septima propositio.

Sacramenti consumptio, . . . ut . . . fit a Sacerdote . . . pars est essentialis.] Supra § Secunda propositio.

Col 759. B. § Quod autem sit. DE SACRI. MISSÆ.

Nulla est alia realis destructio victimæ præter istam manducationem.] At quid si aliquis concluderet, quia non est realis destructio in Eucharistia, ideo ibi non esse sacrificium proprie dictum? § Secunda propositio.

Col. 759. C. § Quod autem sit.

Unde Abraham Patriarcha.] Vide c. 2. § Tertium argumentum.

Abraham . . . non dicitur eum nisi voluntate sacrificasse.] Certe non nisi voluntate sacrificavit; sed tamen absolute dicitur sacrificasse, Hebr. 11. 17.

LIBER II. DE SACRIFICIO MISSÆ.

CAP. I.

Col. 763. B. § Contrarium docet.

Peccata, et etiam ingentia dimittit.] Cap. 2. § Denique fatentur. Et cap. 4. § Secunda propositio. [In the former of these sections Bellarmine points out that it is as a sacrifice, and not as a sacrament, that the Eucharist avails for the remission of sins; and in the second, he explains that the sacrifice does not directly justify, but obtains a sinner the gift of repentance, by which he can partake acceptably of the Sacrament.]

CAP. II.

Col. 764. C. § Denique fatentur.

Cum conscientia peccati, &c.] Cap. 1. § ult. [This is a cross reference to the previous note.]

CAP. III.

Col. 766. A. § Secundo.

Exponunt SS. Patres de publicis precibus quæ fiunt in Missa.] Cap. 6. § Deinde certum.

CAP. IV.

Col. 768. A. § Quæ sententia.

Quia eadem est hostia, et idem offerens.] L. 1. c. 6. § 4.

Col. 768. A. § Secunda propositio.

Sacrificium Missæ non habet vim . . . ad modum sacramentorum.] Cap. 1. § ult. et cap. 2. § Denique fatentur. [See above, Col. 763. B. 764. C.]

Col. 769. A. § Quare sicut.

Sacrificium . . . est . . . oratio, ut sic dicam, realis.] § Secundum est. Et c. 8. § Secunda propositio. Et c. 9. § Hinc nascitur.

Col. 769. A. § Atque hinc tria.

Discrimen esse inter sacrificium Missæ et sacrificium Crucis.] L. 1. c. 6. § 4.

Col. 769. B. § Secundum est.

Et simile sit orationi, &c.] Supra § Tertia propositio.

DE SACRI. MISSÆ.

CAP. VI.

Col. 773. B. § Sed quæret aliquis.

Neque obstat . . . ulla Ecclesiæ manifesta prohibitio.] § Deinde certum. [This § occurs some paragraphs above in the same chapter.]

CAP. VIII.

Col. 778. D. § Tertio, sacrificium Missæ.

Quia eos hoc modo honoramus, consequitur, ut ipsi . . . pro nobis orent.] Immo charitas est motivum cur orent pro nobis, et non honor quem a nobis, &c.

Col. 779. D. § Secunda propositio.

Oblatio tacita quædam sed efficacissima est invocatio.] C. 4. § Tertia propositio.

Col. 782. A. § Vides, hic primo.

Nam formaliter loquitur, &c.] Immo quî formaliter quum concedat memoriam et nominationem, negat vero invocationem? nec invocatio illa ipsa oblatio esse potest, quia invocatio hæc distinguitur a sacrificio; &c.

Col. 782. B. § Quod autem.

Dicit Sanctos . . commemorari.] Sed et hic commemorari est non invocari, &c. Et ita etiam loquuntur omnes superius nominati patres. § Probatur primo.

Col. 782. C. § Tertia objectio.

Sub ipsis mensis, &c.] Sacras cœnæ mensas intelligit Bellarminus § sequenti.

Col. 782. D. § Ex hac longa.

Martyrum corpora . . . ejiciunt potius.] Falsissimum hoc.

Nec denique in precibus . . . Sanctorum mentionem faciunt.] Ecclesia Anglicana mentionem Sanctorum facit, in collectis festorum.

Col. 783. A. § Quartum caput.

Si . . sequuntur eas opiniones, &c.] Audaciores fuisse dicit [Kemnitius] in hac quæstione, sed non dicit simpliciter sequutos.

Col. 783. A. § Septimum caput.

In sacrificio altaris peti sanctorum intercessiones.] At hoc non est invocare ipsos sanctos: nec hoc a quoquam illorum patrum asseritur quos citat supra, § Probatur primo.

CAP. IX.

Col. 784. B. § Secundo, Missa.

Adversarii : . . non aperte reprehendunt usum Missæ quotidianæ.] Infra § Sed nihil et § penult.

Col. 786. C. § Ultimo privata.

Primo, quia in ejusmodi missis multi sæpe communicant spiritualiter.] Sed institutio Christi annon eo spectat, ut et plures sacramentaliter?

Col. 786. C. § Atqui hoc totum. DE SACRI. MISSÆ.

Apud Gregor. nusquam exstat vocabulum Missæ privatæ.] Supra § Quarto Missa. [Bellarmine there states 'de his Missis privatis loquitur S. Gregorius lib. 4. Epist. 43. ad Castorium, ubi prohibet in monasterio fieri Missas publicas.']

Col. 786. D. § Atqui hoc totum.

Vocat publicas Gregorius . . . . . in quibus adest populi multitudo.] Sed annon aderant ut communicarent?

Col. 786. D. § Secundo, Kemnitius.

Affingit (Kemnitius) . . ipsi Concilio quod affirmaverit per spiritualem communionem satisfieri institutioni.] At annon ibi tamen frustra subjicitur ratio illa, si spiritualis communio non supponitur satisfacere institutioni, quicquid alibi dicat concilium?

Col. 786. D. § Sed nihil.

Institutioni et præcepto.] Supra § 4. [Secundo, Missa.]

Col. 787. A. § Sed hæ sunt.

Sunt meræ ineptiæ.] Nec meræ ineptiæ: nam si demus aliter, et aliter tamen utrumque esset, &c.

Col. 787. A. § Et hinc nascitur.

Si adversarii concederent Missam non solum esse sacramentum.] Et quid inde? Nam hæc non sequuntur nisi sit sacrificium solum, et non sacramentum; quod spero nunquam asseret Bellarminus.

Col. 787. C. § Tertio probatur.

Ex Concilio Nannetensi . . . . intelligimus quosdam plane solos celebrare solitos.] Nec plane constat; quia forte Con. Nannetense [non] ideo prohibuit plane solos, quod ita tum celebrabant, sed quod frigescente charitate, adeo pauci communicare soliti quandoque sunt, ut metuerent Patres Concilii ne aliquando plane solus relinqueretur sacerdos. Deinde si hinc intelligimus aliquando plane solos celebrare: simul intelligimus reprehensum, et prohibitum hunc morem a Concilio.

Quæ verba . . . aperte indicant . . . nullum omnino fuisse, qui communicet.] Non aperte constat nullum communicasse: quid enim aliqui alii, etiamsi non sacerdos?

Tamen Concilium non requirit, nisi ut sacerdos ipse communicet.] At an idem est dicere per indignationem 'quale sacrificium cui, &c.?' et non requirere nisi ut solus sacerdos, &c.

Col. 787. C. § Secunda conjectura.

Qui proinde non poterant ulli sacramentum administrare.] Sed hoc sine dubio non constat. Quid enim impediebat, ubi missas celebrabant ibi et sacramenta administrasse?

Col. 787. C. § Tertia conjectura.

Frustra . . . . habetur quotidiana oblatio, &c.] De quotidiana oblatione hic verba sunt, non de plurimis sacerdotibus simul, &c.

DE SACRI. MISSÆ.

Col. 787. C. § Quarta conjectura.

(*In Missis particularibus*) *non sit verisimile, ministratam fuisse communionem.*] At quid, quæso, vel hic impedit?

CAP. X.

Col. 788. B. § Respondeo, non est.

Dispensatio . . . est . . . . solum affirmativo Domini præcepto necessaria.] At quid si dicamus totum hoc sive sacrificium sive sacramentum pendere, et secundum omnes sui actiones, solum ab affirmativo Dei præcepto? Infra § Sexta objectio.

CAP. XI.

Col. 793. B. § Sed ea facillima est.

Impertinens est ad realem oblationem, utrum Missa dicatur lingua vulgari.] At cur non populus intelligat etiam quæ ad consecrandum elementum? &c.

Col. 793. C. § Secundo, licet.

Oblationis verba diriguntur ad Deum, &c.] Sed quid impedit, quominus populus intelligat quæ diriguntur ad Deum?

Col. 793. C. § Tertio, verba.

Quid enim prodest nosse quid verba significent?] Tacite apud se possunt devote recolere.

Col. 793. C. § Quarto, sacrificium.

Non . . . . requiritur ut populus intelligat.] At quid incommodi si intelligat?

Col. 793. C. § Quinto, si.

Unum (*incommodum sequeretur*) *quod oporteret frequenter mutare verba sacrificii.*] Immo verba vulgaria, præcipue quæ ad aliquod institutum pertinent, non facile mutantur.

Alterum, quod tolleretur communicatio Ecclesiarum.] At an communicatio Ecclesiæ in hoc consistit, ut Italus in Anglia possit sacrificare, &c.? Sed gravissimum fuit incommodum quum hoc fuit, &c.

Col. 793. D. § Sexto, accedit.

Tamen a multis jam sæculis desierunt omnes istæ linguæ esse vulgares.] Et quod tum non desiit illis missa celebrari, error fuit ecclesiæ. Et sic argumentum hoc est tantum petitio principii.

CAP. XII.

Col. 795. A. § Respondeo, Christi.

Christi memoria . . . non tam verbis quam re ipsa fieri debet.] Non tam verbis: an ergo non verbis? vel non prolatis?

Christiani (*scribit Augustinus*) . . . *memoriam celebrant . . . oblatione et participatione.*] An hoc excludit vocem audibilem?

CAP. XIV.

Col. 802. A. § Respondeo, uterque.

(*Locus Ambrosii*) '*nec auro placent*' *non significat . . . nullo modo placent magis in auro.*] Non magis respectu ipsius auri; sed quia magis placet

Deo, quum aurum et quæ pretiosa sunt animo religioso ei offeruntur; Et in eis sacramenta Christi honorantur coram populo. Religio enim nunquam vilia Deo, si meliora habeat. DE PŒNITENTIA.

Col. 803. B. § Deinde Justinus Martyr.

Augustinus . . . scribit in quibusdam locis sacrificium omni die offerri solere, alibi die solum Dominico.] Ubi ergo juge sacrificium? saltem tum non fuit per omnem Catholicam Ecclesiam.

CAP. XVII.

Col. 814. C. § Offertorium ordine.

Et secretas.] Infra § Offertorio finito.

Col. 815. B. § Offertorio finito.

Per secretas collectas.] Supra § 1.

Ut populus respondere possit.] Quærit Apostolus quî respondebit Amen, qui non intelligit. 1 Cor. 14. Quanto magis qui non audit?

CAP. XXI.

Col. 821. D. § Prima igitur oratio.

Martyres.] C. 8. § Quod igitur ad. Et hic infra § 5.

Col. 823. B. § Sed ad argumentum.

Panem recte dici offerri, &c.] L. 1. de Missa. c. 27. § Quarta propositio. Et § His igitur omissis.

CAP. XXIV.

Col. 831. A. § Respondeo, non loquitur.

Orat, ut quotquot sumpserint . . . utiliter sumant.] Sed an debeat ita dicere, ut quotquot, &c. quum sciat se solum sumpturum?

Col. 832. D. § Undecima objectio.

Preces dicuntur . . . in cœlum deferri.] Supra § Respondeo, non.

CAP. XXVI.

Col. 834. D. § In hac oratione.

Apostolis et Martyribus, &c.] At cur cum Apostolis, si solus Matthias?

LIBER I. DE PŒNITENTIA.

CAP. II.

Col. 845. A. § At hæc omnia.

Nemo enim Catholicorum contritionem priorem esse fide . . . . . docuit.] C. 3. § At post. [In which § Bellarmine comments on the opinions of the Lutherans on this point. See next note.]

DE PŒNITENTIA.

CAP. III.

Col. 849. D. § At post.

Fidem autem subsequi.] C. 2. § 4. [See the previous note.]

CAP. V.

Col. 857. D. § Similia mendacia.

Quæ autem crudelitas est exigere desiderium confitendi?] Sed exigitis et confessionem ipsam, ubi adest sacerdos, et sub pari necessitate: annon?

CAP. VI.

Col. 858. C. § Nunc tandem.

Novatianos . . . negasse in sacerdotibus potestatem absolvendi.] Quid an omnem? Annon potius primariam?

Col. 859. D. § Quinto.

Sit gratis, fide, &c.] Cassand. Consult. Art. 6. p. 35.

Col. 860. B. § Sexto.

Pœnitentiam seu reconciliationem passim enim conjungunt veteres cum Baptismo.] Sed an sequitur, quod omne conjunctum cum Sacramento proprie dicto, est sacramentum proprie dictum?

CAP. X.

Col. 872. D. § Neque hæc negare.

Ea media nos contendimus verum Sacramentum continere, cum sint corporalia.] At quodnam, quæso, est elementum corporale, non signa externa pœnitentiæ quæ ipse posuit pro materiali. C. 8. § Hic igitur.

Col. 873. A. § Et hæc dixerim.

Nulla igitur causa erat, cur . . Dominus post resurrectionem suam hanc potestatem Apostolis daret.] At apertissime dedit S. Matt. 28. Num sine ulla causa, id viderit Bellarminus.

Col. 873. C. § Neque vim ullam.

Joannis consuetudinem non esse repetere, quæ cæteri scripserunt.] Vide Cassand. Consult. Artic. 6. p. 38.

Col. 873. C. § Quod si.

Quid ad Sacramenti proprie dicti rationem desit, omnino non video.] Elementum.

Col. 874. B. § Prima conditio.

Ut adsit externum ac sensibile symbolum.] At externum et sensibile signum est materiale in sacramento; Hic autem, Absolvo te, est formale. Nec in ullo sacramento verba stant pro materiali.

Col. 875. B. § Accedant præterea.

Cum vera sacramenta enumerant (Patres), iis Pœnitentiam adjungunt; sæpe etiam Pœnitentiam cum Baptismo conferunt.] Sed quæro: 1°. An omne

quod adjungitur sacramentis proprie dictis sit et ipsum sacramentum proprie dictum? 2°. An qui conferunt pœnitentiam cum baptismo, conferant eam sub ratione sacramenti? DE PŒNITENTIA.

Col. 876. A. § S. Augustinus.

Per manus impositionem . . . reconciliationem intelligit.] At ipsa schola docet manus impositionem non esse de essentia Absolutionis, nec inter absolvendum usurpari.

Col. 876. B. et C. § Theodoretus et § Victor Carnettensis.

Theodoretus . . . dicit, sacrorum mysteriorum Baptismi et Pœnitentiæ, &c. Victor Carnettensis . . . inquit . . . quanti faciat Pœnitentiæ Sacramentum.] Ex his omnibus solus Theodoretus vocat mysterium: Solus Victor sacramentum. Reliqui consequentiis satis infirmis ad sensum non suum extenduntur: Hi latiore tantum vocabuli sensu se exprimunt.

Col. 876. D § Accedat ultimo.

Quæ ab annis D floruit.] Sed quid si aliter per fere 1,000 annos qui præcesserunt?

Col. 877. A § Hæc autem.

Veram Christi fuisse ecclesiam.] Sed et sanam dices?

Vera . . . fuit, aut nulla omnino fuit.] Vera fuit, sed annon sicut ægrotus est verus homo?

LIBER III. DE PŒNITENTIA.

CAP. I.

Col. 975. A. § Primi, qui.

Neque enim ulla necessitas Confessionis est, si nulla sequitur Absolutio.] Videtur ergo, quod ubi admittitur Absolutio, ibi præsupponitur Confessio. Ergo ita in Ecclesia Anglicana.

Col. 975. C. § Nostro seculo.

Neque in usu antiquæ Ecclesiæ fuisse.] § Item in. [See next note.]

Col. 976. B. § Item in.

In antiqua Ecclesia.] § Nostro.

CAP. II.

Col. 979. C. § Primus locus.

Petrus acceperit claves . . . ut eas cæteris sacerdotibus communicaret.] ⁜ § Quare quum, et ⁜ § S. Ambrosius. [In these §§ Bellarmine seems to admit that the keys were given directly to the Apostles, and not through the medium of St. Peter.]

Col. 980. A. § Quare cum.

Successoribus communicaverit.] § Primus locus. [This is a cross reference to the previous note.]

DE PŒNITENTIA.

Col. 981. A. § Tertio, colligitur.

Negatur remissio iis, quibus noluerint sacerdotes remittere.] Sed aliud est non remittere, et aliud nolle, &c.

Col. 982. C. § Addit ultimo.

Corporis lepram.] C. 9. § Idem in.

Col. 982. D. § S. Ambrosius.

Communicasse cum sacerdotibus.] § Primus locus. [See Col. 979. C.]

CAP. III.

Col. 984. D. § Porro ex figuris.

Potestas remittendi peccata.] § Prima igitur. Et c. 2. § Addit ultimo.

Col. 985. A. § Prima igitur.

Fit sacerdoti.] § Porro ex.

CAP. IV.

Col. 990. B. § Hic locus.

Quoniam eo tempore nulla exstabat Ecclesiæ institutio. . . . sequitur ut ab ipso Christo . . Confessio fuerit instituta.] § Quod autem. [In which § Bellarmine speaks as though their confession was entirely a voluntary act: 'Quod autem illi sponte prodierint ad confessionem.']

Col. 991. B. § Quod autem.

Quod nulla tunc exstaret lex de Confessione.] Supra § 3. [See previous note.] Infra § Tertius locus.

CAP. IX.

Col. 1003. B. § Idem in.

Et si lepram habuerint.] C. 2. § Addit ultimo.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 1021. D. § Deinde non.

Neque . . ex Confessione . . . privata ullus tumultus exoriri poterat.] Potest si pœnitentiarius, aut peccator longius in narrando progressus sit. Ut § Narrat hoc.

CAP XV.

Col. 1023. A § Id perspicuum est.

Ex privata . . Confessione nulla sequi potest exprobratio.] i. Non sine scelere sacerdotis.

LIBER IV. DE PŒNITENTIA.

CAP. I.

Col. 1034. B. § Restat igitur.

Sed maneat tamen debitum.] In quibus dissentimus.

CAP. II.

DE PŒNITENTIA.

Col. 1035. D. § At frustra nititur.

In futurum eas potius, quam in præteritum tempus respicere.] Ergo in præteritum et futurum. Et 1ª. intentione in 1ᵘᵐ. ratione peccati et exempli, i. aliorum; in 2ᵘᵐ. vero ratione pœnitentis. § Denique Chrysostomus.

CAP. IV.

Col. 1040. A. § Ac primum.

Quis Davidem coegit jejunare.] At fecit, ut viveret infans, si forte id obtinere posset a Domino, &c. ver. 22. Non ut satisfaceret, &c.

Col. 1040. B. § Ac primum.

Si pœnæ istæ sponte assumptæ, hypocritæ essent.] i. ex se.

Col. 1041. C. § Denique illud.

Alioqui Paulus ipse contra suum præceptum egisset.] Nequaquam: ille n. affligebat corpus jejuniis, ne incideret in peccatum, non ut redimeret commissum.

Contra suum præceptum.] Exemplum.

CAP. VI.

Col. 1045. C. § Ac præter.

Sed ne in genere quidem ulla vota.] § ult.

CAP. XII.

Col. 1066. A. § Primum Scripturæ.

Posse hominem . . . per Dei gratiam plus facere, quam Deus præcipiat.] Sed annon hoc 'plus' erit præter, non super ea quæ mandantur?

Posse . . Christianos . . . quæ ipsi Deo sunt placita, si . . laborarè voluerint, adimplere.] Sed ubi est, 'et plus facere?'

CAP. XIV.

Col. 1071. D. § Ad hanc priorem.

Quod . . . . in Baptismo . . . . opera etiam nostra . . cooperentur.] At quî hoc in Baptismo Infantum?

Col. 1072. A. § Ad hanc priorem.

Operanti in se Christo cooperatur homo.] Sed merito quæritur, an loquatur S. Aug. de cooperatione in 1ª. gratia et remissione peccatorum.

Col. 1073. B. § Jam vero.

Nam qui levibus satisfactiunctulis acquiescunt.] Contemptus est judicii Dei acquiescere levibus satisfactiunculis: Quid ergo nullis?

DE EXTRE. UNCTIONE.

DE EXTREMA UNCTIONE.

CAP. II.

Col. 1088. C. § Denique Tridentinum.

Trident. Conc. Sess. 14. *Can.* 1. *de extrema unctione dicit hoc Sacramentum insinuatum.*] Institutum habet Li. meus, non insinuatum. [This note arises from an error in reference. Bellarmine no doubt intended to refer to Cap. i., where the word 'insinuatum' occurs. In Can. i. the word is 'institutum,' as Laud states; but there is no special reference to the passage in St. Mark.]

CAP. III.

Col. 1094. A. § Respondeo, Jacobum.

Jacobum alloqui infirmos hoc loco non sacerdotes.] Quidni utrosque? Nam sicut est 'inducat' i. infirmus vel amici ejus vice, ita est 'orent' i. presbyteri.

Scire autem quale debeat esse oleum . . . . pertinet . . ad sacerdotem.] Quæstio non est de 'scire, &c.' sed de 'Institui.'

Col. 1094. D. § Quinto, probat Calvinus.

Hanc unctionem ab Innocentio I. institutam.] § ult. [In which § Bellarmine quotes a passage from Innocent I. tending to prove the contrary.]

CAP. IV.

Col. 1095. B. § Sed Innocentii.

(Innocentius) dicit expresse . . hanc unctionem esse sacramentum a Jacobo explicatum.] Sed num expresse dicit esse verum et proprie dictum Sacramentum?

Col. 1095. C. § Ex hoc etiam.

Ex hoc etiam testimonio.] Et L. 2. de Indulgen. c. 17. p. 169. [§ In quarto capite.] Et c. 20. p. 179. [§ Deinde Kemnitius.]

Colligimus, cur non extent multa hujus generis testimonia . . . quia non habuerunt occasionem de hac re scribendi.] Hoc potest cuilibet rei inservire ubi desunt testimonia. § Habemus deinde. Et c. 6. § ult.

Col. 1096. B. § Hæc vero.

Patres igitur citati . . . Sacramentum esse volunt, &c.] Non sequitur: nam hoc supposito quod ad hæc tempora pertinet, non videtur sequi pertinere sub ratione sacramenti proprie dicti.

Col. 1096. B. § Habemus deinde.

Ut Alcuinus libro de divinis officiis.] At ubi sunt omnes patres antiquiores tum Græci, tum Latini?

Col. 1096. C. § His accedant.

Exempla plurimorum Sanctorum.] Sed qua ætate ecclesiæ?

CAP. V.

Col. 1097. A. § Accedit ultimo.

In ingressu Ecclesiæ et in progressu, &c.] Eucharistia passim dicitur a Patribus Viaticum: ergo loco auxilii pro egressu. [Laud has also

underlined the following passage in this chapter, 'Instituit Dominus speciale præsidium, præsertim quia sæpe accedit, ut qui in extremis agunt, nec possint . . . Eucharistiam percipere:' intending his remark to be a reply to this statement also.] DE EXTR. UNCTIONE.

CAP. VI.

Col. 1097. D. § Primum argumentum.

. *Quidam (Catholici) existimant corporalem sanitatem esse absolutum . . . effectum hujus sacramenti. Sed dicunt . . . dari . . . certum quendam gradum auxilii supernaturalis, qui interdum satis erit ad sanandum, interdum non satis . . . Hæc solutio mihi non placet.*] Nec mihi. Sed tamen videtur ex ipsis verbis S. Jacobi, et ut a doctissimis intelliguntur, sanitatem corporalem esse effectum hujus unctionis immediatum. Et si sic, quî erit sacramentum: quum nova infusio gratiæ sit effectus omnium Sacramentorum? c. 8. § 2.

Col. 1098. C. § Tertium argumentum.

Ethnici consueverunt ungere mortuos.] Sed ubi morientes?

Col. 1098. C. § Respondeo, hæreticorum.

Illi enim ungebant non moriturum' sed jam mortuum.] Cur non utrosque ex locis his comparatis?

Ungi solitos ab hæreticis ad finem defunctionis.] Apertissimum est apud Irenæum et Epiphanium mortuos non fuisse.

Col. 1098. D. § Respondeo, hæreticorum.

Illi unguebant aqua et oleo.] At si hæc ceremonia alia fuit, quid hoc ad ortum ipsius rei?

Col. 1099. D. § Respondeo, non.

Non extare ejusmodi exempla.] C. 4. § 3. [See Col. 1095. C.]

CAP. VII.

Col. 1100. A. § Materia Sacramenti.

Concilia . . . Florentinum et Tridentinum . . . magis distincte hæc omnia explicuerunt.] Sed an explicatio potest facere ut id sit, quod non est?

Col. 1100. A. § Jam vero forma.

Forma sunt illa verba . . . indulgeat tibi Deus, &c.] Sed annon forma Sacramenti debet esse in Scriptura æque ac materia? Et in ipsa Institutione?

Col. 1100. B. § Secundo nota.

Solum . . . sententia ad essentiam pertinet, quæ formam habeat deprecatoriam.] Sed annon formalia verba in omni sacramento sunt in modo indicativo?

Col. 1100. C. § Tertio nota.

Est complementum Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ.] An quod Sacramentum est possit esse complementum alterius Sacramenti?

DE SACRAM. ORDINIS.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 1100. D. § Una tantum.

Quæ sint peccatorum reliquiæ, non eodem modo omnes explicant.] Cap. 9. § ult. 1.

Non facile probare, &c.] § 3.

Col. 1101. A. et B. § Dico igitur.

Reliquiæ dicuntur peccata, quæ interdum remanent post omnia alia sacramenta.... Potest enim fieri, ut Confessionem et Communionem non rite peregerit, et hoc ipsum ignoret.] At aliud est, remanere post: et aliud post incidere in alia, &c. Deinde potest dubitari, an hæc quæ ex ignorantia fiant sint, vestro saltem sensu, mortalia? Si autem venialia, tum ut ipse dixisti § 2.

Col. 1101. C. § Dicet aliquis.

Videtur commune omnibus Sacramentis, ut peccata mortalia tollant ... modo non ponatur obex ... non igitur id est proprium hujus Sacramenti.] Ergo Sacramenta non conferunt gratiam ad tollenda mortalia peccata, nisi per accidens?

CAP. IX.

Col. 1102. B. § Alii rectius.

Dicere, licere omnibus Christianis.] At tum non esset, posse uti, sed licere uti, vel potius debere uti, si sacramentum.

Col. 1102. B. § Jam vero.

Ægrotis, qui jam non possunt agere pœnitentiam.] i. pœnalia opera pœnitentiæ.

Col. 1102. C. Jam vero.

Infantes enim et qui semper amentes.] C. 8. § 2.

CAP. X.

Col. 1102. D. § Duæ sunt.

Pedes (unguntur) ob vim progressivam, &c.] At quæ vis progressiva vel exequutio in morituris?

Col. 1102. D. § Sed communior opinio.

Et sane ratio honestatis in fœminis.] Præscribit tamen [Concilium], ut ungantur 7 partes, et inter eas Renes. § 1. Et non excipit fœminas. Ergo præcipit contra illud quod ratio honestatis videtur in fœminis postulare.

Ut renes non ungantur.] At sedes concupiscentiæ in illis est umbilicus. Tho. sup. 9. 32. A. 6. 3um.

DE SACRAMENTO ORDINIS.

CAP. II.

Col. 1105. D. § Si secundum.

Non autem vocatur absolute Spiritus Sanctus in Scripturis donum illud, quod in impiis esse potest.] ⁜ L. de Sacram. in genere. c. 26. § Probatur jam minor. Et § Respondeo, negando minorem. ⁜.

CAP. V.

Col. 1109. D. § Tertio, Episcopalis. DE MATRIMONIO.

Quæ non possunt ulli alii ordines.] Potest sacerdos confirmationem ex dispensatione. L. 2. de effectu Sacramentorum. C. 28. § Ordo excellit.

CAP. VI.

Col. 1113. C. § Neque verum est,

Indicat aliud quam solum mensarum ministerium.] * C. 9. § ult.

CAP. IX.

Col. 1118. A. § Atque hinc.

Diaconi fuerunt fere ordinati ad quædam ministeria.] * C. 6. § Neque verum.

DE MATRIMONIO.

CAP. II.

Col. 1126. D. § Hac ergo.

Tanquam videlicet in ipsa Matrimonii celebratione.] Petitio principii.

CAP. III.

Col. 1127. A. § Accedant nunc.

Calvinus . . . lib. 4. Instit. c. 19. § 24. scribit neminem ante Gregorium vidisse Matrimonium pro Sacramento datum.] Et addit, cui unquam sobrio in mentem venisset? &c.

CAP. IV.

Col. 1131. C. § Ex quo testimonio.

Beza, &c.] Hoc unum habent, &c.

CAP. V.

Col. 1134. C. § Quartum argumentum.

Kemnitius . . . probat ex epist. Siricii Papæ.] Et Beza in Ephes. 5. 32.

CAP. VI.

Col. 1145. D. § Sed hæc omnia.

Concilium nihil determinavit.] Vide Concil. Trident. Sess. 24. cap. 1. de reformatione Matrimonii. p. 250.

CAP. X.

Col. 1158. D. § Tertio patet.

Creasset cum Adamo . . . multas fœminas.] Præsertim quum hoc aptius fuisse videri possit ad propagationem generis humani, p. 1162.

Col. 1161. A. § Alter finis.

Potest aliquo modo unus vir multas conjuges simul habere.] Comparative tantum loquitur ut patet, p. 1160 et 1162.

DE MATRIMONIO.

Col. 1162. A. § Atque hinc.

Non esse absolute contra rationem . . . . sed tantum probare, minus esse absurdum.] P. 1161. [See previous note.]

Col. 1162. B.

Cum et esset eo tempore, &c.] P. 1158. [See above, note on Col. 1158, D. § Tertio patet.]

CAP. XI.

Col. 1163. A. § Ultimo ex Patribus.

Ad aliquid futurum significandum.] P. 1232. [D. Cap. xxv. § Ad hoc argumentum.]

Col. 1167. A. § Prima pars probatur.

Lex . . . prohibens polygamiam tempore Patriarcharum non erat scripta.] At quî hoc sanat factum Davidis et aliorum qui vixerunt diu post legem scriptam; quum tamen scripta non fuit dispensatio?

CAP. XII.

Col. 1168. D. § Nam ad primum.

Cujus interpretem habemus Apostolum Paulum.] Tum quia ejus, et ejus tantum causa fit.

Col. 1169. D. § Ad tertium.

Quia Matrimonium illud post Baptismum.] P. 1189. [Cap. xvii. § Vera igitur solutio.]

CAP. XIV.

Col. 1171. C. § Respondeo, Catholici.

Nam in priore loco agit de injusta discessione.] P. 1179. At cur unus versus (ver. 10.) ubi nihil interponitur, exponatur de injusta, et posterior (ver. 11.) immediate sequens de justa discessione?

CAP. XV.

Col. 1175. A. § Martinus Bucerus.

Quoties uxor non se commodam viro . . . præbet.] Committit adulterium, etiam priore non ejecta, quoties debitam benevolentiam non præstat, &c. &c. Bucer. L. 2. de regno Christi. c. 28. Et c. 40 et 41, &c.

Col. 1175. B. § Philippus Melancthon.

In annot. ad cap. 5. Matth. idem Melancthon . . . etiam nocenti aliud Matrimonium concedit.] Non hoc reperio apud Melancthonem in S. Matt. 5.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 1176. C. § Primus locus.

Nec priorem virum habere potest, &c.] At hoc debet caveri lege, et authoritate ecclesiæ, nequis uxorem injuste dimittat, aut saltem, si dimittat, ut fiat reconciliatio, &c. Et tum hæc illatio nihili est, licet probo conclusionem.

Col. 1177. A. § At contra.

Nunquam ita omittunt, ut sententia reddatur falsa.] Sententia non statim redditur falsa, etiamsi regula generalis, cui subest exceptio, absolute ponatur sine exceptione expressa: Sicut in multis locis Scripturæ, et in multis regulis ipsius patet.

Col. 1177. A. § Certe quando.

Marcus . . non remisit . . ad Evangelium Matthæi tanquam ad Commentarium.] Etiamsi non remisit, hoc non impedit quominus alius per alium exponi possit: aliter nec unus locus Scripturæ per alium, &c., quia expresse non remittit.

Col. 1178. C. § Alii dicunt.

Non sine causa Dominus.] 'Certe nec tamen igitur scimus an propter hanc causam sic collocavit verba.' Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 1. [The book quoted by Laud, under the title of Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium, is in English (hence the English notes that occur here). The true title is, "A defence of the judgment of the Reformed Churches, That a man may lawfullie not onelie put awaie his wife for her adulterie, but also marrie another. Wherein both Robert Bellarmine the Jesuite's Latin treatise, and an English pamphlet of a namelesse author maintaining the contrary, are confuted by John Raynolds." *s. l.* 1609. 4°. pp. 95, &c. Laud writes the name sometimes Rainaldus, sometimes Rainoldus. The latter is more correct, and it has been made so throughout.]

Col. 1179. D. § Sed respondet.

Vinculum viri cum uxore ordinarie et regulariter, . . . durare usque ad mortem.] Sic et Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 2.

Col. 1180. B. § Denique idem.

Idem testatur ratio similitudinis.] The drift of the similitude is, that a wyfe hir husband beinge dedd maye take another and yett is noe adulteress. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divotium. c. 2. Ergo a contrario sensu, a quo ipse potissimum disputat, c. 1., Shee is an adulteress if before his death, &c. And then he makes the drift all one with Bellarmine.

Col. 1181. D. § Habemus autem.

Paulus . . . diceret, Maneat innupta, donec viro suo reconcilietur.] 'Hoc verum esset, et sequeretur, si Paulus cohibere potuisset,' &c. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 2. At prohibere sufficiens fuit, ipsi deinceps postea sibi consulant utrum obediendum sit. Et prohibuit quidem. Paulus ergo non permisit.

Col. 1183. C. § Seculo nono.

Theophylactus in c. 19 *Matthæi.*] Joh. Rainold. de nuptiis post divortium. c. 3, saith, that Theoph. in Luc. 16. 18. affirmes that that place must be understood with the exception out of St. Matthewe.

Repetit quidem Theophilactus verba cum illa exceptione, sed nihil addit propriæ censuræ.

Col. 1184. A. § Accedat ultimo.

Signum est conjunctionis Christi cum ecclesia.] Sic invertitur: signum est Christi et Ecclesiæ. But Christ's conjunction with the faithful soule is not indissoluble; for he holds that 'vere fidelis' maye 'excidere a fide: ergo nec unio conjugalis.' Joh. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 4.

DE MATRIMONIO.

Non . . licet illis mutare Deum.] Non est plena hæc similitudo; neque enim unquam, quod scio, licuit, ut pars nocens dimitteret et innocentem, et benefacientem, qualis est Deus respectu nostri.

Col. 1184. B. § Secundo, si.

Injuria afficeretur proles.] 'Ergo nec liceret viro fideli dimittere infidelem uxorem si liberos ex ea accepisset. Nec viduæ habenti liberos, &c.' Joh. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 3.

At hæc est ratio tantum ab incommodo, quæ et hic et eousque in prioribus premit, donec intercedat majus incommodum.

A man cannot tell whether the sharpenes of a steppdame doe them not more good than the indulgence of a mother. Rainold. Ibid.

The comparison not equall; but wheather the care of a steppdame be answearable to the mother's care; one of a thousand.

CAP. XVII.

Col. 1186. A. § Et non esse hoc.

Nam si forte uxor ab initio Matrimonii in morbum incidat.] Hic dicit morbum hujusmodi non solvere conjugium, &c. Et tamen hoc eodem capite ad Ob. 12. dum studiose defendit Gregorium, dicit hujusmodi ægritudinem esse impedimentum dirimens matrimonium. Con. Thom. in Supple. q. 62. A. 5. 1um.

Col. 1188. C. § Deinde etiamsi.

Quia de ea causa nihil in præsentia determinatur.] 'An possit dici exceptio negativa, ubi nihil determinatur?' Rainold. de nuptiis post divortium. c. 1.

Col. 1189. B. § Vera igitur solutio.

Sed solvi tamen vinculum conjugii inter infideles contracti.] P. 1169. [Cap. xii. § Ad tertium.]

Col. 1191. D. § Respondeo, Gratianus.

Contendunt ea verba inserta, &c.] They saye onlye: It is sayd, or it is thought soe, &c. Joh. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 3.

Col. 1192. A. § Respondeo, Pollentius.

Pollentius non contradixit Augustino, &c.] 'Aperte dicit August. in illis libris, et sæpe: tu sic sentis,' &c. Joh. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 3.

Col. 1193. A. § Respondeo, primus.

Intelligunt Doctores de ægritudine, quæ reddat mulierem ineptam ad conjugium.] P. 1186. [A. § Et non esse hoc.]

Col. 1193. A. § Secundus Canon.

Secundus Canon . . . e Concilio quodam, cujus ne nomen quidem exstat . . . facile contemni posset.] 'Multi authores boni sine nomine: quin et opera perdita; et laudatorum Conciliorum.' Joh. Rainoldus de nuptiis post divortium. c. 3.

Col. 1193. B. § Secundus Canon.

Alioqui simplex adulterium non impedit matrimonium.] Nec incestus: quantum novi.

Col. 1193. B. § Tertius Canon.

Sed intelliguntur omnes ejusmodi Canones de conjugio quod parti innocenti conceditur.] Hæc responsio videtur admodum infirma; nam si sint de conjugio, quod parti innocenti conceditur post mortem conjugis prioris; quid opus est tali canone? Præcipue toties ingeminato? Quum absque canone quocunque id et innocenti et nocenti liceat post mortem conjugis.

Col. 1194. A. § Et quidem sententia.

Scriptura testatur, mulierem repudiatam, si alteri nupserit, fieri pollutam et abominabilem.] i. Abominatio est coram Domino, ut ille qui dimisit, iterum post conjugium cum alio, eandem resumat. Et versio nostra sine ambiguitate est.

Col. 1194. B. § Et quidem sententia.

Adulterium conjugii nomine tectum.] Ut p. 1195.

Col. 1194. D. § Quinto.

Prohibetur sacerdos non ducere uxorem viduam, nec repudiatam.] Falsum: nam solus summus sacerdos prohibetur ducere viduam, non reliqui sacerdotes. Ut Levit. 21. 7 et 14.

Col. 1195. A. § Septimo.

Cogebatur mulier illa perpetuo continere.] Hoc non videtur necessario sequi, quia etiamsi ex hoc servus sit factus liber, non tamen forte deseruit consortium uxoris.

Col. 1195. B. § Neque argumentum.

Quia abominabile est, &c.] P. 1194. [§ Et quidem sententia.]

CAP. XVIII.

Col. 1198. C. § Sunt præterea.

Instructio Catechumeni.] Ergo si quis instruat aliquam ut fiat Christiana, jam sua ope Christianam factam nequeat in uxorem ducere.

CAP. XXI.

Col. 1209. A. § Secunda propositio.

Promissio . . . non transfert dominium rei promissæ ab eo, qui promisit, in eum, cui promissa est.] Hæc generalitas tamen non videtur tenere in contractibus sponsalium de præsenti: reliquæ enim promissiones fiunt de futuro, et ideo dominium non transfertur, hic autem contractus (si inter personas legitimas sit) de præsenti est, et ideo de præsenti, et ab illo instante transfert dominium, et ligat. Præcipue quum doceat et ipse Bellarmin. c. 6, 7, 8. ipsas personas contrahentes esse ministrum matrimonii. Vide 4. Sent. D. 27. § 14.

Col. 1209. B. § Et hinc.

Contra omnes theologos debere . . ligamen sponsaliorum dirimere subsequens matrimonium.] Sed annon loquitur Lutherus de ligamine per verba de præsenti? &c.

DE MATRIMONIO.

Col. 1210. A. § Toletanum I.

Statuit devotam fœminam, si forte nupserit, non posse recipi ad Ecclesiam, nisi vivente illo, cui se conjunxerat, caste vivat.] Ergo Concilium minus probavit hujusmodi nuptias, non tamen diremit. Deinde forte nisi caste vivat: i. cum non sine marito cui nupsit. Vel, non posse recipi ad ecclesiam: non ac si ejiceretur per excommunicationem: sed non debet recipi in eundem statum monasticum in ecclesia. Sed conjecturæ hæ sunt.

Col. 1211. B. § Tertio est auctoritas.

Non se maritos earum dicebant.] Erant forte quasi mariti: ut postea ex Hieron. At si ut mariti non essent, non opus esset ut inculcaret præcedentem circumstantiam (a viris separandas esse), nam forte aliquis dubitare potest an separandæ essent a maritis: utrum autem a viris adulterantibus separandæ essent dubitat nemo. At quod nemo dubitat faciendum, forte et nemo fecit: et ideo sic scripsit ut separarentur.

CAP. XXII.

Col. 1215. A. § Adde, quod.

Conatus erat inducere Uriam ut ad uxorem rediret, &c.] Et quia hoc noluit, ergo probabile et prius.

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 1218. A. § Quod non sit.

Non esse contrahendum cum infidelibus.] Et ideo peccare qui hoc faciunt: sed, &c.

Col. 1219. D. § Ad quæ uno.

Et in hoc numero ponenda videtur S. Monica.] 1. p. 1216. (At Monica virum convertit,) p. 1218. 1. Forte Augustinus in hac causa magis dubius fuit matris causa.

CAP. XXIV.

Col. 1222. C. § Et quidem Moyses.

Non tamen prohibuit conjugium . . . patrui vel avunculi cum filia fratris vel ororis.] Sed annon intelligitur prohibuisse a paritate rationis?

Col. 1222. C. § Quod etiam.

Tres secundum leges.] Civiles.

CAP. XXV.

Col. 1224. A. § Altera sententia.

Cum Deus optime noverit, quid prohibendum, quidve non.] Sic et Deus optime novit, quid circa omnes particulares actus maxime expedit, nec tamen circa omnes in particulari præscripsit: infinitum enim esset, &c.

CAP. XXVII.

Col. 1232. A. § Probatur nunc.

Et eadem est ratio.] P. 1242. [D. cap. xxviii. § Tertio notandum est.]

Col. 1232. D. § Ad hoc argumentum. DE MATRIMONIO.

Ista facta fuisse Deo dispensante.] P. 1163. [cap. xi. § Ultimo ex Patribus.]

CAP. XXVIII.

Col. 1242. D. § Tertio notandum est.

Nullus gradus tollit finem matrimonii primarium vel secundarium.] Ergo cur hic primus gradus sit in majori ratione contra jus naturæ quam Sodomia non video: quod, ni fallor, docuit Bellarmin. c. 27. p. 1232. [§ Probatur nunc.]

Col. 1244. D. § Quarto probatur.

Ut audito nomine sororis statim crederent eam non fuisse uxorem.] At postea igitur quum ex probabilibus collegit Saram uxorem Abrahami fuisse, cur non acrius punivit, non solum quod ipsum mendacio fefellit, sed quod contra jus naturæ sororem germanam duxisset in uxorem; præsertim quum et sic patefacta esset via amori suo? Vide p. 1245. [§ Ac saltem debuisset.]

Col. 1245. D. § Ac saltem debuisset.

Quasi cum sorore.] P. 1244. [See previous note.]

CAP. XXXI.

Col. 1252. A. § Sed facilis responsio.

Et tum danti, tum accipienti perniciosum.] Non nisi sciat, et tamen velit admittere.

CAP. XXXII.

Col. 1254. A. § Primo Matrimonium.

Neque apud Christianos separatur contractus legitimus Matrimonii a Sacramento.] Hoc argumentum nihil valet apud eos qui negant matrimonium esse sacramentum.

Col. 1254. D. § Denique cur non.

Cur non potius ad homines doctos, quam ad Pontifices.] Ergo annon sunt Pontifices homines docti? Sed intelligit opinor appositive; ad homines in illo genere doctos etiamsi non Pontifices.

TOMUS TERTIUS.

ORATIO IN SCHOLIS HABITA.

(5ta pagina.) § Cauda scorpionis.

Morionibus sacrum calicem.] Eucharistia an neganda morionibus?

Sed si ita est, et in omnibus . . . connubium honorare oportet, honoremus connubium parentis cum filia.] Non sequitur: honorabile enim est connubium in omnibus, sed non cum omnibus; neque enim id dicit Apostolus.

DE GRATIA PRIMI HOMINIS.

DE GRATIA. PRIM. HOM.

CAP. IV.

Col. 10. B. § Deinde indiguisse.

Indiguisse Adamum secundo illo dono.] At habuit, ergo non indiguit: immo ideo habuit quia indiguit, misericordia Dei tribuente quicquid opus erat. Et se interpretatur Bellarminus infra, ⁎ et ante col. 9. ⁎.

CAP. V.

Col. 13. A. § Quare non magis.

Corruptio naturæ non . . . malæ qualitatis accessu . . . profluxit.] C. 7. col. 23. ⁎.

Col. 14. B. § Multo minus.

Ex actu peccandi oritur, &c.] Cap. 6.

CAP. VII.

Col. 23. D. § Sexta objectio.

Peccatum illud . . . extrinsecus accedit naturæ.] Cap. 5. col. 13.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 39. C. § Sed respondemus.

Eden . . non esse eum locum, unde ejectus fuit Adam . . . quod in eodem dicatur habitasse Cain.] Immo potest quis ad orientalem plagam alicujus loci habitare, et tamen non in eo, et sic (ni fallor) in verbis præcedentibus sumitur.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 40. A. Ad init. cap.

Paradisum adhuc superesse.] Valde laborat Bellarminus in toto hoc capite.

Col. 40. D. § Nec videtur.

Paradisum esse fides Christiana non dubitat.] i. Christiana fides non dubitat, non simpliciter paradisum esse, i. ad hunc usque diem superesse; sed Christiana fides non dubitat paradisum esse illum locum ubi constituit Deus hominem quem formavit ex pulvere. Ut satis patet ex ipsa connexione verborum Aug.

DE AMISSIONE GRATIÆ. LIBER I.

CAP. III.

Col. 58. D. § Rursus peccata.

Ex subreptione dicuntur ea, quæ non sunt perfecte voluntaria.] Hæc Distin. est ex Augustino. Cap. 10. col. 80.

Col. 59. A. § Rursus peccata. DE AMISS. GRATIÆ.

Peccata sunt cum præveniri . . . potuissent.] Cap. 4. col. 60. ✕ i. peccata negligentiæ sunt. Cap. 10. col. 80.

CAP. IV.

Col. 60. B. § Philippus Melancthon. ●

Discrimen peccati mortalis et venialis non habere locum in non renatis.] Aliud est dicere discrimen hoc non habere locum in non renatis: aliud non esse necesse quærere hoc discrimen in renatis.

Col. 60. B. § Secundo docet.

Ut voluntarii dici non possint.] Cap. 3. col. 59. [§ Rursus peccata.]

Col. 60. C. § Secundo docet.

Quæ apud Catholicos nulla peccata sunt.] Cap. 3. col. 59. ✕.

Col. 62. A. § Itaque opinione.

In quo Calvinus Jovinianum sequitur.] Et. L. 3. de Justificatione. c. 14. [§ His testimoniis. Col. 857. A.]

CAP. VIII.

Col. 71. A. § At si peccata.

At si peccata justorum . . . non imputarentur, quid opus esset remissione?] Forte quia illa non imputatio est materialiter et in effectum idem quod remissio.

Col. 71. B. § At si peccata.

Imputabat eis, nec tegebat.] Forte hic non est sensus (non imputationis), peccata non imputantur, i. Deus tegebat donec purgata essent, sed non imputantur quia Christus purgavit. Sic peccata dicuntur tecta: non quod sordes peccatorum maneant sed tectæ: sed quia abluta sanguine Christi, per misericordiam tecta sunt a justitia.

CAP. IX.

Col. 76. A. § Neque digna.

Scribit inæqualia peccata hic describi a Domino.] Cap. 13. col. 89. [§ Respondeo, sine.]

Col. 80. A. § S. Hieronymus.

Non sit nisi peccatum negligentiæ.] Cap. 3. col. 59. [§ Rursus peccata.]

Col. 80. B. § S. Augustinus.

S. Augustinus lib. de natura, &c.] Cap. 3. col. 58. [§ Rursus peccata.]

CAP. XIII.

Col. 89. D. § Respondeo, sine.

Tres reatus tribus peccatorum generibus . . . . respondent.] Cap. 9. col. 75, 76.

DE AMISSIONE GRATIÆ. LIBER II.

DE AMISS. GRATIÆ.

CAP. V.

Col. 108. D. § Porro tria.

Per hoc tria requiruntur, ut aliquis vere et proprie peccare dici possit.] Cap. 18. col. 156.

Col. 111. C. § At tribus in rebus.

Neque enim ex corpore integro solis radii fœtorem excitare potuissent.] Cap. 8. col. 116.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 116. D. § Respondent Calvinus.

At peccatum primum non habuit originem ex naturæ corruptione.] Cap. 5. col. 111. [See previous note.]

CAP. XII.

Col. 127. C. § Quod vero.

Quod vero Beza dicit, non fieri vasa in contumeliam nisi interveniente lapsu Adami.] At ante peccatum, quum Deus creavit Adamum, materia ex qua factus est homo non fuit damnata, sed ad minimum indifferens, non talis ut sua malitia inspiratam animam ad malum traheret necessario. At in Adamo peccante facta est tota materies humana massa damnata, et tum, &c. &c. At loquitur de creatione filiorum Adæ, quæ præexistebat. Immo præscientia et decretum de tot filiis Adæ producendis præexistebat quidem non modo peccato Adami sed et creationi ejus, ipsa tamen actualis et realis eorundem productio subsequuta est in tempore et facta ex massa damnata: et sic fortasse procedit locus: vel si referatur locus ad Dei opus ante secula; forte sensus est ut dicantur homines facti ex massa damnata. i. ex ea massa quam præscivit Deus fore damnatam peccato Adæ.

DE AMISSIONE GRATIÆ. LIBER V.

CAP. VII.

Col. 285. D. § Secundum argumentum.

Constat . . carnem non esse capacem peccati proprie dicti.] i. non ergo, sed ideo non omnino, quum per carnem agit anima?

Col. 285. D. § Sed contra.

Sed contra objiciunt . . . . carnem accipi pro toto homine.] § Deinde cum. [See next note.]

Col. 286. B. § Deinde cum.

Quorsum attinet illa correctio in me, id est, in carne mea.] Sed et hanc eandem correctionem in argumentum ducit Calvin. 2. Instit. 2. § 27. Ubi dicit totam naturam corruptam. Sed quod dicit carnem hic sup-

ponere pro toto homine non lego. Sicut nec L. 2. c. 1. § 9. Beza vero annot. in Rom. vii. 22. de toto homine dicit, &c. &c. Sed hoc cap. sic acceptam dicit: nec alibi nisi de non regenerato.

DE GRA. ET LIB. ARBIT.

Col. 287. A. § Adde ultimo.

Quæ non est capax peccati.] i. forte non ergo.

CAP. X.

Col. 303. A. § Respondeo, ut quis.

Miser est, non peccator.] Miser et peccator, si effecit ut non posset.

Col. 303. B. § Respondeo, ut quis.

Id autem de quo agimus, id est carne non concupiscere.] Annon oportet addi 'inordinate?'

CAP. XI.

Col. 306. D. § Undecimum sumit.

Philosophatur . . Lutherus, nos dici 'initium' [*S. Jac. i.*] *quia imperfecte justificamur.*] Non dicit nos imperfecte justificari respectu imputatæ jus[titi]æ Christi; sed nos esse imperfecte justos justitia scilicet inhærente quia adhæret infirmitas et peccatum, &c.

DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO. LIBER I.

PRÆFATIO.

Pag. 387. § Ac ne solum.

Efficaciter efficiendo.] Calvinus legit 'afficiendo.'

CAP. VI.

Col. 403. B. § Igitur quatuor.

Ex ipsa vero (gratia) quodammodo fluere habitus virtutum infusarum.] At dicit Aug. L. 1. ad Simplicia. c. 2. prin. nos percipere gratiam per fidem.

Col. 404. A. § Et quidem sententia.

Gratia, qua sumus Deo cari . . distinguitur saltem ratione a caritate, qua Deum habemus carum.] § Sunt præterea. [In which § Bellarmine states, that there is no such distinction between these two kinds of grace.]

Col. 405. D. § Sunt præterea.

Nulla est causa, cur distincti habitus ponantur.] § Et quidem sententia. [See previous note.]

Col. 407. B. § Probatur assumptio.

Ita nos eveheret ad esse divinum.] ⁂ At quæstio est quid primum evehit, non quid magis.

Col. 407. C. § Quod autem.

Id vero nihil est aliud, nisi caritas.] § Et quidem sententia.

DE GRA. ET LIB. ARBIT.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 412. B. § Sed tamen proprie.

Actualis autem dilectio non diffunditur a Deo in cor nostrum.] ⁜ i. Nisi mediante habitu. § Sequi autem.

Col. 413. D. § Sequi autem.

Sed absque habitu prius infuso, dilectio perfecta non erit.] § Sed tamen. [See previous note.]

CAP. XI.

Col. 422. B. § Sed solent.

Sed solent aliqui respondere Deum non dici deserere.] Deus quî dicitur deserere? Aug. L. 1. ad Simplicia. c. 2. p. 270. c. 2.

CAP. XII.

Col. 426. B. § Ex qua sententia.

Sic enim scribit in libro secundo Institutionum.] ⁜ At ibid. addit Calvinus quod non male a S. viro dictum, præpostere ea detorquet Pet. Lombardus, &c. &c. Ergo non simpliciter videtur rejicere S. Augustinum, sed eum sensum quem verbis Augustini attribuit Lombardus, &c.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 433. C. § Fortasse etiam.

Gratiam cooperantem esse necessariam.] ⁜ § Sed non videtur.

DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO. LIBER II.

CAP. IV.

Col. 439. A. § Sit jam.

Nulla esset in Deo iniquitas.] c. 5. § Hæc igitur.

CAP. V.

Col. 440. A. § Dicimus denique.

Iis autem . . . quales sunt infantes . . . mediate auxilium donari censemus.] § penult.

Col. 440. B. § Hæc igitur propositio.

Neque juste puniri potest . . si auxilium non fuit sufficiens.] c. 4. § 1. [et cap. 5.] § Sanctus Irenæus.

Col. 441. D. § Probatur secundo.

De cœlesti hier. cap. 9.] § Sanctus Prosper.

Col. 442. A. § S. Irenæus.

Non juste judicarentur, &c.] § Hæc igitur propositio.

Col. 443. A. § S. Prosper.

A conversatione Israël, &c.] § Probatur secundum.

Col. 443. C. § Nec solum.

Qua . . si bene uterentur . . parentes, etiam ipsi per eosdem juvarentur.] § Dicimus denique.

CAP. VIII.

Col. 451. B. § Ita respondet.

Adfert exemplum Cornelii.] § Dices quomodo.

Col. 452. A. § Dices quomodo.

Dices, quomodo potest quis orando impetrare fidem.] § Ita respondet.

CAP. XII.

Col. 463. B. § Præterea cum.

Cum B. Paulus multis prædicaret, Actor. 16, *certe omnes poterant credere.*] Ver. 14. ⁜ quia Ver. 15, &c.

Col. 464. B. § Et certe.

Quia sine Dei auxilio non posset homo perseverare.] § Ad hæc testimonia. [See next note.]

Col. 465. B. § Ad hæc testimonia.

Nam si perseverantiæ donum nihil esset nisi auxilium.] § Et certe.

CAP. XIII.

Col. 469. C. § Respondet S. Thomas.

Coronam gloriæ . . debitam titulo meritorum . . . posse amitti.] C. 14. § Respondeo illud. et c. [15.] § At inquies.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 472. A. § Illa vero.

Christus vocat oves suas homines ethnicos et peccatores.] ⁜ L. 1. de Rom. Pont. c. 9. § Quod vero ovile. p. [473. A. See above, p. 621.]

Col. 472. D. § Respondeo, illud.

Ego vos duodecim elegi.] ⁜ Annon sequitur ergo effectum prædestinationis pertinuisse ad Judam, ille enim unus fuit ex illis duodecim? Joh. 6. 70.

Sub ratione præmii Deus dare disposuit.] C. 13. § Respondet S. Thom.

Col. 473. D. § Respondeo, in priore.

De electione ad justificationem.] § ult.

CAP. XV.

Col. 476. A. § At inquies.

Respondeo, ex prædestinatione non acquiri jus ullum electis ad beatitudinem.] C. 13. § Respondet S. Thomas.

Col. 476. C. § Respondeo, potest.

Potest ille libere gratiam repudiare, sed certum est non repudiaturum.] Possum libere si volo: et tamen certum est me non velle: simul stare possunt.

DE GRA. ET LIB. ARBIT.

Col. 477. C. § Respondeo, hoc.

Nam in Angelis ita factum videmus.] ✠ At annon etiam in Angelis prædestinatio non præsupponit casum? Cur ergo, &c. c. 17. § 4. At non casum omnium, sicut in hominibus, &c.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 479. D. § Probatur secundo.

Cum justificati talem pœnam non mereantur.] i. Non qua justificati, sed qua cadunt a gratia justificationis num non possunt?

Col. 480. B. § Jam vero.

Non autem potuit sine provisione operum damnare.] Non potuit damnare sine culpa juste. Quî ergo juste sine culpa, quam incurrit homo ineluctabiliter?

CAP. XVII.

Col. 481. D. § Porro non solum.

Prius . . est velle gratiam Angelis præbere, quam videre opera ex illa gratia procedentia.] Sed num prius est quam videre opera ex illa gratia processura? Ex præassignata ratione videri potest quod non. Nam velle dare illam gratiam liberum est. Sed videre opera et usus illius gratiæ, si daret, est necessarium.

Col. 481. D. § Eadem ratione.

Cum eam solam gratiam illis dare voluit, simul voluit eos non prædestinare ad gloriam.] Sed quid si non eam solam, si ea bene usi? Deinde quid si ea sola sufficiens erat, quod opinor fatebitur, nam ita postea § penult. Et si ea sufficiens, tum causa, &c. fuit, aut potuit esse, quod ea non utebantur, aut male: aut si non causa, saltem conditio.

Nam prævidit Deus Angelos . . . infallibiliter perituros.] C. 15. § Respondeo hoc. [Col. 477. C.]

Col. 482. A. § Eadem ratione.

Nam si eos Deus absolute salvare voluisset.] Sed quid si voluit, sed non absolute?

Col. 482. B. § Atque hæc ratio.

Bigas aptissimas ipse præbeat, &c.] Sed num bigas aptissimas ipsi præbet quem negative reprobat?

Col. 482. C. § Quod si rex.

Sanctus Augustinus testatur.] Angeli stantes an habuerunt majus auxilium gratiæ?

Col. 483. A. § Jam vero.

Majores divitias . . . Deum ostendisse in electione, &c. . . hominum, quam Angelorum.] Certe non hominum simpliciter: sed sicut in electis hominibus majores divitiæ misericordiæ quam in Angelis, ita minores iustitiæ: et sicut in reprobis hominibus majores justitiæ quam in Angelis, ita minores misericordiæ. Ergo propositio vera est in sensu diviso, in conjuncto dubitatur.

Col. 483. B. § Denique.

Angelis Deus non aliam gratiam dedit nisi habitualem, qua fieret, ut possent perseverare.] § 4. b. [See Col. 482. D. § Eadem ratione.]

DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO. LIBER III.

CAP. I.

Col. 484. C. § Sexta.

Sexta de concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratia efficaci.] C. 5. § Sanctus Augustinus. [In which § passages are quoted from S. Augustin, which speak of the impossibility of reconciling them.]

CAP. III.

Col. 488. A. § Itaque hoc.

Itaque hoc interest inter voluntatem et liberum arbitrium.] c. 6. § [Respondeo voluntas.] Item [§] antepenult. [Respondeo, loquitur. In this § a distinction is drawn between 'voluntas simplex,' and 'voluntas ut principium electionis,' which latter can be alone called free-will.]

Col. 488. A. § Actus.

Sive exercitii.] C. 6. § 3. [Respondeo voluntas.]

CAP. IV.

Col. 489. B. § Joannes etiam Calvinus.

In eodem libro cap. 3. § 5. sic ait.] Et c. 2. § 5.

CAP. V.

Col. 490. D. § S. Augustinus.

Quæstionem de concordia gratiæ et liberi arbitrii esse obscurissimam.] C. 1. § Sexta de concordia. [See Col. 484. C.]

Col. 491. D. § Denique pugnantia.

Liberum arbitrium . . . non est simplex voluntas, &c.] C. 6. § antepenult. ['Simplex voluntas' is in this § distinguished from 'voluntas ut est principium electionis,' which latter is alone called free-will.]

CAP. VI.

Col. 492. B. § Respondeo, voluntas.

Non potest velle miseriam.] C. 3. § penult. [See Col. 488. A.]

Col. 494. D.

Respondeo, loquitur, &c. &c.] C. 5. § ult. [See Col. 491. D.] Et c. 3. § antepenult. [See Col. 488. A.]

CAP. IX.

Col. 502. B. § Respondeo, S. Bernardus.

Sic etiam Pet. Lombardus.] L. 2. Sent. Dist. 24. § 5.

DE JUSTIFICATIONE.

CAP. XI.

Col. 508. D. § Respondeo, illa.

Sed ille nusquam scripsit, omne quod movetur ab alio moveri.] ⁂ Hæc tamen sunt verba Aristotelis, L. 7. Phys. c. ter. 3. Quod movet ab alio movetur.

DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO. LIBER IV.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 553. A. § Sed quamvis.

Durandus in 2. Sent. dist. 37.] Non reperio.

DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO. LIBER V.

CAP. XI.

Col. 598. A. § Vel denique.

Intelligi possit de auxilio generali, quod a Pelagio pariter negabatur.] Non negavit. Voss. Hist. Pelag. p. 322.

DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO. LIBER VI.

CAP. XV.

Col. 688. D. § Dicunt postremo.

Ut voluntatem determinet, &c.] P. 687.

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. LIBER I.

CAP. IV.

Col. 699. B. § Quanquam quod.

Catholici non utuntur nomine fidei historicæ.] Cap. 5. [§ Præterea si; where Bellarmine uses the very term *fides historica.*]

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. LIBER II.

CAP. I.

Col. 762. § Expeditis iis.

Magna sane quæstio, et hoc tempore . . . maxime necessaria.] Et ita Kemnitius par. 1ª. de Justificatione, p. 325.

Col. 763. C. § Joannes Calvinus.

Non excludit imputationem.] C. 2. § Sed non minori.

Col. 764. A. § Martinus Bucerus.

Unam imperfectam, quæ in virtutibus in nobis inhærentibus sita sit.] C. 2. § Remotis igitur. Et § Sed non minori. Concil. Triden. Can. 11. Sess. 6. Et quî respondet Bellarminus, c. 2. § finali. c. 3. § Denique idem probatur.

CAP. II.

Col. 765. C. § Porro status.

Non . . sola remissio peccati sine renovatione hominis, &c.] C. 3. § Tertium testimonium.

Col. 765. D. § Est autem.

Non uteretur voce, 'propter,' sed 'per.'] Est apud Kemnitium de Justificatione, par. 1ª. Exam. p. 234. Et ter habet propter, &c. &c.

Col. 766. B. § Remotis igitur.

Justificari hominem propter utrumque.] C. 1. § Martinus Bucerus. [Col. 764. A.]

CAP. III.

Col. 771. B. § Tertium testimonium.

Ut non sit sola peccatorum remissio sine interna sanctificatione.] C. 2. § 8. [Porro status. See Col. 765. C.]

CAP. IV.

Col. 775. A. § Sed occurrendum.

Calvinus, lib. 3. Instit. c. 2. § 8.] Et § 9.

CAP. V.

Col. 779. B. § Quod vero attinet.

Ex vero justitiæ rigore propitiatio fuit.] Dicit Beza Confess. cap. 3. Arti. 26. Patrem egisse cum Christo summo jure dum ultus est peccata nostra.

CAP. VII.

Col. 782. C. § Primum igitur.

Nullum omnino locum invenire potuerunt, ubi legeretur nobis imputari ad justitiam.] § Quarto refellitur. [In this § Bellarmine mentions a sense in which the doctrine of imputation is a sound one, and then adds, 'quamvis modus loquendi in Scripturis et Patribus aut nunquam aut rarissime invèniatur.']

Col. 785. A. § Quarto refellitur.

Aut nunquam, aut rarissime.] § 3. [See previous note.]

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. LIBER III.

CAP. IX.

Col. 832. C. § Respondeo, loquitur.

Loquitur Apostolus . . . [2 *Cor. xiii.* 5.] *non secundum gratiam gratum facientem.*] Ergone secundum hæc quis reprobus dicitur?

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. *Quomodo consequens esset, ut affirmare vellet omnes illos eo tempore justos fuisse.*] Nec affirmat de omnibus.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 855. A. § 1 ad Corinth. ix.

Non castigant corpus suum . . . quia certi sunt . . . se reprobos fieri nulla ratione posse.] Quî intelligendus sit Bellarminus in hac quæstione, ipse aperit To. 1. lib. 3. de Militante Eccles. c. 7.

Col. 855. B. § 1 ad Tim. i.

Quomodo naufragarunt qui in navi nunquam fuerunt.] Intelligit hunc locum [1 Tim. i. 19.] Bellarminus ipse de Hæreticis, To. 1. lib. 3. de Eccles. Militante, c. 4., qui quidem ante lapsum in hæresin, fuerunt membra corporis ecclesiæ sed non animæ. Ibid. c. 2. [§ Notandum autem est.]

Col. 855. D. § Secundo, primi.

Secundo, primi nostri parentes . . . . fide et gratia ornati erant.] Lib. 1. de Amissione Gratiæ et Statu Peccati, c. 7. probat Adamum amisisse fidem.

Col. 856. A. § Quarto, David.

Quarto, David Rex omnium consensu justus fuit.] L. 1. de Amiss. Gratiæ et Statu Peccati, c. 7.

Col. 856. B. § Sexto, S. Petrus.

Sexto, S. Petrus sine dubio justus erat.] ✕ At S. Petrum fidem non amisisse docet ipse Bellarminus. Tom. 1. lib. 3. de Militante Ecclesia, c. 17., et amisisse docet, L. 1. de Amiss. Gratiæ et Statu Peccati, c. 7.

Col. 856. C. § Septimo, Simon Magus.

Dicit . . Calvinus eum non vere credidisse, sed fidem simulasse.] Immo Lib. 3. Instit. c. c. 2. § 10. Calvinus reprehendit eos qui sic dicunt. 'Non intelligimus,' inquit, 'cum quibusdam simulasse fidem, &c. &c.'

Col. 856. D. § His testimoniis.

Justos post Baptismum non posse peccare.] Non dicit Calvinus non posse peccare renatos, sed non posse per finalem impœnitentiam cadere, et qui sic cadunt eos lotos, &c. &c. Et hoc verum est. Et similem sermonem alterius recipit ut verum ipse Bellarminus. Tom. 1. lib. 3. de Militante Eccles. c. 7., quem hic ut hæreticum damnat in Calvino.

Col. 857. A. § His testimoniis.

Itaque error Calvini . . . . in Joviniano . . . . . damnatus fuit.] L. 1. de Statu Peccati, c. 4. [§ Itaque opinione. Col. 62. A.]

Col. 875. B. § Accedant ultimo.

Ex doctrina adversariorum per omne peccatum excutitur fides justificans.] Vide L. 1. de Statu Peccati, c. 8.

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. LIBER IV.

CAP. XI.

Col. 895. C. § Apostolus vero.

Ubi [*Rom. vii.* 20.] *demonstrat se non peccare.*] Quid si sit, se non tam graviter? DE JUSTIFICATIONE.

Proinde servare se legem.] Sed annon apparet quod secundum quid?

Non sensui, qui legis capax non est.] At annon quatenus subditus rationi, una etiam cum ea subjicitur legi?

Peccatum esse potest, nisi in mente.] Annon peccatum esse potest ubi virtus? Virtus autem esse potest in parte irrationali. Tho. 1. 2^{m}. Q. 56. A. 4. c.

CAP. XII.

Col. 896. D. § At Kemnitius.

At Kemnitius confundit more suo duas quæstiones.] Falli hic Bellarminum probat Voss. Hist. Pela. p. 481.

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. LIBER V.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 960. D. § Ad tertium.

Illa verba 'quam reddet mihi justus judex' sint accipienda formaliter.] Hoc probandum est.

Col. 961. A. § Secundo, quia.

Quia supervacaneum esset illud 'justus judex.'] Non sequitur.

Col. 961. D. § Denique in aliis.

Non solum dixit, justum judicem esse Deum.] Quis negat? Sed justus judex potest ex liberalitate, &c. &c.

CAP. XVII.

Col. 961. D. § Contra vero.

Paulo post videbimus.] § Quinto vitæ. Et c. 18. § 2.

Col. 962. B. § Nobis media.

Non quidem quod sine pacto . . . non habeat opus bonum proportionem ad vitam æternam, sed quia non tenetur Deus acceptare ad illam mercedem opus bonum.]. At si habet proportionem ad vitam æternam sine pacto, cur non tenetur Deus mercedem dare sine pacto?

Col. 963. A. § At vero ut.

Cœlestis hæreditas et cœleste bravium . . . distinguerentur.] At quum non distinguuntur, annon tu frustra distinguis?

Col. 963. B. § Sed quanquam.

Unus tantum (gradus cœlestis gloriæ) debetur personæ jure adoptionis.] Unde tantum unum deberi constabit adoptionis jure? Neque opinor

DE JUSTIFICATIONE. in confesso apud omnes est, infantes statim a baptismo morientes frui omnes uno tantum eodemque gradu gloriæ.

Col. 963. B. § Primo, vita.

Gratia mercedis pro gratia meritorum.] Ergo non ratione operis. Gratia et merces an implicant?

Inter gratiam et gratiam . . . magna similitudo et proportio est.] Potest esse similitudo ubi non est proportio: Annon?.

Col. 963. C. § Secundo, vita.

Flumen lætificans civitatem Dei.] Annon hæc metaphorica sunt?

Gratia Spiritus Sancti diffusa.] Sed num semper opus ex gratia?

Col. 963. C. § Tertio, vita.

Respondere labori diurno.] Certe: sed annon quæstio est an labor respondet denario?

Col. 963. C. § Quarto, gratia.

Gratia est semen gloriæ.] Annon potest gratia esse proportionalis interim ut opus ex ea non sit?

Col. 963. D. § Neque Durandi.

Potest indicare quod volumus.] Sed nescio an concludere.

Sic etiam caritas Dei morali meritoriaque virtute gloriam ipsam continet.] Potest forte continere, sed dubitatur an sic.

Col. 963. D. § Quinto, vita.

Igitur proportionem habent.] Annon potest esse proportio ubi non est paritas? ut § 3.

Col. 964. A. § Septimo, merita.

Nos meremur . . . per influxum, quem ab Illo . . . recipimus.] Neutiquam: quia influxus perfectus est, sed receptus est ad modum recipientis.

CAP. XVIII.

Col. 964. B. § Sed intelliguntur.

Intelliguntur illa omnia loca de meritis secundum substantiam operum, non ut a Spiritu Sancto et gratia proficiscuntur.] Q. interim an sit aliquod meritum in substantia operis quod non a Spiritu Sancto sit, et gratia?

Non requiri ad meritum ex condigno absolutum æqualitatem.] C. 17. § 3. [et infra.] § Respondeo, negari.

Col. 964. C. § Sed facilis.

Debet . . . solum ex promissione et dono suo.] Ergo non ex substantia operis.

Fundamentum primum debiti divini . . . in Ejus promissione consistit.] Sed secundum ubi legimus?

Nam remota promissione non tenetur acceptare opus nostrum ad mercedem.] Quid? non ex condigno? quomodo ergo condignum?

DE JÉJUNIO.

CAP. XIV.

Col. 1072. D. § Quód attinet.

Ex testimonio Irenæi, apud Eusebium.] Corrumpit textum hunc Bellarm. &c. Vedelius in Ignat. Epi. ad Philip. c. 3. p. 61. o. Et pp. 66. 68. DE JEJUNIO.

Col. 1076. C. § Ex hac autem.

Quomodo . . superstitiosa observatio dici potest quæ ab Apostolis instituta.] Annon potest superstitio aliqua adhærere? Etiamsi, &c. &c.

Col. 1077. A. § Sed objicit.

Loquitur enim S. Augustinus de præcepto Domini (sc. quibus diebus oporteat jejunare).] Vedelius in Ignat. ad Philip. Exer. 20. c. 5. p. 74.

CAP. XV.

Col. 1077. D. § Cæterum hæc.

Utuntur nomine quadragesimæ, cum jejunium Paschale commendant.] Vedelius in Ignat. ad Philip. Exer. 10. c. 3. p. 66. o.

Col. 1078. D. § Ad locum Socratis.

Codicem ejus corruptum habemus.] Defendit et exponit Socratem Vedelius in Ignat. ad Philip. Exer. 10. c. 3. p. 65.

CAP. XVI.

Col. 1082 A. § Septima ut.

Quam hæretici præcipue rident.] Calvi. 4. Instit. c. 12. § 20. Vedelius Exercita. 10. in Ignat. Ep. ad Philip. p. 56. c. 3.

Col. 1082. C. § Chrysostomus.

Exemplar dans, ut per illud armemur.] Non jejunii ejus, sed officii nostri, &c. &c. Vedelius in Ignat. ad Philip. Exerc. 10. c. 3. p. 57. o.

Col. 1083. B. § Ad quartum.

Non dixisse verbo, ut imitaremur.] Vedel. in Ignat. ad Philip. Exerc. 10. c. 3. p. 58.

CAP. XVII.

Col. 1084. B. § At si verum esset.

Oportuisset Christianos semper in Dominica jejunare.] Sed huic objectioni respondet Chemnit. Ib. par. 2. p. 125.

Col. 1085. C. § Posterior quæstio.

Auctor, qui certe antiquissimus est.] C. 23. § penult. [See Col. 1092. B.]

CAP. XVIII.

Col. 1086. C. § Sed respondendum est.

Exorti sunt enim illo tempore hæretici varii . . . ut . . refert Epiphanius . . . de Marcionistis, hæres. 42.] Num Marcion tempore Clementis et Ignatii?

DE JEJUNIO.

CAP. XIX.

Col. 1088. C. § Quarta, ut sicut.

Sic haberemus jejunium aliquod singulis mensibus.] An quolibet 3^tio. mense, est singulis mensibus?

Col. 1088. C. § Tres autem dies.

Ita jejunamus tribus diebus primi mensis pro mense primo, secundo, et tertio.] At sic si sit, cur una hebdomada duæ feriæ jejuniis dicatæ sunt, et una tantum mensi?

CAP. XXIII.

Col. 1092. B. § Ex quo.

Antiquissimum esse, vel ex eo perspici potest, quod ab Alcuino, &c. citatur.] C. 17. § ult. [See above, Col. 1085. C.]

CAP. XXIV.

Col. 1097. A. § Denique quanta.

(*Epiphanius*) *Aerio vivente scripsit, &c.*] Hæres. 75. prin.

ERRATUM.

P. 650. lin. antepenult. pro *Dominus* lege *Domini.*

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